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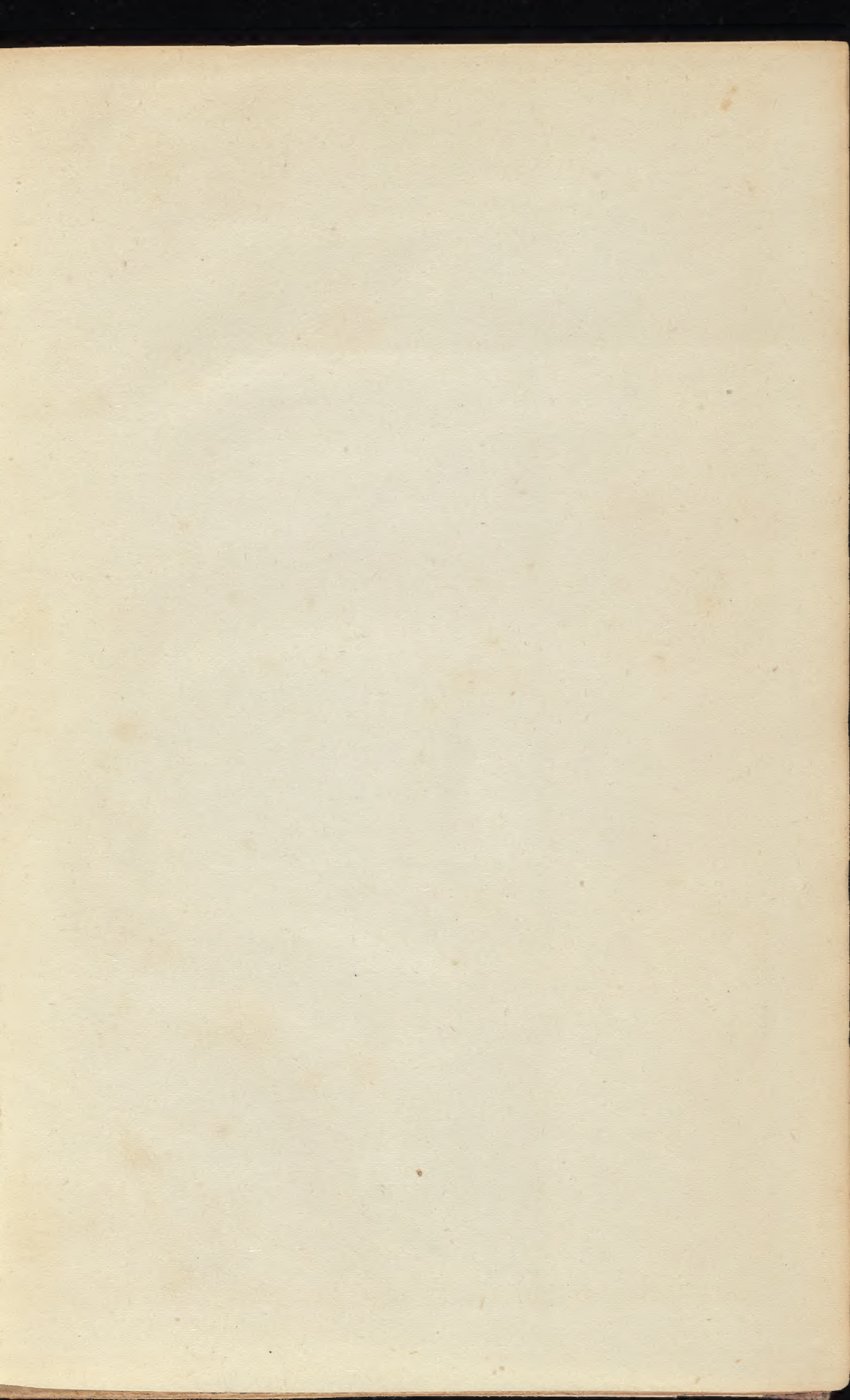
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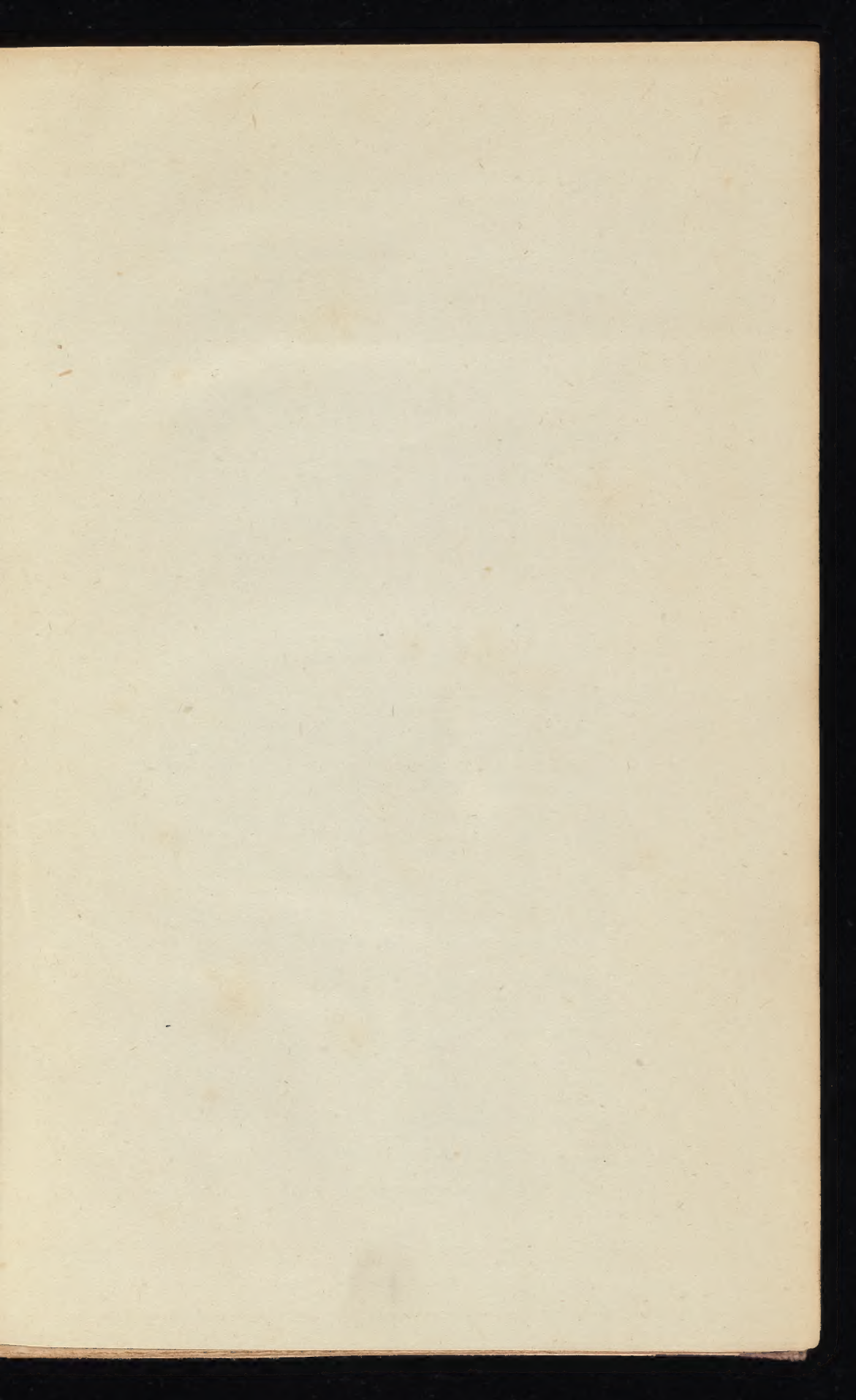
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LEICESTERSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

At the Fifth General Annual Meeting of this Society, held at Loughborough, on Wednesday, July 27, 1852, the following paper was read on

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AT LOUGHBOROUGH.

By the Rev. THOMAS JAMES, M.A., Vicar of Theddingworth.

Having undertaken to read a paper on the history of your church, I must at once disown anything but a most superficial description. I have had no leisure or opportunity to consult any but the most obvious sources of information in the printed histories of the county, and profess to bring no new light from any hitherto undiscovered stores. Still, at the time of the publication of the county histories, architectural details had been so little studied, that the account of the church given in those authorities is very meagre and unsatisfactory. So far, then, as the existing fabric affords evidence of its own history, I will endeavour to set that history before you.

And fortunately both for you and me, its story is extremely plain and simple. It has none of the complications and difficulties which most churches of its size possess. You have but to remember two dates, and you have the whole before you.

The church is stated by Nichols to be dedicated to St Peter and St Paul; but his authorities are not conclusive, and therefore the traditionary dedication of All Saints may be safely followed. It consists of a western tower, nave with single aisle on the north, and double aisle on the south, north and south transepts and chancel. There is a porch u a parvise over it on the south side.

The nave consists of four bays, though the outer south aisle, owing to the projections of the porch and transept, consists of only two. The main body of the church, including all the piers and arches, is of the fourteenth century, say about 1330; and this is the first date I wish you to note. It is of the style called second-pointed, or more commonly "Decorated," but the application of this term to this church you see at first glance is singularly inappropriate.

A more undecorated church of its size you probably never saw; and those who define architecture (as is the fashion of the present day) to consist in ornament, must allow the church of Loughborough to have no architecture at all. But passing at once from the exterior (the outline of which, good as it is, has been completely altered since the time of which we are now speaking) no one can doubt the impressive effect of the severe and simple architecture of its interior, marred and clogged though it now be with its cumbrous and unsightly galleries.

Its bold and lofty piers; its still more lofty arches, and those, too, boldly moulded, and their excellent proportion,—are the features which give the grand character to the whole,

and render it one of the finest among the parish churches of the county. Its fault (and a fault it has) is not its simplicity, but its monotony. Throughout the church, every pier, every window, every moulding is the same. Nor is it relieved even by the introduction of sculpture, which so often gives variety to the details, where the main lines are identically repeated.

Even the hood mouldings of the windows are all terminated (with one exception which I shall mention) with the same invariable monotonous unmeaning notch-head; very useful as giving almost the certain date of the 14th century, but the most bald and inartistic of all architectural ornament. The windows of the nave consist throughout of the same character of—I can hardly say “tracery”—but of mullions crossing in the head—(another very safe sign of the 14th century work); and one cannot but regret that that beautiful variety of window tracery, which gave to this style the name of “Decorated,” should be wholly wanting here.

It may possibly be, however, that at one time it existed to some amount; for I hold the present mullions in ~~many~~ *all but one* window ~~to be~~ comparatively modern. If you will examine for yourselves the east window of the north transept, you will see this considerably differs in details, though not in outline, from the other windows. In this the mullions are round moulded, not simply splayed or chamfered as the others are; and you will observe that the curves at the top of the windows run naturally into the rounded mouldings of the jambs; whereas in all the other windows the juncture of the curved chamfered lines with the round jambs is incomplete and inartistic, and such as we can hardly allow the architects of such noble work to have admitted.

Whatever may have been the case with the other windows, there is no doubt but that this east window of the north transept is in its original and perfect state, and if you look at the light and shade produced by the round moulded and filleted mullions of this window, as compared with the chamfered mullions of the others, you cannot fail at once to see its infinite superiority over them. It often, however, occurs in old churches that one window only was made much more ornamental than the rest; and this may have been the case here, as the corbel head on the one side and the uncarved block on the other, show an intention in this part of something superior to the repeated notch heads of the other windows.

There is no doubt but that the main walls of the present chancel are also of the same date as the nave of the church. At first sight the Perpendicular windows of the 15th century might lead to another view; but these are merely insertions, and the jambs of the original Decorated east window are still visible on the inside, with the panelling and tracery of the 15th century rudely and awkwardly ~~being~~ *being* upon them. The door on the south, commonly called the priest's door, is also unmistakably of the same date as the main body of the church—as are also those traces of the sedilia, which have been imperfectly developed, but of

which I hope sufficient will be discovered to enable them to be accurately restored. In a church like this, where the *main body* ~~man~~ is so plain, the accession of a fine bit of sculpture, such as this promises to be, would be a double relief and gain. I would remark that the head of the piscina to the east of this sculpture is at least a century later, and may rank its date with the great Perpendicular movement of the 15th century, which so greatly modified the external appearance of the church, and is that second great epoch in its history to which I will now advert.

Up to the year, say in round numbers 1450, the church must have remained very much as it was originally built, viz., with a high-pitched roof to the chancel (of which you may still see the marks on the east end of the nave wall, outside). There were also high-pitched roofs to the aisles and transepts, and certainly to the nave, where it rose in place of the present clerestory. In place of the present tower there stood another, of which we have no traces, and so can only guess at its character from the style of the early church.

It is a marvel to us (when we find the 15th century churches standing so firm and stout and needing nothing but a little occasional repair) how it was that the churches built but little more than a century before were deemed by 15th century people to need so much reconstruction. I have never seen the matter satisfactorily explained. 100 or even 200 years could not have so rotted the timbers and perished the stone as to have necessarily required those extensive alterations which we everywhere find. If it were that mere ornamental details were altered, we could understand it as being done as a matter of taste, just as the churchwardens of the last century thought round-headed brick windows really prettier than old fretted Gothic, and so put them in accordingly. But the 15th century people oftener left the ornamental details, and attacked the heavier *structural* work, as indeed they did in your church. Here, except in the chancel, the windows were left, but the whole of the roof (which we can hardly consider by that time to have been decayed), they ruthlessly pulled down and put up their own in their stead.

Nothing but the love—I may say the very greed—of church building can account for it, and there is much certainly in this zeal of theirs which we cannot but admire, even while we regret that the work which they displaced was often better than the work which they substituted for it. The 15th century was the great age of Clerestories, and seldom had an architectural fashion so wide a run. They had existed indeed *before*, but in a much humbler form, and by no means as a marked feature. Now, however, they were made one of the leading characteristics of a building, giving the character to the whole external church. It was hardly light that could be wanted in such a church as this; but perhaps it may be conceded that real additional beauty was gained by such a row of windows as you have here, in place of the heavy, unlighted, high pitched roof. Whatever was the motive, the 15th century folk set themselves to work

on this church, and (as I have said) utterly altered its earlier character by the clerestory to the nave—by the low roof and parapets to the aisles and transepts—the inserted windows in the chancel,—and the lower stage at least of the western tower, including the very fine west window, now shut out by the blockings and incumbrances of later times.

It is sad to see that a traditionary habit (which has, I understand, very long and very high prescription in its favour) has made this fine window the sport and cockshy of every idle passer-by. But I must own that when you enter the western door under it, the state of things found there almost justifies the sacrilegious vagabonds. They may think that they have a fair right thus to sport with a window from without, which is so utterly uncared for within; but I will venture to say, that when once opened (as I trust it shortly may be) to the church of which it is so integral and ornamental a part, it will be as much respected by the schoolboys as its sister windows of the nave.

before The upper part of the tower seems to have undergone several alterations at a date later than that which I should assign to the ~~nave~~. Burton, writing in 1623, says: "The fair and large tower steeple of this church was built within the memory of man;" but if he means within the memory of men then living, this could not be. This remark may, however, refer to the rebuilding of the pinnacles and parapet, which were greatly damaged by a high wind in the year 1551, and built up to be again blown down in 1715. These were replaced by very indifferent imitations till the year 1774, when the present very well-proportioned pinnacles and ~~nave~~ were erected. The arms in the west window and spandrils of the doorway would doubtless lead to the discovery of the builders of the tower. I have not had time enough to decipher them, nor have I heraldry enough to assign them if I had made them out. The advowson and manor, about the time of the erection of the tower, was passing through the hands of the Beaumonts, *the* Hastings, the Lovells, and the De Veres; and the discovery of the coats of any of these families would probably fix truly the date of the building. The bearing of the "merchants of the staple" occurs in the left hand spandril of the west door; on the other the arms of Burton.

As years rolled on, no additional beauty accrued to the church either within or without. From the entries in the parish books of the year 1592 we find that the chancel in Elizabeth's reign must have existed for some years as many chancels did—in a most dilapidated and disgraceful state, as in that year we have the following charges:—"Paid to Thomas German and his men for taking down the wall in the chancel (it had probably been blocked out, as the west end is now) and mending the walls therein, 7s 6d." To others "for carrying rummel (rubbish or rubble) out of the old school in the chancel, 6s 3d;" "for six men labourers and four women labourers for another day's work, 6s 4d;" and the glazing of the windows is also mentioned. The chancel was then, no doubt, restored from a school to its proper uses; and so, with the addition of

new bells and chimes, things went on in ordinary fashion. Accounts occur in 1604 and 1627 for painting the church; and in 1636 the steeple was repaired, at the charge of £42. More tasteful times occurred: we read in 1639—"Paid Thomas Sewell for painting the stone the eagle stands on, and for laying the Pulpit Green and reading-desk, and gilding the knobs, £1 14s."

The next year—"Paid for lavender to lay in the chest to sweeten the surplice." No sum mentioned.

But, alas! such good times soon passed away: in 1646, John Wright, the clerk, served the office of churchwarden, and we have this sad entry. "This year the Brass Eagle in the church was sold," and sold, too, as old brass—which, at 6d a-pound, came to £5 2s 10d.

In 1648, "For dressing the church, after the Scots, 4s 6d."

Worse times for the church adornments were yet to come. Oliver Cromwell was now in power, and in 1650 we have—"Paid Robert Foster for washing out the King's arms, 4s." A very dear job.

In 1658, "Spent on the ringers and other neighbours, when the Lord Protector was proclaimed, 10s." This was for Richard Cromwell; but the bells had soon to ring another tune—when Charles II. was restored, and with him came back Mr Nicholas Hall, the minister of this town, who was ejected at the time of the Usurpation.

But Hall did not enjoy his restoration long, for the next entry is his burial, and the next—"Paid for a quart of burnt claret, when Mr Bright (his successor) took possession, 1s 8d"—a most reasonable charge; and "Gave the ringers to drink, 6d." Who drank the burnt claret, unless it were the churchwarden, or the churchwarden and parson together, the book forbears to say.

But alas for the vicissitudes of human affairs! Mr Bright became "Dr." Bright, and Dean of St. Asaph, yet is the next entry of the said Doctor, "buried."

We now come to the House of Hanover. Utilitarianism was in the ascendant, and we read of £26 10s paid in 1717, for a new clock and chimes.

Then came, in 1747, the great event of new pewing. All the old woodwork of the benches, stalls, &c., was swept away after the fashion of the Brass Eagle, and the church was brought very much to the condition in which you now see it. There seems to have been great zeal and unanimity in the matter; and however much we may now regret the carved open seats which were then probably swept away, I wish we had them back again; yet the people of the day acted up to the lights they had (though they certainly were but rushlights), and in this you may at least follow them, that they manfully set to work to raise the money which they deemed necessary to put the church into what they considered decency and order.

Nor did they stop here—for while they on the one hand cut down the minister and churchwardens to 5s for their horse hire and other expenses to Leicester at the visitation, they set up (regardless of the green paint and gilding

lately bestowed upon them) a new pulpit and sounding-board, and staircase (doubtless those now existing) at the cost of £31 10s, recast their bells, and, in the year 1792, erected the organ, which was built by Green, of London, at the price of £450. This they inaugurated with a great concert of Handel's music, and aided their new instrument with a full accompaniment of drums, trumpets, and horns, and finished up with a concert and ball at the George Assembly Rooms in the evening—not perhaps the most legitimate way of getting money for such a purpose; but, in my opinion, quite as allowable a source of raising church money as by ~~any~~ modern fashionable bazaars.

our But the most wonderful thing was that it was carried out with such spirit and success, that after they had paid all their expenses they had £200 to spare, an unprecedented surplus, surely, in a charitable collection; but which I hope may become a precedent for any future church subscriptions in the good town of Loughborough.

I have dwelt rather on these details, which perhaps, to some, may appear too trivial—not only, because, as I told you, the important annals of the church are very soon exhausted, but because few places have the advantage of a book containing so many curious particulars relating to the common-life history of their parish, as you possess in the volume from which I have extracted these minutes, and because I fully believe that these seemingly unimportant details more truly open the life and manners (to us) of past times, than more ponderous and abstract disquisitions.

We antiquaries (if I may be allowed to swim by the side of such learned gentlemen as Mr Nichols, Mr Bloxam, Mr Gresley, Mr Thompson, and others whom I see here) are often accused of wasting our time upon trifles, and peddling with particulars, when the true student of history is propounding his principles. But of what use is any theory, and what truth can it contain, if it be not founded on particular facts? We may be but hewers of wood and drawers of water, but still the stately pile of history could not rise without us.

Now I think the few extracts I have read to you may show us this—how unsafe it is to make sweeping generalizations, without attention to such little facts. I suppose if there is one general proposition more universally acknowledged than another, it is the sweeping condemnation of the last century as to its utter apathy and deadness in all matters concerning the church. It is one of those few regular historical data in which all parties agree. Yet the extracts which I have just been giving you will hardly bear out so sweeping a generalization. On the contrary, we find a succession of changes, year after year, all bearing reference to the improvement of the church, and shewing the interest felt in it by the people. It was not zeal, or liberality, that was wanting, but knowledge. If we say that they had never understood or studied Gothic Architecture and had forgotten the spirit of congregational worship—that the middle classes, in taking care of themselves, had thrust out the poor—that they thought more of preaching

than of prayer—more of their bodily comfort in church than their soul's devotion, I fear we should be saying quite true. But we of this generation have not so utterly outgrown all these things (much as we have improved concerning them) as to allow us, in charity and truth, to be quite so hard on the past generation as we are apt to be.

We certainly, in these days, have greater knowledge of church architecture, have a more intelligent appreciation of the spirit of common worship, and of the arrangement of the church as a house of prayer, and we admit that its poor have at least as great a claim as the richest among us, to their place in God's house. Only, let us not pride ourselves, on our knowledge, or vaunt ourselves above our fathers, but rather try to act up to our knowledge, with the same zeal and simplicity as they did to theirs.

But I fear you will consider me straying from my subject into unwarrantable sermonizing. I have no more wish than right to do. I was led into it, by my justification of antiquarian details as often rectifying the indiscriminating theories of the general historian. I may be excused, therefore, if I call your attention to a few more minute objects of interest in the church before I conclude.

The ground plan has some peculiarities, and these highly advantageous for a large town church. The second south aisle, for instance, is an uncommon feature, except in churches of considerable pretensions; but it gives space where it is most wanted. More convenient still is the position of the N and S entrances. These you will find in ninety-nine churches out of a hundred to be in the westermost bay *but one*, with a passage running across, dividing the nave seats from north to south into two unequal blocks. *Here*, the entrances are in the westermost bay of all, and considerable space and convenience is thereby acquired. The space of the chancel arch being unusually wide and the chancel the same width as the nave, without any return of intervening wall, renders the chancel more available than usual for its proper use, as the *place of the choir*; while the north transept offers itself, as if on purpose, for your fine organ. But I will not refer to future arrangements, because you may feel yourself safe in the hands of Mr Scott, whose great knowledge and experience both in ancient and modern churches, have deservedly raised him to the highest authority on such matters.

Of the monuments in the church, one cannot but regret that the most ancient and interesting of them, the sepulchral brasses, should have been so mutilated and effaced from the positions to which they have been moved. It would have been better had they been preserved under the pews, than placed so as to be worn by every passer-by. As Mr Gresley purposes to take up this special subject, I will not further speak of them than to express a hope that in the repavement of the church, every brass, however worn, and every stone indicating the former existence of a brass, may be so preserved and placed as to prevent any further deterioration. May I beg also that the churchwardens, and those who take interest in the work, will be very careful to preserve any encaustic tiles, or even fragments of them, which are almost sure to be turned up when the present floor is disturbed?

There are few special objects of interest here, for so large a church. The opening of the old sedilia, as I before remarked, holds out the greatest promise. There is also a trefoiled arch in the eastern wall of the south transept, which should be cleared out, the meaning of which it is difficult at present to determine. I do not think it a door (as has been suggested), for there are no marks of one on the outside, and a door in the east end is very rare indeed. It will probably be found to be a niche for an aumbry, or piscina, or for some purpose in connection with the side altar, which the cill of the adjoining window shows once to have existed there.

The two sacraments are rather strangely represented by the existing uneclesiastical font and altar-table. For the first I cannot say much. It has not even the recommendation, which I own with me often goes further than mere architectural style—that it was done as handsomely and well as could be for its time. But this is the case with the Communion-table—and though somewhat anomalous, and perhaps challengeable by the letter of the canons, is yet of so handsome and unusual a character, that I hope in any restoration it may be carefully retained.

One object of antiquarian interest I must mention, though I could better point it out to you on the spot than describe it now. It is one of those so-called low side windows which remain the puzzle and the crux of archæologists to the present hour. If you look at the westernmost window of the south side of the chancel, you will see that beneath the cill of the existing window there has been a square aperture, now blocked up, but which we know from hundreds of other existing examples, must once have been open, and unglazed—and closed only with a wooden shutter.

You would probably have hardly noticed this break in the stone work—but if you will henceforth, on your visit to churches, look out for it, you will find traces of a similar window, generally in the same place as this, in nine out of ten churches. What the use of this aperture was, no one has as yet, with any certainty made out. It has received different names—some very absurd—from its supposed meaning, but in order not to commit oneself to any theory, it is better at present simply to call them from their position low-side-windows,

On the north side of the chancel, eastward ⁱⁿ its ordinary place, you may still see the remains of the old vestry—in some projecting stones which bore the roof,—and on the south side are the remains of an original doorway, now blocked up, and it may be a puzzling question how it got there. It is certainly as old, if not older than the earliest part of the present church: there is nothing, however, in its form necessary ^{ily} to carry it back earlier than the 14th century.

Either, then, it is the only relic of a church somewhat, but *only a little*, earlier than the existing one, and was the priest's door of a former and smaller chancel—or (which I think is quite as likely, and to which I am myself more inclined)—it may be that the builders of the present fabric began (as they generally did) ^{but} at the chancel in a smaller scale and poorer character, and then before they had proceeded far, changed their views and their plan, and without thinking it worth while to pull down

this doorway carried out the main work on the grand scale in which we now find it.

On the *past* architectural history of your church, I have nothing more to say. I wish that I could have made my description more interesting to you; but it is always difficult (even if one had the requisite knowledge and power) to adapt, (without too great generalities on one side, or too much technicality on the other), a discourse on church architecture to an audience, some of whom are fitter to be one's teachers, and some of whom come to learn.

The *future* history of the church is one on which all can meet on more equal grounds, and in which, in the present hopeful prospect of a thorough restoration, there must be a more common and a deeper interest.

You have placed yourselves in such good hands that it would seem presumptuous in me to offer any warning or advice. Such destructions, however, have taken place and are daily taking place, under the name of Restoration, that I must exhort you to carry out *your* Restoration in the most conservative spirit. Do not destroy for the sake of uniformity—for making all things smooth and fair—a single old time-mark in the walls of your church. Many such will doubtless turn up when the inside plaster is removed, and will give notes and helps to some future chronicler of your church, more careful and faithful than myself. And do not over-restore what is not constructionally required. Let Time show *his* thumb mark among the many beautifiers and improvers which the church has had. When safety and real convenience is at stake, you will not, of course, allow any love of antiquity to stand in the way of a real want: but where this is not the case, you will do well not to attempt to restore mere beauty of form and detail.

But each separate object requires a special judgment on it, and there is no judgment that can be more trusted in such matters than that of the architect whom you have chosen.

I will not dwell on the disfigurements which now internally obscure the beauties of your church—though they used to form fruitful ground for jest and for abuse on such occasions as these. I will rather congratulate you that they are so soon to disappear.

Will you permit me, in conclusion, as one who has had considerable experience in the restoration of the churches of a neighbouring county, and lately in that of his own, to assure you how certainly the correct and orderly re-arrangement and restoration of a church leads to higher benefits than those of mere outward beauty and order. I do not now speak of those mere obvious advantages of arrangement which externally bring all men equal, as they ought to be, in the sight of God, but I mean that the sacrifices of small privileges and old prejudices—and, it may be, of cherished associations which every parishioner is called upon, in such a work, to make—will be, in every well-ordered mind, a source of satisfaction rather than of a discontent, of pleasure than of bitterness, if he looks with single eye to the great aim, with which such works should always be carried on—the glory of God and the good of our brethren.

Sacrifices in *money* you will be called upon to make, and no doubt these will be cheerfully given. The money (if the work is

Presence

started well, and the start is everything) is often the easiest part of Church Restoration—but the sacrifice of self which, more or less, every party must make in such a work, is often a far harder matter, though you do not require me to tell you that it is a much greater one—and much more demanded of us. Yet it is this sacrifice, made more by one, less by another, which will be found the firmest bond of future union, and the basis of a restoration more deep and sacred than that of wood or stones. It is not an offering that will cost you nothing—for our feelings and prejudices, and interests, and selfishness, cling to us far more closely than the purse we carry about us; but it is these things which as disciples of our master we are especially called upon to give up—and we may well believe that no sacrifice we can offer, to the honour of His sanctuary, will be half as acceptable in His sight as that of our self-interest and our self-will.

THE FIFTH REPORT
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OF THE
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1. That the Society be called THE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.

2. That the objects of the Society be, to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture, Antiquities and Design, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural Remains within the Archdeaconry; and to furnish suggestions, so far as may be within its province, for improving the character of Ecclesiastical Edifices hereafter to be erected.

3. That the Society be composed of a Patron, Presidents and Vice-Presidents, and of ordinary Members, to consist of Clergymen and Lay Members of the Church.

4. That Members of the Society be privileged to propose new Members, either by letter or personally, at the Committee Meetings, and that Honorary Members be elected only on the nomination of the Committee.

5. That Rural Deans within the Archdeaconry of Northampton be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee, on their signifying an intention to become Members of the Society.

6. That each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, to be due on the first day of January in each year.

7. That any Member may compound for all future subscriptions by one payment of £5.

8. That the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee, composed of the Patron, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Rural Deans and eighteen ordinary Members, (of whom five shall be a quorum,) who shall be elected at the Annual Meeting, and of whom six at least shall have been Members of the Committee of the preceding year.

9. That the Committee have power to add to their numbers, and to elect out of their body the requisite number of Secretaries.

10. That the Members of the Committee in any neighbourhood may associate other Members of the Society with themselves, and form Committees for local purposes in communication with the Central Committee.

11. That the Public Meetings of the Society be holden in the Spring and Autumn of each year, at such times and places as shall have been appointed at the Autumnal Meeting of the preceding year.

12. That the Committee meet at the times and places which they may themselves appoint, and that their Meetings be open to the Members of the Society and their friends, after the dispatch of routine business.

13. That the Secretaries be empowered, on any urgent occasion, with the sanction of the Patron, to call a Special Meeting of the Society.

14. That Donations of Architectural Books, Plans, &c., be received; that the Committee be empowered to make purchases and procure casts and drawings, which shall be under the charge of the Secretaries, until a place of deposit be fixed by the Society.

15. That when the Committee shall consider any Paper worthy of being printed at the expense of the Society, they shall request the Author to furnish a copy, and shall decide upon the number of copies to be printed, provided always that the number be sufficient to supply each Member with one copy, and the Author and Secretaries with twenty-five copies each. All other questions relating to publishing plans and papers, and illustrating them with engravings, shall be decided by the Committee.

The following Resolutions were passed at the public Spring Meeting, at Kettering, April 24, 1845 :—

1. That the Central Committee be empowered to provide, at the Society's expense, Working Plans for any Member who may request them, for repairing any Church in this Archdeaconry with which he is connected, provided that the expense so incurred by the Society in any one year shall not exceed one-third of the funds, and that no such grant shall be made unless the majority shall consist of six Members.

2. That the Central Committee shall every year publish, for circulation among the Members, Transactions, to contain descriptions and papers connected with the objects of the Society; and that the illustrations to be given in such transactions shall, for the present, depend on the voluntary donations which may be given to the Society for that purpose,

3. That the formation of Local Committees, in correspondence with the Central Committee, be recommended.

At a Meeting held September 6th, 1847,

It was resolved,

“ That on application being made to any Member of the Committee, or to the Committee collectively, for the advice of the Society in the restoration of any Church, a Sub-committee be appointed (of which the Incumbent or Resident Minister be one) to visit the Church, and submit a report in writing to the General Committee.”

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 Schools of St. Michael, Pimlico. By Ditto.
 Church and Schools, St. Paul's, Bermondsey. By Ditto.
 Drawing of a Fresco Wall. Text from Astley Church. By Rev. G. A. Poole.
 Brasses from Foxton and Brampton Churches. By Rev. T. James.
 Brass of a Priest, Brington Church. By Rev. H. Bigge.
 Elevation and Plan of Stone Alms' Box (formerly a Piscina), from Bodmin Church. By Rev. T. James.
 Brass, from Earl's Barton Church.
 Ditto, from Higham Ferrers Church.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Six Plaister Casts, presented by W. Donthorne, Esq.:—Two Gothic Heads, one Rose, one Foliage Ornament, from Westminster Abbey. Two Finials, from Winchester Cathedral.

Various Terra Cotta Ornaments, from Ladystone Works. Presented by Jas. Fletcher, Esq.

Set of Original Encaustic Tiles. Presented by the Marquis of Northampton.

Encaustic Tiles, from Sibbertoft Church. By Rev. T. James.

Encaustic Tiles, from Original Decorated Vestry (now destroyed), of Waldegrave Church. By Rev. J. Cox.

Fragments of Painted Glass, from Stanion Church.

Fragments of Painted Glass, from Clay Coton Church. By Rev. G. A. Poole.

THE REPORT.

THE following Report of the last year's proceedings of the Society was read at the October Meeting at Northampton, by the Rev. THOMAS JAMES, one of the Secretaries:—

IN a review, lately published, of the Several Architectural Societies of England, after bestowing praise, right and left, on the zeal and exertions of various provincial and diocesan bodies, it is quietly asked, “Whether the Northamptonshire Society is yet in the land of the living?” We are here in tolerably fair muster to-day to answer the question. And, if increase of number, and increase of work done, be any signs of vitality, the Architectural Society of this archdeaconry may congratulate itself in being not only in a state of very respectable existence, but in a most flourishing and vigorous condition of health.

It is hoped, indeed, that the report will show that the Society has, at length, entered upon full and practical operation; that its publications have kept up the high character with which they began; that its meetings have been more numerously attended; its opinion more frequently and earlier asked; and the stimulus given to ecclesiological study and church restoration increased to a degree corresponding with the most hopeful expectations of its founders.

The chief feature of the year to which attention must be especially called, is the great success of the spring meeting at Oakham. Assembled, for the first time, in that important division of the archdeaconry, so many new subjects of interest presented themselves, and so cordial a reception was given to the Society, that already we look forward to the pleasure of renewed intercourse, at no very distant day, with the faces of our Rutlandshire friends and churches.

At that meeting, held in the Agricultural Hall, under the presidency of the Marquis of Northampton, we were especially happy in the subjects of the papers read. We had each author strong in his own department.

Mr. Bloxam on Monuments—Mr. Winston on Glass—Mr. Poole on the Church—Mr. Hartshorne on the Castle. A more detailed notice of them will be appended to the Report. The papers *in extenso* have since been published; Mr. Hartshorne's and Mr. Bloxam's in the June No. of the *Archæological Journal*—Mr. Winston's in the XIII. No. of our *Churches*. Such value did our Committee attach to the last paper, that they incurred the expense of printing it as a sort of appendix to the description of Stanford church, and there can be no better beginning for a student of glass painting than to visit that interesting church with Mr. Winston's paper in his hand. The time and pains bestowed upon this description—that of many long summer days, at the top of a high ladder—I can myself vouch for; but I know that the writer would feel himself amply repaid if his paper but tends to call the attention even of a few amateurs to the truth he so strongly feels—viz., that till gentlemen take up this subject and force the glassmakers into producing a material more approaching in *texture* to the ancient glass, we can expect nothing more than a repetition of the miserable failures—the “awful perpetrations” (such are Mr. Winston's words) which are now, at so great a cost, daily produced.

Of Mr. Poole's lecture on the Church, being *vivâ voce*, nothing remains but the good legacy he left to the people of Oakham, the earnest desire, I believe I may almost say determination, to restore their very noble church. I fully hope that this may give my worthy colleague a longer paragraph for some future Report. The Rector has himself commenced restorations, literally with his own hands, at Eggleton, one of the dependencies of Oakham, and is most anxious for the thorough accomplishment of the greater work.

On the day following the public meeting, a party of members made a most interesting tour of some of the most remarkable churches in the neighbourhood. The restorations commenced at Exton, under the auspices of Lord Campden, who joined our society and expedition, were greatly admired, and there can be little doubt of the satisfactory completion of a work so well begun.

A great mede of praise was also accorded to the restored church of Hambledon, under the superintendence of the rector, Mr. Green—an earnest, it is to be hoped, of labour yet to fall to his lot, as our new secretary for Rutlandshire.

One interesting feature of the meeting was the election of our two first honorary members—Charles Winston, Esq., and the Rev. Lewis Petit.

Of our obligations to the first gentleman I have already spoken. To the latter we are indebted for many kind contributions to our ~~pages~~ ^{papers}, and especially for some of his beautiful and characteristic sketches, unique alike for the boldness of their effect and the rapidity of their execution.

To the zealous and unremitting exertions of the Rev. Heneage Finch, the rector, and the Rev. Henry Green, the local secretary, are due the excellent arrangement of the meeting, and the interest taken in the objects of it by all classes of the inhabitants. The Committee cannot withhold their public expression of thanks to the Rector for his personal hospitality to themselves, and for the kind manner in which he introduced the Society into his neighbourhood; and they feel sure that the present meeting will cordially assent to their proposition to elect Mr. Finch a vice-president of the Society, as a token, slight indeed, but the only one in their power, of their sense of the value of his services on that occasion.

Mr. Green, who acted temporarily as secretary, has been requested to act as one of the permanent honorary secretaries of the Society. He has kindly undertaken this office more immediately for the county of Rutland, and members are requested to transact all the local business of the district through his hands.

Intimation having been given to the Committee that the fine chancel of Rothwell church, which has remained for a long time in a sad state of neglect, was about to be placed in a perfect state of repair, and that every facility would be offered to the Society to effect any further restoration of its merely decorative parts, it was considered that so fair an opportunity should not be lost of saving so interesting a fabric from its state of uselessness and disregard. There were circumstances which seemed to render this an exceptional case, and the Committee, therefore, felt justified in appointing a sub-committee to superintend the restoration, and in voting the sum of £5 from the Society's funds in furtherance of the work; it being understood that the substantial repairs should be first effected in such a manner as to satisfy them of the correctness of the design. The sub-committee have twice visited the spot, and a report has been drawn up, recommending that such funds as are placed at their disposal be applied, in the first place, to removing the coats of whitewash from the piers and walls; restoring the woodwork of the handsome stalls; the stonework of the sedilia, and opening the closed windows of the clerestory on the south side. The woodwork of the new roof is now complete, and is most satisfactory in its execution, the construction and mouldings of the old per-

pendicular roof having been exactly followed. The supplementary work of the Society will now soon commence, and the contributions of its members are earnestly requested to a work of so much architectural interest. It is upon architectural, rather than ecclesiastical grounds, that this call is made, but the Committee have the satisfaction of stating, that, if the restoration can be thoroughly effected, the modern glass screen which at present separates the nave from the chancel will be removed, and this capacious and, in many ways, unique chancel be restored, after many years of desolation and neglect, to the ritual uses of the church.

The plans for re-seating the church at Brampton Ash have been again before the Committee. The rector and churchwardens having intimated their intention of employing Mr. J. G. Bland, a member of our Society, to superintend the restoration, the Committee have instructed him to make working-drawings for the seats, copied, with some slight improvements, from the ancient open benches existing in the church. They have also, pursuant to the resolution passed, on the application of the rector, had working-drawings made for the pulpit and chancel seats, the former copied from an ancient example in Thorpe Langton, the latter from the stalls at Rothwell. These will be available for any member proposing to restore the sittings of his church or chancel.

A sub-committee, at the request of the rector, visited the church of Uppingham, to advise on the re-seating of it; and a plan drawn out by one of the secretaries, and agreed to by the Committee, has been adopted by the parish. It embraces the entire re-seating of the nave and aisles with low open seats facing east, in place of the present high square close pews; the removal of the west gallery, the opening of the tower arch, and the placing of the organ within the tower. Such are the requirements of the parish, that the side galleries cannot, at the present, be dispensed with; but their hideous and cumbrous form will, in great measure, be diminished by their being thrown back behind the piers which they now conceal. The committee have great pleasure in recording the kind attention which has, in this case, been so willingly given to their suggestions.

A plan for the re-seating of Edith Weston church was also submitted to the Society by the rural dean and rector of the parish. Its most objectionable feature—the want of a middle passage or alley—has been abandoned at the suggestion of the Society. It is still hoped that other recommendations of the Committee may be attended to, as the work is not yet in progress. But, at any rate, here also some advance has been made, in

the removal of the gallery and high square pews, and the adoption of uniform low open seats throughout.

The old Norman chapel of Hartwell being in a dilapidated state, and at the distance of more than a mile from the main body of the village, the perpetual curate and churchwardens applied to our Society, requesting their opinion as to the best mode of providing more decent and convenient accommodation for the services of the church. A sub-committee of the Society was appointed, and met the rural dean and parish authorities on the spot, and unanimously agreed to a report, approving of the suggested change of site, and recommending that as much as possible of the old material, especially the Norman arcade now walled up, should be removed, and that the architect of the new building should be instructed to make his design in accordance with the remains of the old chapel so preserved. The parochial committee approved our report, and have entrusted the work into the hands of Messrs. Vickers and Hugall, the architects of the new St. Edmund's in this town, to prepare plans in accordance with the suggestions of the Society's Committee.

It cannot be amiss here to call attention to the benefit likely to accrue by this *early* application of the parish authorities to the Society. We believe that we have thus been the means of saving considerable expense to the parish, and in preserving a very interesting architectural relic, at the same time that we have pointed out the means of securing to the parishioners a true ecclesiastical building, with all the increased accommodation of a new church, and all the hallowed and hallowing associations of the house in which their fathers worshipped. The thanks of the Society are due to the courtesy of the incumbent and the parochial committee; and it can hardly fail but that a strong interest will be felt in this building by the members of a society that has been allowed to take so important a part in this early stage of its new life. It would be a great encouragement for other parishes to apply early to us, if it were found that additional subscriptions poured in in consequence of the recommendations of the Society being carried out. Perhaps I should add, in order to prevent any misunderstanding of the general views of the Society, that, in recommending the Norman style in this instance, they were solely swayed by the consideration of the existing remains of the old chapel being in that style.

The same sub-committee also visited Ashton church, at the desire of the church officers, to examine the plan submitted by Mr. Hussey for the

rebuilding of the tower. They were happy to be able to give their general approval of the plan, which substitutes a plain saddle-back tower for the present very poor and ruinous one ; but they suggested several alterations in the details, some of which will be attended to, others, it is feared, set aside.

Plans for a new church at Smeeton, in the parish of Kibworth Beauchamp, by Mr. Woodyer, were submitted by Mr. Bathurst, the rector. These met with the Committee's general approval. The internal arrangements are most complete. No gallery ; seats all open and uniform and facing east ; the font against the south-westernmost pier, the vestry at the north-east angle of the chancel. The chancel, which has a screen and sedilia, is entirely reserved for the use of the clergy. The building of this church has already commenced.

We rejoice, also, to have to notice the laying of the first stone of the new church at Braunston, an undertaking in which, notwithstanding some difference of opinion still retained, the Committee continue to take a lively interest, and to sympathise with the Rector in having at length overcome the many difficulties he has had to contend with in the great object of re-building his church.

In the new church now nearly completed at Cranoe the incumbent has improved the internal arrangements, at the suggestion of the Committee.

A plan for the re-building of the north aisle of St. Giles', in this town, was laid before the Society, in which they advised several alterations. The whole plan is, however, for the present in abeyance ; but, in case of its resumption, the Committee have reason to believe that their suggestions will not be overlooked.

Among minor designs and restorations submitted to the judgment of the Society may be mentioned that for a new reredos at Castle Ashby ; and the base of the font of East Haddon, restored from one of the same date at Dodford, at the expense of our new librarian. In this, as in greater matters, the Society had recommended the copying an ancient model in preference to a new design, conceiving that, in the present state of architectural knowledge, the best, as well as the safest, way is to follow precedent—"*stare super antiquas vias*"—to take their stand upon the old paths.

Most interesting of all the plans laid before the Society, as well from position as importance, is that of the new church of St. Edmund's, and the Committee have great satisfaction in congratulating the inhabitants of

Northampton, in the prospect of so handsome and church-like a building being raised in this town. As far as the drawings (which are now in the room) have been submitted, they have met with almost unqualified approval. It may surely be stated, as a proof of the advanced feeling in favour of ecclesiastical propriety in church building, if not of the direct influence of our own Society, that, in the advertisement for designs for this new church, galleries were as peremptorily eschewed, as a chancel and open seats were required. The limited sum at the command of the incumbent necessarily excluded the hope of a tower and spire from the original plan, but the successful design happily provides for this addition at some future day. Indeed, it is to be hoped that funds will be forthcoming to make so important an accessory to the beauty of the building, simultaneous with the rest of the design. Such meetings as the present will be of little use, if we only sit here to listen to good principles without being stimulated to carry them out into practice.

Another step taken in the right direction has been the endeavour, lately made, to bring the Society of this Archdeaconry in more frequent and intimate connection with kindred societies in the neighbouring counties. Already proposals for joint meetings are before the committees of the Bedford Archæological and Architectural Society and the Lincolnshire Architectural Society. We hope, before long, to meet the latter upon the common ground of Stamford; and we have good reason to expect that the Bedfordshire Society will meet us next spring, if we can fix upon a time suitable to both parties, at the interesting locality of Higham Ferrers.

Though our library has not increased proportionably to the advances made in other of the Society's departments, our books, drawings and other presents have accumulated enough to make it desirable to have them placed under the direct care and superintendence of a distinct officer. This duty of librarian has been kindly undertaken by Mr. Bigge, nor could it be more appropriately entrusted to any one than to the gentleman to whom the Society has just become indebted for one of its most valuable possessions, the splendid engravings of the "*Vetusta Monumenta*" of the Society of Antiquaries, which decorate the walls of this room to-day. In addition to this very handsome present from Mr. Bigge, we have to record, besides purchases made, many other presents of books to the Society.

It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the clergy and laity how valuable a service they would be conferring on this Society, and on

mediæval art in general, if they would collect the remains, however small and seemingly worthless, of ancient glass and tiles, often thrown into the parish chest or rubbish corner of the church, and entrust them, even if only conditionally, to our keeping. They would often be of the greatest service in helping to determine the date of a church, or for illustrating a paper upon the ancient ecclesiastical arts. A single broken quarry, or even an old bit of leading, is often of great value to the student; and our friend Mr. Winston could as easily call up the original of a destroyed parish church from one little fragment of streaked ruby, as Dr. Buckland composes megatherions or plesiosaurs from a single tooth or a broken coprolite.

The publication of the work on the Churches of the Archdeaconry has been steadily carried on. It has been found necessary to curtail considerably the descriptions of the less interesting churches, but the general value of the work has been greatly increased by the extra wood-cuts and engravings presented by persons interested in their several churches. It is obvious that, as the number of wood-cuts given in each number by the publisher is limited, the more the descriptions are compressed, the less likelihood will there be of each church being sufficiently illustrated. It is therefore that the Editorial Committee felt itself justified upon calling upon their subscribers, and others, to assist in the more complete illustration of the work. That call has been most generously answered; while their Oxford publisher has exerted himself to the utmost, twenty additional engravings have already been given by our friends.

It has been suggested that the publication of the Rutlandshire Churches, a most interesting group, should be at once commenced, and carried on simultaneously with those of Northamptonshire. This, which is a question involved in many difficulties, is, at present, under the consideration of the Committee. The next deanery to be entered upon is that of Northampton. Here the number of illustrations required, especially for the town churches, will be far beyond what, without great private assistance, we can dare to promise. This assistance, however, it is to be hoped, the inhabitants of Northampton will be ready to afford, and as it will be almost impossible for the Secretary to make direct personal application to all who may be supposed likely to assist in this good work, the Editorial Committee are glad of the present opportunity to say how grateful they will feel to those persons most interested in seeing the churches of this town well illustrated, if they will communicate to the Editorial Secretary the aid they are disposed to give.

I think that I have now pretty well answered the question, "What has the Northamptonshire Society been about?" I should be glad to hear of the provincial society that has done more work than ours during the past year. I have taken no account of the many alterations and restorations that have been going on in our neighbourhood, even by members of the Society, which have not been submitted to our Committee. These, I fear, are not all of that kind which we should be enabled to commend. Indeed, such strange reports from some quarters have reached our ears, that I must repeat the fear I have often before expressed, that unless more care and deliberation be taken than is generally the case, more harm will be done to our churches by the so-called restorations of the present day than by all the whitewashings and beautifications of past generations.

One design submitted to us I have not mentioned, because it is one which the Committee has not yet had sufficiently before them, and which, being new in idea and practice, requires considerable deliberation both as to its principles and details. It is the plan for a school-room which may be licensed by the Bishop for Divine service. The plan is by Mr. Butterfield, the architect of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and it is submitted by Mr. Sandford, the rector of Dunchurch. There is in the chapel attached to the Bede-house at Higham Ferrers, something that, I think, will greatly assist us in solving this difficult problem, and I hope that the examination and discussion of the plans may be reserved for our spring meeting there. In the meanwhile I would call the attention of members of our Society to the practical question, which, in these days when churches are wanted faster than they can be built, is of daily increasing importance, "What is the best form of building, which being used ordinarily as a schoolroom, may either temporarily or occasionally be used also as a chapel for Divine worship under the Bishop's licence?"

I may call attention, also, to another subject closely connected with this, "What is the best form of a workhouse chapel where a distinct building cannot be erected?" This, I think, is more satisfactorily answered by the plan of the Higham Ferrers Bede-house (which, on a small scale, may be seen in an early number of our Northamptonshire Churches). There a small chancel, as it were, is built out for the ministering clergy, while the congregation are placed in the chamber that served them, I believe, for "bedroom and kitchen and parlour and all."

There is one other subject only to which I should wish to call the attention of our members, before our next public meeting. It has been already broached in other societies; but to no one, I think, does it so

appropriately belong as to our own. I mean the subject of improved dwellings for the poor. I am glad to think that the title of our Society is neither so exclusively archæological, nor so exclusively ecclesiastical, as to debar us from entertaining the question, "What is the best plan for a labourer's cottage?" There are noblemen and gentlemen around me who have already taken up this subject, and many, I rejoice to say, members of our Society, who have already practically carried out their benevolent views. Still there appears much remaining to be done, both in design, in comfort, and economy, in the labourer's cottage; though, in respect to the nature of cost, as far as I have hitherto inquired into the matter, I am convinced that, *at present*, no landholder must contemplate building cottages for a profitable return. It will be a questionable benefit if, under present circumstances, the cottager has at once to pay increased rent for increased accommodations. Higher motives than any such calculation, the hope of improving the social condition of their fellow-countrymen, I trust I may say without cant, the simple motive of Christian love towards their brethren, have hitherto guided those who have taken the lead in this good work, and will, doubtless, continue to guide them.

It seems quite as important to the moral and religious welfare of the poor that they should have a comfortable home as a comely church. It is high time, indeed, that we shift this English idol—Comfort, from the rich man's pew to the poor man's hearth. For my own part, I have always felt that the highest object this Society can aim at, is not any mere ecclesiastical subtleties or architectural proprieties, not even to

"Bid temples worthier of the God ascend,"

but to restore the Poor their rights in the Christian House of Prayer, and I think, as a mere Architectural Society, we may well extend our sympathy and exertions from the church to the cottage. Our motto may be "*Pro aris, ET FOCIS*,"—our endeavour, to furnish "Happy homes," as well as "Altars free."

MEETINGS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF THE

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON,

FOR THE YEAR 1849.

COMMITTEE MEETING, at Mr. Wetton's,	
Northampton, at Half-past Twelve o'clock,	Monday, FEBRUARY 4.
COMMITTEE MEETING, ditto,	Monday, MARCH 26.*
GENERAL SPRING MEETING, at Higham	
Ferrers, some time in the	Middle of MAY.
COMMITTEE MEETING,	Monday, JUNE 4.
COMMITTEE MEETING,	Monday, AUGUST 6.
COMMITTEE MEETING,	Monday, OCTOBER 1.

GENERAL AUTUMN MEETING AT NORTHAMPTON,

Some time in the beginning of OCTOBER.

COMMITTEE MEETING, Monday, DECEMBER 3.

Members wishing to consult or otherwise obtain assistance from the Society, are requested to address their communications to one of the Secretaries a few days before a Committee Meeting.

* The first Monday in April falling in Passion Week.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY,

IN THE YEAR 1848.

The Committee has continued its Meetings on the first Monday of every alternate Month, at Mr. Welton's Northampton, where the ordinary business of the Society has been transacted.

The public Spring Meeting was held at Oakham, on 9th May, 1848, the Marquis of Northampton in the chair, supported by Viscount Campden, the Rev. Sir George Robinson, Bart., the Archdeacons of ~~Peterborough~~ ^{Northampton} and Leicester, the Dean of Peterborough, the Rev. Heneage Finch, ~~Vicar~~ ^{Rector}, &c., &c., when the following introductory address was read by the Rev. Henry Green, one of the Secretaries of the Society :—

“This being the first general meeting of any importance which, since its formation, in 1844, this Society has held in the county of Rutland, it has been thought advisable that a brief statement should be given of the purposes for which it was established, and of the objects which it has in view. This office I shall now endeavour to discharge in as few words as possible, in order that I may not detain the meeting longer than is necessary for the purpose.

Now, first of all, it is, perhaps, scarcely necessary for me to state that the first and chief object of this Society, in common with many others of a similar kind established throughout the country, is to promote and encourage the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Mediæval Antiquities, and to regulate and train into a right direction that taste and admiration for the architecture of the middle ages which has, of late years, arisen throughout the country. When this feeling first arose in the early part of this century, after it had lain dormant, or rather, I should say, had been dead and buried, for two centuries and a half, it was but natural that, at first, and before the true principles of it had become generally known, it should break out into some strange eccentricities. Hence arose those numerous caricatures of Gothic architecture which were erected some 20 or 30 years ago, in which ornamental details of all the different styles were heaped together without

meaning or propriety, so as to bring discredit and ridicule on the whole subject, causing many persons of taste to loathe the very name of Gothic architecture, and to say with Sir Walter Scott's Antiquary, "Save us from this Gothic generation."

It is unnecessary now to mention the names of those persons to whose taste and ability and public spirit we owe it that the true principles of Ecclesiastical Architecture have been laid down, and a more correct taste has been diffused throughout the country at large; I merely now allude to this for the purpose of stating that these principles it is the desire of this Society to make generally known throughout the sphere of its operations, and this object it has proposed to accomplish partly by public meetings, such as this at which we are now assembled, but chiefly by means of its periodical publications, in which the different churches of the Archdeaconry (*i. e.* Northamptonshire and Rutlandshire) are represented and described, and the different parts of them pointed out which are most deserving of notice, and most worthy of imitation.

Such then, in brief, is one of the chief purposes for which this Society was founded. But it has another, and a very important, object in view—one with which few, I believe, are acquainted, but which deserves generally to be known, as it is, I conceive, of the utmost value and utility. This object is to afford advice and assistance in the repair and restoration of the churches throughout the Archdeaconry, and in the furtherance of this object, I am authorised to state, that the Society has the express sanction of the Venerable the Archdeacon, who has repeatedly, in his charges, advised that the Society should be consulted previously to the commencement of repair or restoration. Here, however, it should be observed, that, in pursuance of this plan, the Society does not take upon itself the office of a Church Building Society: the present state of its funds does not permit it to hold out the hope of affording pecuniary assistance. Neither does it interfere with the province of the professional architect; on the contrary, it recommends the employment of experienced architects in all cases where the proposed work is of any magnitude or importance.

This, then, is what the Society offers—to give advice; to offer suggestions founded on practical experience; to supply, wherever possible, working plans; and, when necessary, to appoint a sub-committee, in order to visit the church. And in this, I consider, that the value and benefit of a Society like this is very great indeed, not only to save an infinity of trouble to persons inexperienced on these subjects, but also to prevent a

great amount of unnecessary expense. I am confident, indeed, that had societies of this kind existed during the last two centuries our churches would not have presented that lamentable appearance of decay and desolation which is now too often to be seen; nor would they have been disfigured by those hideous deformities which now so often destroy the appearance of some of our most beautiful churches, and which have frequently been attended with a much greater expence than would have been occasioned by a judicious and appropriate restoration. Had, for instance, this Society existed at the time, I cannot conceive that the church of this town would ever have been disgraced by that extraordinary window which now disfigures the chancel; nor, I should imagine, could the beautiful church of Ketton—that exquisite specimen of its style—have been so ruthlessly and barbarously mangled as it now unhappily is. In nothing, perhaps, more than in the repair of our churches, does so much depend upon the first step: there are always, in every parish, plenty of persons to interpose obstacles and suggest difficulties. They look forward with horror to the dim perspective of architect's expenses, builder's accounts, and the illimitable abyss of "extras;" so that when a meeting is held on the subject of some necessary repair, unless some one is able to come forward and state *what* is to be done, and *how* it is to be done, it is agreed, with wonderful unanimity, that it will "last their time," or, perhaps, recourse is had to some miserable makeshifts, which only serve to aggravate the evil. Thus, the opportunity is lost, and the venerable old church is again left without protection to the tender mercies of the wind and weather. Is not this the history of the downward progress of many of our churches? And in what does it all end? At length the system of makeshifts, and of "lasting our time," comes to a close. The roof begins to give sundry warning cracks—the walls bulge out from the perpendicular—and the blue sky and the drifting clouds are visible between the wall and that piece of timber which can no longer bear the name of the wall-plate. At length it is agreed that something must be done. A vast expense now falls upon the parish, which, at an earlier period, might have been avoided at a comparatively trifling cost, and, very probably, owing to the greatness of the amount, the work is accomplished in an insufficient and unsatisfactory manner. Here, then, it is—to prevent this ruin and decay, and all these manifold evils, that this Society offers to come forward to give suggestions and advice as to the necessary repairs, and the means by which they may be effected. Nor

let any persons fear that, by having recourse to the advice of this Society, they will incur the danger of being led into unnecessary expense on account of ornamental details. There is no greater mistake than to suppose that Gothic Architecture requires superfluity of ornament to set it off. Many of our small country churches in the Decorated and Early English styles are almost without ornament of any kind; their beauty consists in their very simplicity; and yet they sometimes inspire the same feeling of reverential awe which is experienced amidst the clustered columns and high over-arching roofs of our venerable and magnificent cathedrals. True, indeed, it is that where the means of doing so are possessed, we did esteem it our privilege, as well as our duty, to offer to God of our best and most beautiful; still, I would say, that, where this is not in our power, richness of ornament is not required to constitute the beauty of Gothic Architecture. Look, for example, at the simple, yet beautiful, little churches in many of the small villages of this county;—look at Little Casterton, and Whitwell, and Manton, with their simple Early English bell-towers—how appropriate are they to the rural districts and quiet, peaceful hamlets in which they are situated! Only, it must be remembered, that where there are plainness of style and deficiency of ornament, so much the greater necessity is there for harmony of general effect, and for having recourse to those models of our best and purest styles, which this Society is enabled to give, in order that plainness and simplicity may not degenerate into poverty and meanness of appearance.

But it is not only to the exterior of our sacred edifices that this Society turns its attention, but it is also ready to offer the same assistance in the restoration of the interior also, in the re-arrangement of the seats of the church, both for the accommodation of the congregation, and especially for the better adaptation to the purposes of social and public worship. In how many of our churches, unhappily, is the present arrangement of the seats not only most unsightly in appearance and unworthy of God's house, but also unsuited for the purposes of public worship. How often is the whole body of the church occupied by high unsightly boxes of every shape and size, with their high wooden walls well adapting them for the undisturbed slumber of the privileged classes, while the poor and old and deaf are driven into remote corners, or under galleries, where they can neither see nor hear, and so eventually are driven from the church altogether. And yet when a word respecting the alteration of the seats is mentioned, what heartburnings and jealousies immediately arise, so much so indeed,

that it sometimes becomes almost a questionable point, whether it would not be better to leave them in their present situation, however unseemly and disgraceful, than incur the ill-will and jealousy which their re-arrangement will probably occasion. Here then, again I say, the Society steps in, and with the most excellent results—for it frequently happens that suggestions and advice from independent persons, and persons living at a distance, are received with less of jealousy and suspicion than when coming from those of the same parish, on whom naturally falls this onerous and disagreeable duty.

Such, then, are the main objects which this Society purposes to effect. It will be seen by annual Reports how far it has hitherto succeeded; and that, in many instances throughout the Archdeaconry, its advice has been sought and followed. Other objects it has in view, but on these it is not necessary any longer to detain you—only, before I conclude, I would beg permission to congratulate the county that you, my Lord, have moved your head-quarters into this part of your architectural dominions. I rejoice in it not merely because it will, I should imagine, give an additional stimulus to a graceful and interesting study, but on much higher grounds—because I think that meetings such as these tend to advance the best interests of religion, by promoting the fitting repair and restoration of our churches, and their better adaptation to the pure and spiritual services of our church. This, I believe, is your Lordship's first visit here for this purpose. I trust it will not be the last. I think that the Religious Edifices of this county afford much to interest all true lovers of the ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of our country. We cannot, indeed, vie with the magnificent churches which adorn the neighbouring county of Lincoln,—such as Boston and Louth and Heckington, that pure and unrivalled specimen of the decorated style. Neither have we anything to match that region of beautiful spires, where Higham, and Raunds, and Rushden, stand proudly pre-eminent. We have, however, the stately edifices of Whissendine and Oakham, and the beautiful church of Ketton, beautiful in spite of the barbarisms that have been perpetrated upon it. But the chief feature in the churches of this county is the very great predominance of Norman and Transition remains. Thus, passing from the western to the eastern side of the county, we meet, without interruption, with a succession of churches which all bear, more or less, distinguishing marks of the same early period, and some of the most interesting character, and such as will entitle them to hold no mean rank in the publications of the Society. There are, also,

many other points of great antiquarian interest throughout the county, well deserving the attention of all who are interested in such pursuits. I have, however, already detained the meeting too long from the interesting papers we are about to hear, and I therefore conclude by thanking you for the kind attention with which you have heard me, and with the expression of a sincere and earnest hope that this meeting will be attended with the best results, in advancing the interests of this Society, and in promoting the high and admirable objects which it has in view to accomplish.

The Rev. HENRY ROSE then read a paper on the Painted Glass in Stanford Church, Northamptonshire, by Mr. Winston, since published in No. XIII. of the Churches of the Archdeaconry.

M. H. BLOXAM, Esq., read a very interesting paper on a Monumental Effigy in Conington Church, Hunts, which has been since published in No. XVIII. of the Archæological Journal, vol. v., p. 146. The effigy is that of a Knight of the fourteenth century, represented in the habit of a Franciscan, illustrating the passage of Milton,

“ And they who, to be sure of Paradise,
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised.”

The subject was further illustrated by many curious and recondite passages from early English writers.

The Rev. G. A. POOLE, after some general remarks on buttresses, as a source of character, called attention to a series of Perpendicular towers and spires in this Diocese, and mostly in this Archdeaconry, which are collected into one group by certain peculiarities found in all, but especially by their buttresses which, unlike any others of their date, clasp the angles of the tower, as is not unusual in Early English examples. It is difficult to convey an impression of the peculiarities alluded to, without drawings; it may, therefore, be as well to refer to three of the churches, of which engravings have already been published, which will take away the necessity of a lengthened description. These are Brampton, figured by Messrs. Brandon, in their “ Parish Churches ” Kingsthorpe, of which a

view is given in Mr. Parker's late edition of Rickman ; and Welford, a view of the tower of which is given in the margin.

The Towers which are of this character are the following :—

Church Langton, in Leicestershire, the finest, and, apparently, the earliest of the whole number.

Welford, in Northamptonshire, perhaps the next in merit.

Warkton, in Northamptonshire, a more elaborate, but not a better specimen, and with many variations from the general type.

Hazlebeeche,
Marston Trussel,
Winwick,
Holcot,
Harrowden,
Isham,

} All in Northamptonshire.

The Spires are as follows :—

South Kilworth, in Leicestershire.

Kelmarsh,
Brampton,
Desborough,
Thorpe Malsor,

} In Northamptonshire.

These five are Broach Spires, though decidedly Perpendicular in date.

The four following rise from within parapets, as is almost universally the case with Perpendicular spires :—

Theddingworth, in Leicestershire.

Edith Weston, in Rutland.

Kingsthorpe,
Cransley,

} In Northamptonshire.



Tower of Welford Church.

In these cases the spires are coeval with the towers on which they are placed, and though, of course, without the distinctive buttress, they have other characteristics which are so peculiar and so nearly unvaried throughout the series that they would be classed together, though the towers were quite dissimilar. The frequent occurrence of the broach, of which Stanion has been cited by Mr. Paley as the only Perpendicular specimen, and the use of the same tracery in the spire lights, are the most obvious resemblances.

If these towers and spires are of one well marked character, we shall expect to find insertions, alterations and additions in other steeples in the same district, bearing similar distinctive characters. Accordingly we find the following :—

Caldecote, in Rutland, has the same buttresses in the lower stage, though above they are different, which is also the case at Edith Weston, before mentioned.

Carleton, in Rutland, and Braybrook, in Northamptonshire, have the same belfry story, and the same spire, the latter a broach.

Loddington, in Northamptonshire, has an Early English tower, with the broach spire of this series added.

Naseby, in Northamptonshire, has a Decorated tower, but the belfry story is clearly of this series.

The tower of Arthingworth, in Northamptonshire, is connected with Hazelbeeche, Braybrook and Brampton by certain peculiarities of decoration, and, through them, with the whole group.

Harrington, in Northamptonshire, has a modern tower, but apparently in imitation of an original tower of the same class.

The lower part of Rothwell tower is Early English, or perhaps Transition; the belfry is very recent, but it is apparently a clumsy imitation of a belfry of this series, and if so, a belfry had doubtless been erected while the churches before mentioned were in progress.

And last, but most beautiful of the whole series,—

Stanion, in Northamptonshire, which has not the buttresses of the group, but which has all the other peculiarities, especially the broach spire, and the elegant tracery of the spire lights.

There are, of course, differences of detail which prevent these several towers and spires from being mere repetitions of the same design; the resemblance, however, or, rather, the absolute uniformity, extends through the set-offs, the mouldings, the tracery, the cusplings, and other distinctive portions. The tower arches are all wide and lofty.

As a rule almost universal, the towers are more recent than the naves against which they are placed,* and they form a perfect composition themselves, the buttresses being carried down to the ground on the east as well as on the west side, and in the same manner. With respect to the varieties, they are such as tend to bring some other towers into the group, which would not otherwise have been included in it. For instance, the west door of Warkton is under a square head, and so is that of Stanion, which wants the peculiar buttresses: and the tracery of the belfry windows at Warkton, which is very peculiar, is of the same character with that of the spire lights of Desborough, which would else be disengaged from the series, though the tower decidedly belongs to it.

Mr. Poole was unable to throw any more immediate light on the history of these towers, or any of them; but it seemed to him that to have brought them together as decidedly of one class, was not an unimportant service to the Ecclesiology of the district. He was anxious to hear the remarks of others on the subject, and especially to elicit any documentary evidence of the erection of any in the series, that he might recur to the question with better information on some future occasion.

Mr. Poole afterwards read a paper on THE HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS', OAKHAM, WITH ITS DEPENDENCIES, from which the following portions, more nearly touching the fabric of the Mother Church, are extracted.

The large and beautiful, but still more singular, church of ALL SAINTS, Oakham, consists of engaged west tower and spire, nave, north and south aisles, chancel, north and south chantries, double transepts north and south, and south porch and vestry, or *domus inclusa*, over each of which was formerly a chamber. These portions we shall describe in order of their dates.†

Although we read of a church here in Domesday, we have now no trace of its existence.

* Brampton is the only church built at the same time with the tower. The south chantry of Braybrook, may, however, be of the same date with the spire, which belongs to this series, though erected on an earlier tower.

† At the meeting, a plan was used to facilitate the description.

THE FONT is the most ancient part remaining, and this, which is circular, and decorated with an arcade of semicircular arches, is Late Norman, or Transitional, as appears from the caps of the shafts on which it once rested. The stone on which it is now placed has no natural connexion with it.

There are much larger portions remaining to prove that there was a church here, and that of some considerable pretensions, in the time of Henry III., when the first recorded presentation by the Abbey of Westminster took place. These Early English portions are the outer door of the south porch, as well as the south door of the church, the arcade of five arches on each side of the interior of the porch, the chancel arch, but not the brackets on which it rests, and the inserted blank arch, to receive an image or a picture, in the east wall of the south transept.* The latter does not seem to have any structural relation to the place which it now occupies, and was probably brought from some other part of the church.

The characters by which the date of these portions is determined are the *nail-head* ornament on the capitals in the porch, and on the arch in the south transept; the *square section of the mouldings*,† especially remarkable in the chancel arch; and the *peculiar character of the foliage*, more especially remarkable on the caps of the jamb shafts on the west side of the south door.

We infer, then, from these remains that there was a church here, consisting of nave, aisles, chancel and south porch at least, in the thirteenth century; and, as the chancel arch and the porch occupied the same relative positions then as now, it must have been a very extensive edifice.

But towards the close of that century, or the beginning of the next, the good people of Oakham began to be dissatisfied with their church, and almost entirely re-built it. Of this Early Decorated date there are many parts still existing, indeed it is this which gives the chief portion of the interior character of the fabric, for to this time are to be referred the pillars and arches on either side of the nave. The distinctive characters here are the sections of the pillars, and of the mouldings of the arches, and the profiles and carving of the capitals. The arch mouldings have a great general resemblance to those of the chancel arch, but do not per-

* Parts of the piers of the north tower arch seem also to be Early English materials, used in the later structure.

† To use more technical language, all the mouldings occupy the wall and soffit planes.

fectly occupy the two rectangular planes of the wall and soffit. The section of the pillars is a square with a little less than a three-quarter circle, with a fillet on its surface, attached to each side, leaving the angles free. The profile of the capitals commences with a moulding at the abacus, which appears, at first sight, to be the scroll moulding, but, on closer examination, the upper member is flat, and square above—a mark of greater antiquity.*

Besides the nave and aisles, thus rendered Decorated in their character, (for the windows and buttresses, also, are of the same date, though the windows are all filled with later tracery, and though the parapets and clerestory give a Perpendicular aspect to the church on a general view,) the south chantry was probably added at the same time, the *shafts* of the

* The carvings appear on the capitals of the pillars, and are both very rich in design, and admirably executed. They are in the following order, beginning at the east of the south aisle :—

I. The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise; the Salutation; and the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. This series of subjects on one capital represents the Fall of Man and its Consequences; the Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the flesh, the remedy of sin; and the Glorification of the Redeemed in the Church, the consummation of the work of the Incarnate God.

II. The Evangelical Symbols, representing the Four Gospels, through which these things are made known to man.

III. Four Angels, representing the Heavenly Host, with whom fallen man holds communion through the doctrines represented on the first capital, and related by the Evangelists, whose symbols are on the second capital.

IV. Here the sculptor deserts his Theological subjects, and portrays a fox running away with a goose on his back, followed by the goslings, and by a man with a besom; and, on the other side, an ape with his clog. The design and execution of this capital are extremely spirited.

V. A Pelican in her Piety. A well recognized symbol of our Blessed Saviour.

Beginning at the west end of the north aisle,

I. A doubtful subject: perhaps the Expulsion from Paradise; and, if so, correlative with the symbol of our Saviour on the other side, being again Sin and its Remedy.

II. Masks and Monsters.

III. Masks and Monsters.

IV. Masks and Foliage. The Foliage here is extremely characteristic of the Decorated era. It does not, like that in the porch, rise on apparent stems from the neck of the capital, and curl under the abacus, like the classic acanthus, but it encircles the bell of the capital through its whole height, as with a wreath. Two other characteristic types of Foliage we shall have to note by and bye, in more recent portions of the church.

V. Monsters.

pillars being indetical with those just described, though the bases and capitals seem to be imitations only of those in the nave, the capitals especially having the Tudor flower, a highly conventional type of foliage, inconsistent with any date before the fifteenth century.

The chancel also was, doubtless, of the same date with the nave; for the mouldings of the jambs of the east window give a Decorated section; and there is a Decorated piscina still left in the small portion of wall between the east end and the spring of the first arch of the south chantry.

After this time comes a perplexing portion of the fabric.

Apparently, on many accounts, of the same date, yet with not only different mouldings, but with mouldings of a very different *type*, is the curious double transept on either side, abutting on the piers of the nave. The arches here are of two orders, with a hollowed chamfer—generally an early section. The pillars are slender and octagonal; the capitals have a less bold, but more complicated, section than those of the nave pillars, and they are without foliage or other sculpture; but of the same date with these is a bracket inserted in the south tower wall, with a figure of a harper below it, and also the sculptured brackets which support the chancel arch. On the south bracket there is a very characteristic piece of Decorated foliage. It is an *oak* branch, with acorns (perhaps with allusion to *Oakham*), carved with a regard to nature, not found either in the preceding or subsequent style.

The steeple, to which the church, and, indeed, the whole place, owes so much in a distant view, is next in order of date. It is a fine mass, and, from its size and height, is a commanding feature, but it is not happily composed. The buttresses, of poor projection, are frittered away by no fewer than fourteen divisions in strings and set-offs. The west door and window form one composition, of remarkable poverty, though this arrangement is generally very good. The tracery of the belfry lights is coarse and heavy. The parapet and the pinnacles or turrets are also heavy, and that without any constructive necessity. Viewed as a composition, the whole of the tower is Perpendicular in outline and in general character; it is, in fact, late Decorated, perhaps about the year 1370.

The spire is assigned, on the authority of his will, still existing in the Prerogative Office (Lib. Luffnam, f. 69), to have been built at the expense of Roger Flower, of Oakham, who died in 1424, but, in character, it is at least half a century earlier, perhaps designedly, that it may be in harmony with the tower.

We now turn to a piece of ecclesiastical biography which has, out of all reasonable doubt, much connection with this church and that of Langham.

The patronage of Oakham was in the Abbey of Westminster, and in that Abbey we find, in 1335, a monk named Simon, and, from his birth-place, de Langham. What were his pursuits, and how he fared among his brethren, either at his native place, or in his early monastic life, does not appear. He was doubtless baptized in the font now existing at Langham, and he trod the cloisters and the noble church of Westminster, from which a man of high mind could not fail to gather some lessons which would not let him grow less in usefulness and in a lasting reputation. In April, 1349, he was prior, and in the next month abbot, of his fraternity. While in this high office he was a great reformer of abuses, and showed talents in governing which recommended him to the king (Edward III.), who made him Treasurer in 1360, and Chancellor in 1364, having already, in 1362, rewarded his services with the rich bishopric of Ely.

In 1366, he was translated to Canterbury, on which occasion, some one remembering his zeal as a reformer, indited the following pasquinade:—

“ Exultent Coeli, quia Simon transit ab Ely,
Ad cujus advertum flent in Kent millia centum : ”

which I shall translate thus—

“ In Ely all
Keep festival,
At Simon's exit merry,
In Kent, a Lent
As deep they keep,
For luckless Canterbury.”

In 1368, the Pope gave him a cardinal's hat ; and the King was so much offended that the Archbishop was obliged to resign his archbishopric, and to take refuge beyond the seas : nor was the royal indignation spent by 1374, when, at the death of Whittlesea, who was obtruded into a throne not canonically vacant, the monks prayed the return of the exiled bishop, and brought on themselves the king's anger.

In 1376, Simon de Langham died, enormously rich, for those times, and left the mass of his wealth to the fabric of Westminster Abbey. He was buried first at Avignon, and, after an interval of three years, his body was removed to Westminster.

Now, we have no *direct* evidence that Simon de Langham did anything to the church of Oakham, or that he otherwise benefitted the place of his nativity ; but he lived in an age in which the affections of great men almost invariably turned, to some good purpose, to the place of their birth or other accidental relations ; and, if the contemporary of Bishop Edington and William of Wykeham remembered the church in which his fathers had worshipped, and in which he had first served God, he will not, on that account, be thought singular.

The most unpractised eye will discern a marked difference between the two chantries, and any portion of the church yet described. Now, the north chantry belonged peculiarly to the Abbey of Westminster, and very early in the reign of the Perpendicular style this chantry was rebuilt as it now appears, and it can hardly have been commenced long after the death of Simon de Langham. Nor is there any more likely occasion for its erection at that time than the large bequest of that prelate to the Abbey of Westminster. There was already a chantry here, but that it did not extend so far eastward is clear from the fact that the angle buttresses at the north-east end of the chancel clearly denote that the chancel terminated originally farther east than the chantry at its side. Probably the chantry was enlarged at the time we speak of in all its dimensions, as well as enriched in all its parts. And when this enlarged chantry was finished, that at the south, if there was one, would appear too small, or if there was none, the zeal of some individual or guild was stimulated to erect one which should vie with that opposite, and only a little later the chantry now remaining at the south was erected. Here the sections of the pillars, with the arrangement of the capitals and bases, are pure Perpendicular. The vestry, or *domus inclusa*, was attached to this chantry after it was finished ; but so soon after that the mouldings of the door, both to the lower and upper chamber, agree well with those of the pillars and arches.

Also, shortly after the date of the chantries, a noble Perpendicular clerestory was given to the nave, and a very good crenellated parapet was carried over the whole of the church.

A more minute examination of this fabric can scarcely be attempted, except on the spot, or with the help of abundant illustrations. I must, however, call attention to one of the many barbarisms committed of late years, under the name of restoration. This I will do by relating what happened to me yesterday.

In my first circuit of the exterior of the church, while I was standing before the east window, a workman came up and said, "That is a shocking window, sir; terribly debased!" The man was right: and I choose to say it in his words rather than my own, both for their intrinsic force and truth, and because the whole story proves that our architectural taste and knowledge have *descended*, which is exactly what we most wish; and that workmen now know and feel something of a better principle than either parsimony or expediency. Let us go on thus; and whereas a few years past it would have been impossible to build a *good* church, it will, in a few years to come, be impossible to build a *bad* one.

The Meeting afterwards adjourned to the Hall of the Castle, on which, and the Manor of Oakham, the Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE read a most elaborate and complete history, as far as the materials allow. This paper has also been published at length in No. XVIII. of the *Archæological Journal*, vol. v., p. 124. He assigned the building of the Hall to a date ranging between 1180 and 1190, and its probable erection to Walkelin de Ferrars, who at that time held the Barony of Oakham by tenure of the service of a knight's fee and a half. The architectural portion of the paper is as follows:—

"The Hall seems to have undergone but a trifling alteration since the period of its erection in the end of the 12th century. Its architectural character is of that unmingled nature that it will require but little description. It is in all respects conformable to what is considered the most interesting of the various styles, as it belongs to the period when the plain and massive Norman was gradually merging into Early English. The features of this style partake of the peculiarities of both. The example before us is what may be termed pure Transitional. This is particularly observable in the pointed lights, which are placed within segmental arches, with dog-tooth ornaments in their jambs, as well as in the comparative massiveness of the buttresses, and the larger size of the stone ashlars, where they are used for walling at the top of the building. These features, as well as the flowing and enriching form of the capitals, the square abacus, with the angles slightly canted, entirely assimilate with the capitals of the choir on the south side of Canterbury Cathedral. Closer resemblance in foliation it would be difficult to adduce. They are, moreover, analogous to capitals in the Cathedrals of Soissons and Oxford.

The Chancel-arch of Edith-Weston, in the immediate neighbourhood, helps to connect the local character with these distinguishing marks of the Transitional style—a style which may be equally discerned in the interior of the hall as in the pointed windows without. The stone used for dressing is a fine grained shelly oolite, from Clipsham, not so coarse as the Barnack stone, nor so delicate as the Ketton—harder than the latter, and more readily worked than the former. Witness, in proof, the exquisitely sculptured heads under the brackets which form the responds to the arches at either end, and on both sides of the hall. The wall of enclosure (*cingulum*) is built of a coarse ferruginous upper member of the oolite, with mortar made without much lime. The hall is divided by these shafts on either side into four bays, like that formerly existing at Barnack, proportionately, as Neeham, a writer in the twelfth century, says was the rule. It is smaller, though earlier, than the hall at Winchester, but in its various sculptures and points of detail infinitely more beautiful; nothing, in fact, exceeds the spirit and gracefulness of the different heads. Those of Henry II. and his wife, Margaret of Guienne, opposite the former door of entrance, as placed in the most prominent part, are peculiarly deserving attention. After this, it need scarcely be said that the present position of the door is not the original one. When Buck published his view in 1720, it was at the east end, answering partially to that at Winchester, and entirely to that in the refectory at Dover. The ancient roof was probably semicircular, like that existing still in the Bishop's Palace at Hereford. The oldest portions of the present one are two red beams, put up by Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who also built the gateway. This, the most perfect specimen of domestic architecture of the twelfth century which probably exists in any country, is also one of those monuments whose interest can never become evanescent. It is one which tells the early history, not merely of the little county of Rutland, but it carries us back to the habits and usages of our forefathers to a remote period, when there are but scanty materials from which a knowledge of them may be gathered, and thence handed down for the instruction of posterity."

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the authors of the several papers; to the Rev. H. Finch and the Rev. H. Green, for their kind attention shewn in the arrangements for the meeting; and to the noble President for his services in the chair.

After the meeting, Mr. Hartshorne accompanied a party round the exterior and grounds of the Castle; and subsequently Mr. Poole illustrated, on the spot, his paper on the Church. An excursion was made, the following day, by the noble President and other Members of the Society, to some of the more remarkable of the Rutlandshire Churches.

The Public Autumn Meeting was held at the George Inn, Northampton, on Tuesday, October 17th, the Marquis of Northampton in the chair. There was a very large attendance of the chief families of the town and county. The Viscount Campden, the Bishop of Adelaide, and the Rev. Heneage Finch were elected Vice-Presidents; the Rev. H. J. Bigge was elected Librarian. After the reading of the Report by one of the Secretaries, the Rev. HENRY ROSE read a paper on the "Architectural State of the town of Northampton before the Dissolution of Religious Houses, with especial reference to existing Churches." The following is an abstract of it:—

"Northampton does not appear to have been a place of much importance till after the Conquest, in 1076.

"Simon de St. Liz, the first Norman Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, married Maude, daughter of Judith, the Conqueror's niece, and in 1084, in conjunction with his Countess, gave all the churches of Northampton to the Priory of St. Andrew's. These were then ten in number; and after the said Simon de St. Liz had built the Castle, and surrounded the town with walls, eight were within and two without the walls. In the Liber Regis, mention is made of the parish and church of St. George, united to St. Peter's, and probably, therefore, within the walls; and in the register of St. James's Abbey, near Northampton; the names of two other churches occur—St. Margaret's, without the west gate, and St. Martin's, said to be in St. Martin's-street, but all tradition even of such a street is now lost. It was, probably, within the walls, and, if so, there must once have been ten churches within, and three in the suburbs of the town. There were also within the walls four houses of Friars, the Hospital of St. John and the College of All Saints, and without the south gate the Hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Leonard. And Tanner mentions a seal in the possession of Dr. Rawlinson, with this inscription—"SIGILLUM SANCTÆ CRUCIS IN MURO NORTHAMPTONIÆ," but adds, he was not able

to discover to what foundation it belonged. Bridges, however, mentions a large building as existing once at the south east corner of the town wall, with a tower at the west end of it. Could this be the House of St. Cross? There are three crypts, as they are called, under private houses, but they probably were all of them domestic, and built originally for cellars. Leland says, all the houses in the old town were of stone, but those which succeeded them, and which he saw, were of timber. Northampton suffered much from civil wars, and the cellars of the ruined habitations are mentioned in a preamble of an act of parliament, 27 Hen. VIII., c. 1, 1535-6. Hen. VIII., in 1533-4, sent his librarian, Leland, on a tour of inspection of Religious Houses throughout England. He came to Northampton in those years, and in his itinerary mentions only seven parish churches within the walls, besides St. Catherine's, which he calls a Chapel of Ease to All Saints, and two in the suburbs, whereof he says, 'I saw one in the west suburb, as I rode over the west bridge, fairly arched with stone, under the which Avon itself, not yet augmented with Weedon water, doth run.' This, as appears from the will of John Widenkund, merchant, of the Staple, at Calais, dated June 3, 1490, must have been St. Margaret's. Leland also says, that he saw the ruins of a large chapel without the north gate. This might have been the church of St. Bartholomew, or (as it was also called) St. Lawrence. If so, the other church mentioned by him as being in the suburbs must have been St. Edmund's, without the east gate. There was a Market Cross of wood and stone, in the centre of the Market Place, which was destroyed by the great fire of 1675. A very few years ago, there stood, at the south-west corner of All Saints' churchyard wall, a conduit of stone, octagonal, and of good Perpendicular architecture. Of the original church only the tower remains, which is terminated by a modern balustrade and cupola. The churches of St. Peter, St. Giles and St. Sepulchre remain. The east end of St. Gregory's, converted into a Free Grammar School by Cardinal Pole, with some capitals and bases, and portions of columns in the master's garden. The churchyards of St. Mary and St. Catherine remain and are still used. Some remains also are still visible of the House of Friars Augustine, mixed up with modern dwellings; and in the Horsemarket are also some remains of the House of the Black Friars. The Hospital of St. John still remains entire, founded by William, Archdeacon of Northampton, in 1137. But none of the present buildings are of that date. In the master's house, some of the walls and one window may be as early as 1200, but the chapel and

west end of the hospital in Bridge-street cannot be earlier than about 1325; the west end of the chapel and the rest of the domestic part not earlier than 1500; the south wall of the chapel has been re-built about 1750. St. Thomas's Hospital remains in a mutilated condition, but was abandoned by the Society a few years ago, and has been converted partly into a dwelling, a stable and a carpenter's shop. In the east window of the chapel is still some painted glass. It was founded 1450, and might be easily restored."

The Rev. W. THORNTON then read a paper "Upon the Stained Glass of some Cathedrals and Parish Churches in Normandy, made in Sept., 1847," of which the following is the substance:—

"The interest in glass-painting which is now rapidly diffusing itself amongst lovers of the decorative arts, is still of so recent an origin that even in antiquarian and topographical writings of the present century very little upon this subject is to be found. The works of Ducarel, Dawson, Turner, and Dibdin contain little more than the most casual and uninformative allusions to the painted glass existing in Normandy, though all these writers combined a general taste for mediæval art with much deeper research into particular branches of it.

"Neither is this deficiency supplied at present by French authors in any competent degree. With regard to Normandy, I believe that M. Langlois' small volume on the Stained Glass of Rouen and a few neighbouring towns, hitherto stands alone.

"On this account, the following notes, although the result of very cursory observations and limited knowledge, are offered without hesitation, in the hope that a very interesting field of enquiry will ere long attract more competent observers; for the specimens which still exist in Normandy would probably supply material sufficient to elucidate the progress of the art of glass-painting from the thirteenth century downwards, without many interruptions, to the present day.

"Commencing with the west of Normandy, perhaps it may be desirable to indicate the towns of Avranches, Mortain, Vire and Granville as entirely deficient in stained glass. COUTANCES, on the contrary, is particularly rich, and in very instructive specimens. The most valuable are those contained in the Cathedral. There every style practised in the thirteenth century may be studied with advantage. In the south chapels, and in

some clerestory windows of the north transept are windows decorated in the earliest and most simple style, with patterns painted in brown enamel, and enclosed by a narrow border of stained glass (either continuous or at intervals) adapted to the general form of the window. In some cases they exhibit nothing more than a single leaf, repeated within lozenge-shaped outlines, correspondent with the leads; in others they are arabesques, rudely drawn upon a ground of coarse hatching, but with great freedom, so as to occupy symmetrically the entire breadth of the window. In the clerestory of the choir the windows are decorated with paintings of a much higher and more costly character. These sacred and transcendental subjects, such as the Vision of Ezekiel, &c., are represented on so large a scale as to be distinctly intelligible from the pavement below. The outlines are bold, and the colouring very vivid and rich. But the lofty window which occupies the end of the north transept probably deserves more attentive study than any other. Its lights, unbroken by transoms, are filled throughout with a series of legendary subjects, enclosed in medallions, upon a richly-decorated ground. The figures in each of these compositions are somewhat less than half the size of life; each group is usually confined to a small number, and the action and gestures represented possess, in an eminent degree, the distinctness characteristic of the thirteenth century. The balance of forms and colours throughout the whole window causes the general effect to be particularly light and brilliant, although somewhat obscured by the lichens and corrosion of six-centuries.

"Several of the lower windows of the nave have been adorned with modern glass in the same style, in the medallions of which are introduced historical subjects connected with the missionaries who converted Normandy and its earliest bishops. It would be invidious to compare them with the works which they help us to appreciate. They do credit to the reviving zeal of the present generation, and suggest the most appropriate of all subjects for such a situation.

"St. Peter's Church, at COUTANCES, contains a number of brilliantly-decorated windows, which I should attribute to the end of the fifteenth century. The subjects are chiefly historical and legendary, occupying several adjacent lights, and exhibit groups of figures approaching the size of life. But some of them have, I think, suffered considerable dislocation.

"At St. Lo, several windows of the Cathedral, particularly in the north aisle, contain good specimens, attributable to an earlier part of the fifteenth

century. The figures are large, numerous, and tolerably well drawn; but the carnations are almost colourless, and the whole effect rather flat and unimposing.

"The student should observe a beautiful window of the following century, preserved and in a very perfect state, in a south-east chapel of this cathedral. Within a broad golden zone, which embodies finely-designed groups of the heavenly host, appear three large figures, throned, representing the Holy Trinity: beneath, the Blessed Virgin Mary occupies a central place between two portraits (on a smaller scale) of the persons whose piety made an offering of this window. Subordinate ornaments, in the cinquecento style, establish the probable date of its erection.

"Two or three very small specimens of the thirteenth century, one representing the Crucifixion, still remain in the chapel of a hospital at St. Lo, on the western side of the town.

"BAYEUX Cathedral has also a few fragments of stained glass, belonging to the earliest period, in the south aisle of the choir; and in the west window a large extent of broken and dislocated examples of the art during the fourteenth century, but they are only interesting upon close observation.

"Here, as at Coutances, some handsome windows, in the earliest style, have been lately introduced, which contain, in medallions, subjects from the ecclesiastical history of the diocese, during the era of its conversion from Paganism.

"CAEN, notwithstanding its architectural riches, disappoints the searcher for stained glass. None is to be seen in either of its celebrated Abbeys. The east window of St. Saviour's Church still preserves the head of a magnificent stem of Jesse, the foliage of which is beautiful. Its date may be conjectured to be within a few years of 1500 A.D. The Church of St. John has likewise, in the tracery of its flamboyant windows, some small, but very brilliant, relics of the same age; small human or angelic (in one instance Divine) figures, chiefly in white draperies, arrest the eye, in beautiful contrast to blue or crimson grounds. There are in the same church some unimportant relics of a later period.

"CAUDEBEC, within the circuit of a single parochial church, embraces a suite of examples, not only of great individual interest, but which afford the opportunity of studying, in juxta-position, several successive styles which prevailed in France for the period of more than a century. In connexion with the historical progress in this art, their numerous exact dates attached give them a peculiar value, independent of their intrinsic merit.

"The earliest window of which the age is thus authenticated was made at the expense of a company, in the year A.D. 1462. That they were tanners, or workers in leather, may be inferred from a subject in one of the lights, where the Colossal figure of a Patron Saint, invested with the leather apron of the fraternity, and holding an implement of their trade in his hand, receives the homage of a member kneeling beneath. In the other two lights are analogous compositions. The drawing of these figures is correct and noble. The naked parts of the figures are painted with brown enamels upon clear glass: behind them a richly-coloured diaper extends itself over the back of a canopy, which rises in tabernacle-work of a soft and pearly lustre to the tracery-openings above. In a north window, west of the doorway, is a series of designs from the life of St. John the Baptist, in rectangular panels, with an inscription in Roman characters under each, relating in French the action represented above. The groups in each scene are numerous, and the back grounds are wholly filled with colour, so as to include no transparent glass. The last panel contains portraits of the donors and their family (several of which had been already introduced as disciples of the Baptist), and the date 1531 still remains.

"But a much more beautiful specimen of this period (dated 1530) adorns the west window of the south aisle. It was offered by the priests then officiating at Caudebec, and represents, above the transom, the institution of the Eucharist, and, below, a procession of the Host. Both subjects occupy the entire breadth of the window, and the whole compositions and drawing breathe Italian art. In an adjacent window composition, similar in style and age, but of far inferior merit, represent, on the same scale, the passage of the Red Sea and the miraculous fall of manna.

"More recent examples, prominent with rich, but cumbrous, arabesques, in the cinquecento style, of many colours, may be studied in one or two windows on the north side. A flamboyant window in one of the south chapels has paintings inferior in colour to the last, inscribed 1556, in one of which the donor appears kneeling to a figure of St. Nicholas above him. Finally, the Lady Chapel has a window filled with legendary subject, in small square compartments, bearing the date 1603. Their quality as works of art would tend to corroborate the date, did not the costumes suggest that they were actually painted at an earlier period. In justice to the inhabitants of Caudebec, must be mentioned one modern window,

representing scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which are far from devoid of merit, although the tone of colouring is too uniformly warm, and rather opaque.

"LILLEBONE Church contains a few portions of stained glass, very well executed in the bright and cheerful style which prevailed during the reign of Louis XII. The figures are middle sized, and lead one to regret that so much of the original paintings have perished.

"For an account of the stained glass in Rouen, Elbeuf, &c., it will be sufficient to refer the reader to M. Langlois's interesting account.

"It may be useful to append to the preceding observations a brief notice of two or three short treatises, the price of which brings them within the reach of every student:—

"1. Langlois E. H. *Essai historique et descriptif sur la peinture en verre, ancienne et moderne.* Orné de 7 planches. 8vo. Rouen, 1832.

"2. Vigné, *peinture sur verre.* pp. 51. 8vo. Paris, Just-Tessier, 1840.

"3. Thibaud Emile *considerations historiques et critiques sur les vitraux anciens et moderne.* 3 planches, 8vo. Paris, 1842.

"4. Texier l'Abbe, *histoire de la peinture sur verre en Limousin, avec 6 planches.* 8vo. Paris, Didron, 1847."

After some preliminary remarks on the number and character of the Churches before the Norman Conquest, and some attempts to account for the total destruction of so many, and for the preservation of that of Brixworth, the Rev. G. A. POOLE proceeded to describe the Saxon remains of the present church, together with such part of the original fabric as could be certainly inferred from what is now discernible. The following is a short abstract of the description:—

"The ascertainable history of the Church of Brixworth, is included in the following few words from Leland:—*'Saxulphus post suum principale monasterium parturit et ædificavit suffraganea cænobia.....unde factum est ut ex ipso monasterio Medeshamstedensi plura alia sint condita, et de eadem congregatione monachi et abbates constituti, sicut ad ANCARIG, quod modo THORNEIA dicitur, et ad BRICKLESWORTH et ad plura alia.'*

"The ground plan of the age of Saxulphus, *i.e.*, about A.D. 700, consisted of a nave and aisles, a choir, an apsidal presbytery, and a west tower. The nave of four bays. The arches quite plain, and supported by square piers, or fragments of wall, rather than pillars. The aisles extended

the whole length of the nave, and had each a square chamber at each end opening into the tower and chancel respectively. The choir had neither north and south windows, nor a clerestory, but two windows opened eastward over the roof of the apse. The apse was, externally, of seven sides of a dodecagon, inscribed around the outer wall of a circle of 19 feet diameter, which formed the inside of the apse, the two last sides of the outer apse and a tangent of the inner circle being prolonged till they met the walls of the choir. This apse was lighted, probably, by three windows, and the outer walls were finished with buttresses of very slight projection at each angle. The floor of the chancel was at least six feet above that of the choir and above its present level. Surrounding the apse was a passage, itself entered by a door from the choir, and by a descent of five steps (of which three are still visible), of ten inches each in height.

"The tower, which seems to have been the principal entrance to the church, opened into the nave by a wide and lofty arch. But, at some time before the Norman era, the west entrance was closed from without by a very remarkable addition to the tower, which appears, on the exterior, as a semicircular projection, and within carries a stair beyond the top of the actual remains of the original tower. The erection of this stair was connected with very considerable changes in the fabric.

"The roof having perished, either from age or violence, was restored; this, as in a parallel case at Canterbury, in the tenth century, was effected with the intervention of a clerestory.

"The western end of the nave, and the adjoining portions, were not less altered. The tower originally opened outward by a wide and high door, and into the nave by a lofty arch. Now, the west entrance to the tower is curtailed in its width and height by the present stair turret, which is entered only from the tower, and opens into it again at the height of about twenty feet, and also at its highest point. Moreover, the entrance to the nave is very much reduced in height, and three arches are opened upon the crown of the old tower arch. These arches are at the same level with the first entrance from the stair to the tower, so that a person entering the tower from the stair, and walking across it, would at once look down upon the interior of the nave. The stair turret itself is chiefly remarkable for its rude construction.

"And now, presuming the Saxon Church to be concluded, let us take our stand just under the entrance to the stair turret, to form a notion of the general interior effect.

"First, after the tower, appears the nave with its high and very massive piers and arches, opening into the aisles, and with a clerestory over it. Then the choir arch, of magnificent proportions, as compared with almost any mere parish church, and another arch of equal height opening into the apse. The apse itself, with the altar and its three windows pouring their light upon it, terminated the view at a distance of 134 feet from the entrance. Now, to afford some notion of these proportions, I shall compare the length with that of three of the Northampton churches—

St. Giles, 116 feet,

St. Peter, 79 feet 6 inches,

St. Sepulchre, 97 feet 6 inches.

"So that the Saxon church of Brixworth was 12 feet longer than St. Giles's, and about 32 feet longer than St. Peter's or St. Sepulchre's.

"The stone employed is chiefly the *oolite* of the neighbourhood, but there are also pieces of *granite*, of *sandstone* and of *slate*, all probably boulders, carried by some great natural convulsion from more northern stations, and far more frequent at that early time on the surface than now, since the more accessible stone of all kinds has been in constant requisition. These kinds of stone are employed indiscriminately, and with them a great number of Roman bricks, supplied by an encampment which stood within three hundred yards of the church, to the north-west. But the Roman brick, though used as rubble with the various stones before mentioned, is also used systematically in the turning of the arches, and this in a manner which gives a very peculiar and rich effect.

"In the circular stair the Roman brick is not used; a few fragments only appearing here and there. In the clerestory, also, it is less abundant, but in the turning of the arches throughout, made necessary by these additions, it is found: probably it had become scarce, and was reserved for the more important parts."

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ERRATA.

In title page, for "OUNDLE" read "OAKHAM."

Page 21, line 2, for "pages" read "papers."

Page 30, line 8, for "Peterborough" read "Northampton."

————— 9, for "Vicar" read "Rector."

AN ACCOUNT OF THE
ANNUAL MEETING AND EXCURSION
OF THE
Architectural and Archaeological Society
FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM,
Held at Aylesbury, July 27th, 1854,
WITH THE
OPENING ADDRESS
OF THE
VEN. ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH (Vice-President),
AND A

Paper on the Ancient Eucharistick Vestments,
By FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, S.C.L., F.A.S., &c.

(From the Bucks Herald.)

Previously to describing the business transacted at this annual gathering it may not be amiss to allude to the circumstances which have led, as it were, to a revival of this Society, and to increased energy amongst its officers and members. The Society was formed in Nov. 16, 1847, and its first general meeting was held in January, 1848, when it numbered 55 members. Since that period its numbers have gradually increased, and it has continued to hold periodical meetings occasionally. During the last few years the exertions of the Society were materially checked by the loss by death and removal of several of its most valuable and active officers, but on the appointment of the Archdeacon of Buckingham to the Vicarage of Aylesbury, that Ven. gentleman consented to occupy the post of Vice-president, and the office of Secretary having been filled by the Rev. A. Newdigate, one of the curates of Aylesbury, a degree of vigour was infused into the Society. The first token of the renewed energy of the Bucks Archaeological Society, was the publication of the first number of a work entitled *Records of Buckinghamshire*, being a series of papers and notes on the History, Antiquities, and Archæology of the

county, with transactions of the Society. The publication of this work and the general interest which it has excited in this district induced many persons to join the Society, and thus its numbers have become augmented. Under these circumstances the meeting took place on Thursday last, and we shall now proceed to detail the business transacted by the members.

Previously to the meeting of the Society, an excursion party started from the White Hart, at half-past 10 o'clock, in vehicles provided by Mr. J. K. Fowler, for the purpose of visiting in succession the Antiquities, Museum, and other objects of interest at Hartwell House, Dinton Hall and Church, and Stone Church, the party arriving at Aylesbury about three o'clock, when the meeting was held. We, therefore, propose to give a brief sketch of these interesting spots as they were successively visited by the members of the Bucks Archæological Society.

HARTWELL HOUSE,

the seat of John Lee, Esq., LL.D., and long the residence of the exiled King of France, Louis XVIII., came into the possession of the Lees in 1617, through the female branches of the Hampden family. It was erected on the site of a much more ancient structure by Sir Thomas Lee, who succeeded to the estate by his marriage, in 1570, with a lady of the Hampden family. By the will of Sir Alexander Hampden, made in 1617, the estate of Hartwell was bequeathed to this lady. The present mansion was erected in the reign of James I., in that hybrid mixture of the Italian and Gothic styles which is known in this country by the appellation of the Elizabethan. The North front of the house displays all the characteristics of this period, and is remarkably picturesque and imposing, displaying large windows with appropriate mullions and other peculiarities of the Elizabethan period. The Western end of the house appears to be older still, but the South and East parts were "modernized" in the last century by Sir William Lee. The mansion contains some good apartments, which our limited space prevents us from describing in detail. In the great hall is a bust of John Hampden, and the ceiling is most elaborately decorated by an allegorical representation of Genius writing history among the ruins of Italy—" *Tauriformis volvitur Ausidus*." An enormous bay window gives ample light to this excellent specimen of transition architecture, which shows to great advantage the large dimensions of a black marble mantel-piece, about seven feet square, supported by two figures with human busts bearded, and ending below as termini. The compartment over it presents, in high relief, an allegorical composition of some pretension to skill and design. The drawing-room contains a richly

moulded ceiling, and the fire-place is ornamented with a finely carved mantel-piece. Above the doors are classic sopra-porta paintings, in *chiaroscuro*, and there is another in similar style above the mantel-piece. In the drawing-room are numerous paintings, and the chimney-piece is beautifully executed. On the corner are the arms of the Lees, on a shield, bearing date 1658. The dining-room, library, vestibule, the old chapel, and other apartments, are well-deserving attention, as is also the great staircase, a stately oaken structure, the rails of which consist of small terminal figures, supporting the banister and 24 biblical, heathen, and historical personages, averaging 32 inches in height. These figures are rather rudely cut in oak, and stand on pedestals rising above the hand rail, placed from five to six feet asunder. Among these figures are representatives of armed warriors; Sampson with a jaw-bone; Hercules in the lion's skin with his club; a crusader; a placid woman; a fury with distorted features; and various other figures. Among the paintings at Hartwell House are two companion pictures by Rembrandt, an "Old Man's" and an "Old Woman's head." These are wonderful specimens of this great artist's powerful command of light and shadow. There are also paintings by Vandyck, Van der Helst, Ostade, Gerard Douw, Sebastian Bourdain, Witthoos, Van der Vaart, Van de Blit, Otho Venius, Cuyp, Weenix, Jacob and Solomon Ruysdael, Adrian Van Diest, Sir Peter Lely, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Daniel Gardner, Allan Ramsay, Hudson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Palo Panini, Burton, Robert Le Fevre, and other artists. This collection contains an admirable whole length portrait of the poetical Sir John Suckling, a maternal ancestor of the celebrated Nelson. This portrait was painted by Vandyck in his best style, although Sir Joshua Reynolds when at Hartwell, pronounced it to be the work of Cornelius Jansen. The Library contains numerous works in every department of intellectual culture, the scientific branch being particularly rich, and there are many valuable manuscripts in the Arabian, Persian, Turkish, and other languages. The Museum is appropriated to a miscellaneous collection of articles culled from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as antiquarian relics and specimens of industrial art, and was formed by Dr. Lee, the present occupant of Hartwell. It contains relics of Babylonian, Grecian, and Roman art, coins and medals, and a large collection of Egyptian antiquities, far too extensive to attempt anything like even a brief description. The observatory, with its astronomical instruments, the transit room, and the equatorial tower, contain much that is interesting to scientific enquirers. In the grounds are statues and monuments, and an equestrian statue of Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of George III.

The Church at Hartwell was erected on the site of a more ancient building by Sir William Lee, fourth baronet, in 1756. The structure is an octagon, said to be on the model of the chapter-house at York. As might be anticipated from the period of its erection, it is a sad attempt at an imitation of the pointed style. At the middle of the last century the principles of Gothic architecture were very imperfectly understood—witness for instance Wyatt's execrable alterations in Salisbury Cathedral—and we must not, therefore, expect to find that the builders of this church were better informed than their contemporaries. Judging it, however, as a work *sui generis*, it displays considerable taste and elegance. It is built of fine stone with a projection east and west, the former for the altar and the latter forming a vestibule, in which is an organ: two octagon towers harmonise with the rest of the building. In each part of the octagon is a window, with shields of the arms of Hampden, Lee, and Harcourt; and in the intersection of the mullions, are the crests of Hampden and Lee, and an imperial crown, with the armorial bearings of France. The interior of the edifice has an air of striking taste and neatness, from its general form and airy aspect, heightened by the finely finished pendant of the fan-tracery roof, the lozenged black and white marble pavement, and the open carved frames of the pulpit and reading desk.

DINTON HALL AND CHURCH.

Dinton Hall, the mansion of the Maynes and Vanhattems, and now the residence of the Rev. J. Goodall, stands on the site of a still more ancient building; and some portions of the present house are of the age of James I., or perhaps a little earlier. It has, however, been modified at different periods by successive possessors. The south front, into which sashed windows were introduced by Sir John Vanhattem, and the offices on the east side of the house, retain but little of the original style, except some mullioned windows, and heavy stacks of angular chimneys crowded on the roof. This house contains some choice and very excellent paintings, among which we noticed—an original portrait of Oliver Cromwell, portraits of James I. and Charles II. A portrait of Judge Crawley, by Vandyck. A fine portrait of Cornet Joyce, who captured Charles I. A head of Melancthon, by Hans Holbein. A head of Christ, by Raphael, a most beautifully painted picture. Fruit pieces by Baptiste, Cooper, and others. There are several Flemish pictures, brought to this country by Liebert Vanhattem, an ancestor of the present occupants of Dinton Hall. Among these is a fine painting of the siege of Namur by William III., with portraits of himself and officers. Amongst the other pictures

are two landscapes by Salvator Rosa, and Diogenes in search of an honest man, a very fine picture, painted by Jan Victor, in 1654. Amongst the family pictures are portraits of Leibert Vanhattem, Admiral de Ruyter, and Admiral Van Tromp. There are also several good family portraits by Sir Peter Lely, Reinagle, and other artists. As we are not writing a guide book, but merely from the recollection of a hurried visit through the rooms, we are unable to furnish an entire list of this unique and excellent collection of pictures. Amongst the antiquities preserved at Dinton House, the Archæological Society had an opportunity of inspecting some portions of weapons, armour, &c., found in Dinton-Field in 1769. Some of these antiquities are conjectured to be of Saxon origin. In the collection there is also a bottle, with the portrait and arms of Edward IV. very beautifully executed; several small models of fire-arms, ancient match-locks, &c.; a sword reputed to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell, who left it at Dinton when (as is traditionally said) he slept there, while the King was besieged at Oxford. Here is also a curious highly-finished steel key, with a crown and cypher, and a very singular shoe, formerly worn by John Bigg, the Dinton hermit, an old man who officiated as clerk or secretary to Simon Mayne, who was one of the judges of Charles I. This shoe is very large, and is made up of many thousand pieces of leather. Bigg lived in a cave under ground at Dinton, had been a man of wealth, and was a scholar. This Simon Mayne was one of those who signed the death-warrant of Charles I., and during the Protectorate he was one of the committee for Bucks. On the Restoration of Charles II., Simon Mayne resided at Dinton House, and finding that a warrant was out for his apprehension he made a secret retreat or hiding place at the top of the mansion, under the gables of the roof, to which he ascended by a secret passage or tunnel lined with cloth. Tradition says that this hiding place was discovered to the Royalists by a faithless domestic. Whether this was the case or not, we find that Samuel Mayne was tried with Waller and the other regicides at the Old Bailey, 16th Oct., 1660, and he received sentence of death. He remained in confinement in the Tower until the next year, when he died, and his body was removed to Dinton and buried there. In 1717 a descendant of the regicide sold the manor to John Vanhattem, Esq., whose ancestor, Leibert Vanhattem, was an officer in the fleet of the renowned Admiral de Ruyter, whose daughter he married, and who came into England at the Revolution of 1688. The late mother of the Rev. J. Goodall, the present owner of Dinton, was a descendant of this celebrated Dutch family.

The Church was well worthy of the notice of our archæologists. It consists of a nave with a south aisle, a chancel, and at the west a square tower with buttresses. On the south side is a porch opening into the nave. The doorway leading into the church from this porch is a very fine specimen of early Norman architecture. The body of the church has windows of different dates, but the chancel is pure Early English, as is also the west door. The Norman doorway before alluded to, displays the billet moulding, the chevron, or wavy moulding, and other characteristics of the architecture of that period. An engraving of this doorway will be found in *Lipscomb's History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire*. The Church contains some ancient monuments and brasses, which particularly attracted the notice of the archæologists, as did also the communion table presented to the church, in 1606, "By the youth of Upton," the initials of whose names are on the frame. Having inspected these objects of attraction the party next proceeded to

STONE CHURCH,

which stands on an artificial mound—which Lipscomb says was probably a barrow—near the intersection of the two British trackways, one leading from Oxford to Aylesbury, and the other from the northern part of the county towards Kimble, across the Ickneld way. This edifice is cruciform, and consists of a nave with tower at the west end, with a demioctagon turret as its S.E. angle higher than the roof capped with a small conical pyramid surmounted by a vane. At the East end of the nave is a cross aisle and chancel. The tower is of the middle pointed or decorated style. The roof is of saddleback form; the chancel is early English, and has been badly restored, and there is in the north transept a window in the style of Salisbury Cathedral. There are two brasses of the Akehurst family in the church, one of which is Palimpsest.

Within this parish stands the County Lunatic Asylum, which was opened in 1853 for the reception of patients. Whatever may be the excellencies of this establishment as a refuge for the insane, it has but few merits to recommend it to persons of taste in architecture. Indeed, it is remarkable for its extreme ugliness, in which we should think it would fairly bear off the palm from any existing structure in this country. The site on which this building now stands, is not, however, without interest to the archæologist, as it was, at an early period of our history, used as a burial-ground. During the time the works were in progress, relics both of the Roman and Teutonic character were brought to light. These relics consisted of a skeleton with spear-head, knife, and umbo of a shield, and about the same time two very perfect urns, containing bones, were dug out at a spot where the remains of a large

fire evidenced that the pagan rites of cremation had been performed. Some time after the discovery of these remains a chamber used for sepulchral purposes was explored, which contained fragments of cinerary urns, and human and other bones. Beneath this was another chamber, in which were found the remains of twelve urns, two bronze rings, apparently formed for armillæ, and other relics. Mr. Akerman, the Secretary of the Antiquarian Society, thus writes of this discovery:—"From the foregoing facts it appears beyond doubt, that interment in pits, as discovered at Stone and other places in England, was very generally adopted during the Roman occupation of Britain. To such a mode of sepulture, so well calculated to conceal and protect the remains of the dead from desecration, may be attributed the fact that the traces of Roman and Romano-British interments, considering the length of time this Island was occupied by the invaders, and its evident vast population, are comparatively few. It is somewhat remarkable that, while the pits of the same description at Ewell and other places, contained fragments of earthen vessels, bearing the stamps of the potters, not a single specimen with a potter's mark was found in the pit at Stone. From these, and other circumstances, I am led to conclude, so far as we can judge from what has been as yet discovered, that the Roman inhabitants of this spot, and their immediate successors, a tribe of Franks or Saxons, were of a humble, though not of the humblest grade. We know from Horace, as well as from other writers, that the remains of the very poorest of the population were cast, without the ordinary rite of cremation, into pits; but the care with which the interments at Stone were evidently conducted, does not favour the belief that the remains were those of the pauper, the friendless, or the criminal."

After visiting the places above described, the members of the Society returned to Aylesbury, about three o'clock. At Hartwell a breakfast *à la Française* was provided in the usual style of hospitality by Dr. Lee; and at Dinton Hall an excellent cold collation was provided by the Misses Goodall—to all of which good things ample justice was done by the archaeologists.

THE MEETING

was held at the Old Room in the White Hart, the Archdeacon of Buckingham in the chair. The meeting was fairly attended, and amongst the company present we noticed Lady V. Cameron, Mrs. Bickersteth, and a large number of other ladies; also, T. T. Bernard, Esq., F. D. Hibbert, Esq., (Chalfont Park), J. Hibbert, Esq., J. G. Waller, Esq., Z. D. Hunt, Esq., E. R. Baynes, Esq., F. G. Lee, Esq., — Irving, Esq.,

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 Thomas Field, &c. &c.

OPENING ADDRESS FROM THE CHAIR BY THE VEN.
 ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH (VICE-PRESIDENT.)

The Ven. CHAIRMAN addressed the meeting as follows:—I believe it is expected from me that I should open the proceedings of this our annual meeting with a few remarks upon the general character and purposes of a society like this. I could wish that this duty were entrusted to worthier hands, but I rely confidently upon your kind acceptance of such observations as I may be able to offer. Indeed, the duties of my office as Archdeacon seem to claim from me some acquaintance with one branch, at least, of those studies which come within the scope of your investigations; and, with regard to the kindred subject of archæology, the opportunities continually offered me in my periodical visitation tours may well encourage me to gain such knowledge as I can of the antiquarian remains which lie around my path. I am anxious, therefore, to take this opportunity of assuring you of my sympathy with you in these pursuits; and so long as your society conducts its proceedings with freedom from mere party or sectional aims, and with the enlarged and enlightened spirit of that Church with which its members are associated, I will gladly co-operate with you, as far as I can do this without prejudice to the higher claims of my order and my office.

I will trouble you with a few remarks upon the two studies embraced by your society; and first, very briefly with regard to Archæology. Archæology, (if I understand the term aright) comprises the pursuit of all that tends to illustrate history, or to increase our knowledge of the habits and manners of our forefathers. All those relics which time or disaster have spared to us come within its province; and even words, and names, and proverbs, and popular traditions, are of the number of those things with which it is conversant. It has been recently shown by Mr. Trench, in his excellent and very suggestive little work on the Study of Words, how much light may be thrown upon the history of our country by an intimate acquaintance with its language, so that we have set, as it were, and stereotyped in our words of daily use, the past fortunes of our land, and can trace out in these words our connexion with other nations, and the relations which we have held to them; aye! and even our moral history. And thus, too, do the patient re-

searches of the archæologist, in another direction, reveal to us those material fragments and remnants which have come to us "*tanquam tabulæ ex naufragio*," and by means of which we can construct the proofs and furnish the illustrations of the successive foreign occupations of the country. But I need hardly remind you that there are portions of our history still resting in much obscurity, and which offer, therefore, a wide field for research. Anything, for example, which tends to illustrate the period between the Roman and the Saxon dominations is of peculiar value, as exhibiting the influence exerted upon our forefathers by their first conquerors, and as illustrating the dawning period of the Church of Christ in our land. I may add, also, that we live in an age in which these relics are rapidly disappearing. The disturbances of the soil caused by the general enclosure and cultivation of waste lands, by the formation of railways, and by other circumstances, while they mark the onward march of improvement, have a direct tendency to sweep away what I may call the "*materialism of antiquity*." Your society may, therefore, be of eminent service in rescuing some of these memorials, in receiving and imparting light respecting them, and in treasuring up facts which may serve to enrich the pages of some future historian of the county.

The other study promoted by this society is that of Architecture. Now, here it is with nations as with individuals. From time to time it has pleased God to raise up men whose characters and examples stand high above the average level of mankind—men who have been able to stamp their own impress so deeply on the age in which they lived, that no lapse of time has been able to efface it. And thus too, do we find that the intellectual character of a whole generation has been perpetuated through its own intrinsic excellence, whereby succeeding generations, sufficiently educated to enable them to appreciate the true and the beautiful, have been constrained to render homage to it. May we not affirm that they who cultivated the science of architecture in the four centuries immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest have earned for themselves this distinction in their own particular science? Much has been written, and many conjectures put forth, upon the origin of the pointed arch, the characteristic feature of this style; but whether the discovery is to be referred to the accidental observation of the natural interlacing of the branches of an avenue, or to the intersection of the semi-circular arch, or most ingeniously to the requirements of vaulting, or whether the account of its origin may be concealed in some unknown archives of the mysterious fraternity of freemasons—this, at least, is clear, that it sprung up almost simultaneously in England and in Italy, in Germany and in France. It is possible that its origin may be traced remotely

to those changes in society caused by the admixture of the Northern races which overran and subdued the ancient Roman empire. The Norman architecture has been described with some truth, but with less praise than it deserves, as an awkward imitation of the Roman, or perhaps the Saracenic. It remained for the architects of the succeeding period to construct out of this the beautiful outlines of what we call Gothic architecture. And nothing can be more interesting than to trace the science in its gradual development through the chaste simplicity of the Early English period, to its perfection of beauty in the Decorated period, and then through its declining glory in the Perpendicular or Florid. But beyond this we cannot follow it. During the last three centuries a dreary blank is presented to us; and for us who live in the most ancient period of the world's history it seems vain to expect any new style of ecclesiastical architecture. If ever this was to be looked for, surely it would have been during the last half century, in which we have been emerging from that unintellectual age in which archaeologists were ridiculed as dreamers, and in which the highest achievements of the science were, first to build a church *like* a heathen temple, and then to *make it one* by crowding it with the representations of Pagan mythology. The attempt to introduce some of the ancient features of Norman or Roman, under the new name of Lombardic or Romanesque, though made in more than one instance with exquisite taste, and costly expenditure, seems to have been unsuccessful: and the multitude of Churches now rising on every side of us with the elegant and chaste proportions of our own Early English and Decorated, proves that this style of church architecture has taken fast hold of the English mind, and that in this respect, at least, we are content to follow humbly in the train of those masters of the science who have left us our magnificent cathedrals, and our goodly parish churches, and the precious fragments of our abbeys, as the monuments of their skill, and the memorials of their piety.

It seems then that in architecture the highest wisdom of our age is to reproduce, and for this purpose we must go to the best and purest models, and make them our study. Not that we are to sink to the level of mere copyists, but that we should do with this science just as the wise student will do with the writings of our great masters of wisdom—namely, so to study them as to assimilate them, and to make them part and parcel of his own mind, and then to give them forth again, coloured it may be, with his own genius, and fresh from his own fount of thought. Thus should we study these models of architecture, so as to make the science our own, not taking any one ex-

ample as though that were necessarily perfect in its kind, but comparing and contrasting the many and various examples around us, and determining by a diligent collation of them what is the best and highest perfection of the science. "Antiquity," says our great English philosopher, "deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way, but when the discovery is well taken then to make progression." Most unwisely therefore would that antiquarian act who would copy every thing ancient merely because it was ancient, and make no distinction between the excellencies and the errors of the ages which have preceded him. Experience has taught us how the noble science of architecture may be made to minister to error—how falsehood has its symbols as well as truth, and how the carved stone may but too faithfully represent the corruptions of the age in which it was chiselled. To reproduce these, therefore, is but to act over again the errors of our predecessors, and that too with the evidence before us of the evil source from which they sprang, and the fatal end in which they have issued. Many of us have felt their spirits stirred within them, to see how the clustered columns or the deep rich mouldings of some fine fabric of the 13th and 14th century have been chipped away to make room for the arrangements of the more corrupt age which followed; and then how, by the necessary law of reaction, Puritanical violence in the next succeeding age, whilst aiming its blow chiefly at the corrupt symbol, nevertheless has struck indiscriminately at all symbols alike. Our wisdom will therefore be to eliminate truth from error, avoiding the equally dangerous extremes of a morbid veneration for antiquity on the one hand, and a restless craving after novelty on the other. For it should never be forgotten that we have to mould the mind of the age which is to succeed us, and upon us lies the great responsibility of endeavouring to transmit that which is truth to them, with as little admixture of error as human infirmity will admit. We should learn wisdom, therefore, by the faults as well as by the merits of our predecessors, and give to our pure form of faith and discipline the advantages of the very best and purest architecture, drawn from the best models of antiquity, and chastened and tempered by the genius and scholarship of our age.

But surely this is not the only end or the ultimate scope of our aims. "The greatest error," says Bacon, "is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or farthest end of knowledge; for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable

them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of men; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate." And if this be true of all knowledge, how true is it of those pursuits with which we are engaged. It is undoubtedly an object of laudable ambition to strive to gather together such facts as may aid us in constructing a more exact and copious history of the past—it is surely an object worthy of our highest endeavours to search out what is the most becoming temple in which to worship Him who of old inspired a Bezaleel, and an Aholiab, and a Solomon for this very purpose; for thus may we hope to bring men to esteem more highly the houses of God, and to regard them as the central points of their interest and affections. But we who desire to kindle these devout sentiments in others must so pursue our studies as to make them the means of elevating our own character and raising our own moral tone. It would, indeed, be a sad result if our spirits were to slumber amidst the materialism of our work, and we were to accustom ourselves to trace a pedigree or examine a mouldering without drawing for ourselves the moral instruction which they point. Even the rusty ring of the Roman knight may tell us of the end of human ambition, for the earth has kept his ring that could not keep him; and the little hoarded treasure, it may be, of the 13th century, which the ploughshare of the 19th century has revealed, may speak to us of some unprospered act of covetousness or of theft. And shall not our architectural studies be rich in profit to us? Shall not each sacred temple that we visit speak loudly to us of the presence and nearness of Him to whom it is dedicated? Such pursuits are, indeed, full of moral and spiritual lessons. The mouldering fragments of some beautiful fabric may preach to us of the tendency to decay and ruin in the neglected spiritual temple; while the restored church, in its harmony and beauty, will tell us how even a defaced and dishonoured temple of the Holy Ghost may be renewed and made once more worthy of His gracious in-dwelling. Moreover, the very form and pattern of our churches, exhibiting a general uniformity of outline with great variety of detail, proclaims to us God's grand law of unity in the spiritual building, in which Christians, with all their varied

detail gifts and graces, are the living stones, cemented by love and faith to Him who is the head corner stone.

By thus pursuing our objects with an intellectual and spiritual mind, we may, indeed, be recreated in the full sense of that word, for we shall then bring back with us to our ordinary associations, and into the round of our daily life, such thoughts as may cheer and strengthen us; and aid us in the one great object to which every action of life should tend; even the building up of ourselves and each other in the strength of our common Lord, into the fair proportions and perfected glories of the everlasting temple.

The Rev. A. NEWDIGATE, the Secretary, then read a short report, together with the following letter from Mr. Lamb, the architect, respecting some fragments discovered at Little Hampden Church:—

“Rev. Sir,—In taking down the chancel of Little Hampden Church, preparatory to its being rebuilt, several fragments of the former building were discovered. I have directed that two pieces should be sent to Mr. Fowler’s, perhaps sufficiently interesting to be exhibited at the Meeting of the Archæological Society. One is a rudely carved figure, with an inscription over—now, however, illegible. It appears to me that the figure represents the Resurrection. The other fragment is curious, from the appearance of the stone having been used at different periods—no uncommon thing in the enlarging or rebuilding of Churches in the olden time. Many fragments of tracery were also discovered, although these are of a very common kind. There are, also, two springing stones for ground arches, and other fragments, which seem to indicate that at one time this little Church was much more ornamental than it is now. My inspection of these fragments was very hurried; I therefore may not have hit upon the right conjecture as to their original position or uses

“The present nave of the Church has been picked to pieces most sadly—there is scarcely a vestige of the old work remaining.

“Yours most obediently,

“E. L. J. LAMB.

“12th July, 1854.”

The next was from the Rev. C. Lowndes, the Vicar:—

“My dear Sir,—As I shall not be able to attend the meeting to-morrow, I shall feel obliged if you will exhibit the small figure and carved stone which were discovered buried in the walls of the chancel of the Church at Little Hampden. I have left them in the care of Mr. Fowler, of the White Hart. The figure appears to represent a Bishop, with a crosier (or pastoral staff) in his left hand, blessing with the right. The carved stone is one of many other fragments, of various designs, which would lead to the supposition that the Church formerly was a very ornamental building.

"I also send the plans for the restoration of the Chancel, (which is now in progress of erection) shewing a curious old window which will be placed in the position on the north side which it formerly occupied. In the interior of the Chancel was a piscina, on the south side, which has been carefully replaced. There is also the old stone Altar, which had been used for repairing the floor, but which I purpose placing upon the floor, and the Elizabethan table, which is a very low one, upon it.

"Although the pointed arch of the East window had been demolished and replaced with a stone slab, still the mouldings at the base were in such a good state of preservation, that Mr. Lamb, the architect, was enabled to restore it, and design two smaller ones of the same date for the North and South sides.

"Mr. Lamb has decided the date of the Church to be 1290. I enclose you his letter.

"Believe me, yours sincerely,

"CHARLES LOWNDES.

"Hartwell Rectory, July 26th, 1854."

A second letter was also read from E. L. J. Lamb, Esq., Architect, as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—The small figure found in the wall of Little Hampden Church, and another carved stone, I directed to be taken to Aylesbury (White Hart) to be exhibited at the meeting of the Archæological Society, and I wrote to the Secretary upon the subject, giving some description of this as well as other fragments. As I have not had time to examine all the fragments sufficiently for a clear explanation, and I cannot attend the meeting on Thursday, I fear I can say little now on the subject. The curious window, with lower window or opening, should be mentioned—its position and form—there is one nearly similar at Little Kimble Church.

"There can be no doubt that near the position, if not upon the exact spot, stood at one time a very ornamental building—as the fragments discovered clearly indicate; but the hand of *improvement* has been so lavish, that scarcely a remnant of the old work stands; prudence and economy have substituted brick for stone in the mullions and jambs of windows, arches, and doors; and what was once a little gem, is now little more than a mean hovel.

"I suppose the work is making fair progress—I shall get down again soon.

"Yours most respectfully,

"E. L. J. LAMB.

"The Rev. C. Lowndes.

"24th July, 1854."

The Rev. A. NEWDIGATE announced that Boughey Burgess, Esq., had accepted the office of Secretary, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. W. H. Kelke.

The Rev. W. BURGESS then read a very able paper on the "Ancient Roman Roads in Buckinghamshire," or rather, as he expressed it, on the traces of ancient roads generally. Mr. Burgess, in this paper, observed that the difference between

British and Roman roads was—that the former were not straight, that they did not lead to Roman towns, and that they generally threw out branches. He considered the Ickneld way, which passed through part of Buckinghamshire, as an ancient British trackway. We shall give this paper at full length on another occasion.

EUCCHARISTICK VESTMENTS.

Mr. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, S.C.L., F.A.S., then read a paper on "Ancient Eucharistick Vestments." It was as follows:—"It appears obvious that the Archæologist and the student of Architecture cannot fail to be somewhat interested in the size, shape, and appearance of the ancient Ecclesiastick Vestments—for they are so frequently figured either on sepulchral monuments, engraven on memorial brasses, or depicted by the old painters, that it is almost impossible to pass them by without some thought as to their form and symbolism; and some reflection as to the period in which they were worn, and the time when their use was discontinued. I propose, then, to offer, for the consideration of the Society, a few very brief remarks with especial reference to those worn by the celebrant in the ministry of the altar: consisting, I need scarcely observe, of albe, amice, stole, maniple and chasuble.

"The albe was a vestment of white linen, reaching to the feet; the sleeves of which were tight, in order that the hands of the priest might be at liberty when celebrating the Eucharist. It was frequently embroidered round the neck and sleeves, and there were usually attached to the skirts before and behind, two square pieces of embroidered work, known as "apparels," the symbolical character of which is set forth by Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, in a sermon preached during the reign of Queen Mary. I give the passage:—'*And as Christ was crowned with thorns, and had His Hands and Feet nailed to the crosse, so in amesse and albe of the preste, there be tokens of these Five Wounds.*' The 'white albe plain'—that is, without apparel or embroidery, was retained at the Reformation, and is still the lawful vestment—and certainly would be more convenient than the large sleeved surplice—for the celebration of the Holy Communion. The albe was gathered in at the waist with a girdle (*cingulum*); sometimes of silk, but ordinarily of linen.

"The amice* (*amictus*) was an oblong piece of fine linen, first placed on the head, then being

* Some misconception arose concerning my remarks on this vestment. It was, I believe, but ought not to have been, confused with the almess (*almutium*). This latter was a tippet of fur, worn in choir by canons and other dignitaries—a beautiful representation of which occurs on the brass of Sir John Stodeley, at Upper Winchendon, Bucks. The *almutium* was not an Eucharistick vestment, and its use was confined to a few clerics, whereas the *amictus* was always used at the Eucharist, and was part of the dress at that time of all Priests and Bishops.

adjusted round the neck, formed the collar, ornamented with a strip of embroidery, so often represented on ancient brasses. Amalarius, a distinguished ritualist who lived in the ninth century, writes thus concerning it:—‘*Amictus est primum-vestimentum nostrum, quo collum undique cingimus.*’ By the ancient Sarum Ritual, the use of this vestment was not always confined to the higher clergy: minor clerks and choristers who officiated about the altar, were not only allowed but required at special seasons to be vested in albe and amice. It was also one of the garments with which the monarch was anciently invested at his coronation. Edward VI. was the last on whose head it was placed: since which period it has been discontinued.

“But to proceed. The ‘stole’ (*orarium*) was a narrow band of silk or stuff, fringed at the ends, adorned with embroidery and even jewels, worn on the left shoulder of deacons, and round the neck of bishops and priests, pendent on each side nearly to the ground. Anciently the *stola* adorned with stripes of purple and gold, formed part of the ordinary dress of the Romans, and probably was adopted as a ministering vestment by the early Christians, and so in after ages and by degrees, the band or ornamental part only was retained, which would, of course, present much the same appearance as that worn at the present time. A few specimens of the early English stole exist—there are two in the possession of Lord Willoughby de Broke: one of which is ornamented with the inscription ‘*In hora mortis succurre nobis Domine,*’ and the other with heraldic devices of the Lincoln family. In the reformed English Church, the stole is still very generally worn: but frequently of a preposterous size and inelegant shape. If we would follow old examples, it should be three yards in length, three inches broad, slightly widened at the ends, and fringed. The scarf is a totally different thing—distinctly an academical and not an ecclesiastical vestment: doctors of divinity, and chaplains to noblemen (under certain conditions) alone have a right to wear it.

“The ‘maniple’ (*manipulum*) next demands attention. Originally, doubtless, nothing more than a strip of the finest linen to wipe the chalice during communion, in very early ages it began to be enriched with embroidery—like the stole, and finally became merely an ornament worn by the priest and his assistants, just above the left wrist at the eucharist. It was of the same width and color as the stole, fringed at the ends, and generally about a yard and a quarter in length. Its use has been always kept up in the Church of England, ordinarily in the shape of a napkin folded like a band for use at the Holy Communion: but at St. George’s

Chapel, Windsor, at Durham and Westminster, some of the ancient maniples, I am informed, can still be seen, and are occasionally worn. It seems now to have become a recognised portion of our existing sacred vestments.

"I now propose to say a few words about the chasuble or chesuble (*casula vel planeta*). In very early ages it was worn as well by laymen as ecclesiasties, but in later times its use has been confined to bishops and priests, and it has become the distinctive vestment of the Holy Eucharist. Its primitive form was perfectly round, with an aperture in the centre for the head, and this we find figured in the Benedictional of S. Ethelwold amongst other curious and valuable illustrations of vestments. If intended for use in procession, a hood was sometimes affixed to the back, for then the chasuble was not restricted to the ministry of the altar. In England, its shape continued nearly circular, for six centuries after the mission of S. Augustine: even when a change was made, the only alteration seems to have been that two opposite parts of the circumference were made to come to a point. This form of the vestment was in use for many ages, and is that which is frequently figured on memorial brasses: but for two hundred years before the Reformation, the chasuble was often made in the shape of a *vesica piscis*, and the ornaments with which it was then decorated, became far more elaborate, and consequently richer and more beautiful. I am happy in being able to show an example of this form. It was made from one discovered some few years ago in a sort of parvise or vestry in Waterford Cathedral. The colour of the material and border are as exact imitations as could be obtained.

"It now becomes necessary to describe the orphrey (*aurifrigium*) of the chasuble, which in the middle ages received so large an amount of decoration from the embroiderers. It was a sort of band which ran up before and behind, through the middle. Properly speaking, there was no cross on the old English chasuble, but at the breast sprang out, in the shape of the forked part of a large Y, two other bands, which went over the shoulders, until in the same form from behind, they met.

"In more modern times, this Y shaped figure has been transformed into a cross, and sometimes a crucifix is found embroidered on the back of this garment.

"The ancient way of speaking of a chasuble was to call it a 'vestment'—which was frequently not a description of this garment alone, but of a complete Eucharistick set:—of all I have been endeavouring to describe—amice, maniple, stole, and chasuble. This may be seen by any who may have it in their power to consult a churchwarden's account-book,

which extends as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century. The word 'vestment' will continually be found to occur, and always bears the above meaning.

"I will now bring my remarks to a conclusion, apologising to the Society for their vagueness, brevity, and consequently superficial character."

A paper written by the Rev. W. H. Kelke, on "the Desecrated Churches of Buckinghamshire," was next read by the Rev. John Snell.

T. T. BERNARD, Esq., moved a vote of thanks to the Archdeacon, for presiding, who, in acknowledging the compliment, returned the thanks of the Society to the gentlemen who had read papers, as also to the Rev. A. Newdigate for his efficient services as their Secretary.

The meeting then broke up, and the members partook of an excellent cold collation, which was admirably served up by Mr. J. K. Fowler.

During the day the members of the Society and their friends visited Aylesbury Church, now under restoration. Several of them highly expressed their admiration of this noble and finely proportioned structure.

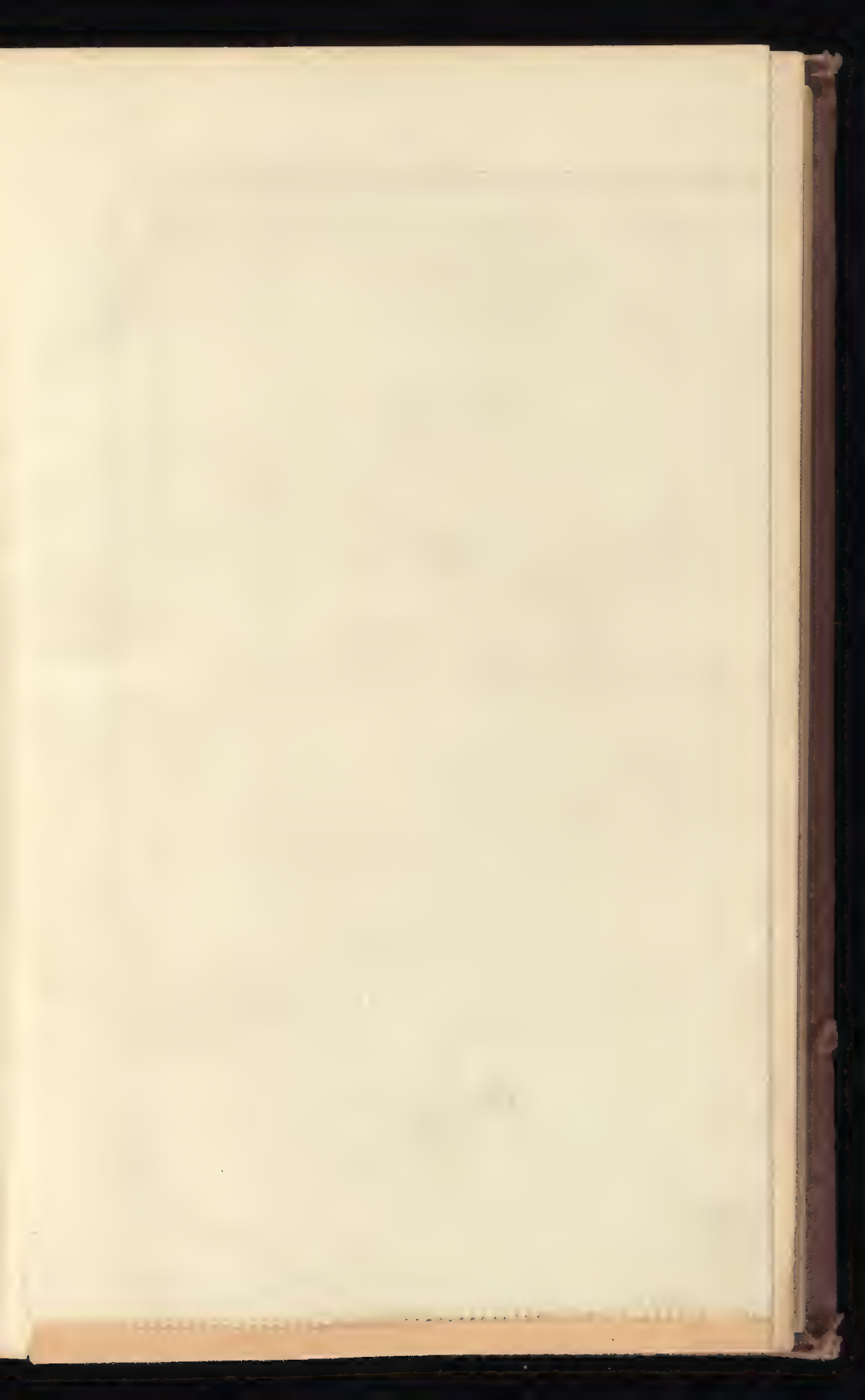
In the evening, Z. D. Hunt, Esq., kindly invited the members and other visitors to a conversazione at his house. An admirable collection of brasses, and remarkably fine specimens of Raphaele Ware, and other curiosities were exhibited.

THE MUSEUM

consisted of a collection of brass rubbings and drawings, and other relics of antiquity. Amongst these we noticed an ancient Greek sarchophagus, with beautifully carved figures, representing a river god and lady. This relic was brought from Greece by the late Mr. Rhodes, of Whitchurch. Facsimile of an ancient document signed by Mary Queen of Scots, by Rev. C. Erle. A cedar crucifix with relics, date unknown, exhibited by Rev. J. C. Wharton, of Birtton. History of Scotland, printed by W. de Worde, exhibited by Mr. Terry, of Aylesbury. Model of an ancient chasuble from Waterford Cathedral; model of an ancient mantle and stole, exhibited by Mr. F. G. Lee. Mace of the Mayor of Wallingford, temp. Charles II., and chalice of the 16th century, dug up in Thame churchyard, supposed to have been buried in a priest's coffin, exhibited by Mr. F. G. Lee. Part of an ancient Eastern Rosary, from the Armenian Convent at Jerusalem, said to have belonged to Nicanor, Patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 1580, brought from Palestine, by Bishop Alexander, exhibited by Mr. F. G. Lee. Clay figures, Roman, representing Pan and Syrinx, found at Oxford in digging up the foundation of the county gaol in 1850, exhibited by Rev. H. Roundell, Buckingham. Drawings of

Churches, by Mr. W. Slater. Drawings of the restoration of Thornborough Church, Bucks, by W. Smith, Esq. Engraving of Frederick Duke of Saxony, in 1524, by Albert Durer. Two candelabra from Pompeii, exhibited by Rev. C. Erle. A metal dish, found in a well at Naseby, in Northamptonshire, with the Royal arms, supposed to have belonged to one of the cavaliers. Ancient tripod (Roman), exhibited by Rev. C. Erle. Various English silver coins, twenty-seven English and other silver coins, from the neighbourhood of Aylesbury, and four Apostle spoons, formerly belonging to Bishop White, the last Roman Catholic Bishop of Winchester, exhibited by Mr. J. K. Fowler. Ancient British coins found at Whaddon Chase, exhibited by the Society, and also by Mr. J. K. Fowler. Four Roman silver coins—Faustina, Vespasian, Trajan, and 11th Legion—exhibited by Mr. J. K. Fowler. Bowl of pipe found at Tring Park, supposed to have belonged to Charles II., exhibited by Mr. J. Sheerman. Brass rings, bone, buckle, &c., found at Holman's Bridge, exhibited by Mr. T. Field. Ancient stained glass of the 13th century, exhibited by Mrs. Francklin, of Westlington House, &c. &c. &c.

We are happy to state that no less than 24 new members were elected on this occasion.





OPENING ADDRESS,
DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1854,
BY THE VENERABLE
ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH,
Vice-President.

I believe it is expected from me that I should open the proceedings of this our annual meeting with a few remarks upon the general character and purposes of a society like this. I could wish that this duty were entrusted to worthier hands, but I rely confidently upon your kind acceptance of such observations as I may be able to offer. Indeed, the duties of my office as Archdeacon seem to claim from me some acquaintance with one branch, at least, of those studies which come within the scope of your investigations; and, with regard to the kindred subject of Archæology, the opportunities continually offered me in my periodical Visitation tours may well encourage me to gain such knowledge as I can of the Antiquarian remains which lie around my path. I am anxious, therefore, to take this opportunity of assuring you of my sympathy with you in these pursuits; and so long as your Society conducts its proceedings with freedom from mere party or sectional aims, and with the enlarged and enlightened spirit of that Church with which its members are associated, I will gladly co-operate with you, as far as I can do this without prejudice to the higher claims of my order and my office.

I will trouble you with a few remarks upon the two studies embraced by your Society; and first, very briefly

with regard to Archæology. Archæology, (if I understand the term aright) comprises the pursuit of all that tends to illustrate history, or to increase our knowledge of the habits and manners of our forefathers. All those relics which time or disaster have spared to us come within its province; and even words, and names, and proverbs, and popular traditions, are of the number of those things with which it is conversant. It has been recently shown by Mr. TRENCH, in his excellent and very suggestive little work on the Study of Words, how much light may be thrown upon the history of our country by an intimate acquaintance with its language, so that we have set, as it were, and stereotyped in our words of daily use, the past fortunes of our land, and can trace out in these words our connexion with other nations, and the relations which we have held to them; aye! and even our moral history. And thus, too, do the patient researches of the Archæologist, in another direction, reveal to us those material fragments and remnants which have come to us "*tanquam tabulæ ex naufragio*," and by means of which we can construct the proofs, and furnish the illustrations, of the successive foreign occupations of the country. But I need hardly remind you that there are portions of our history still resting in much obscurity, and which offer, therefore, a wide field for research. Anything, for example, which tends to illustrate the period between the Roman and the Saxon dominations is of peculiar value, as exhibiting the influence exerted upon our forefathers by their first conquerors, and as illustrating the dawning period of the Church of Christ in our land. I may add, also, that we live in an age in which these relics are rapidly disappearing. The disturbances of the soil caused by the general enclosure and cultivation of waste lands, by the formation of railways, and by other circumstances, while they mark the onward march of improvement, have a direct tendency to sweep away what I may call the "materialism of antiquity."

Your Society may, therefore, be of eminent service in rescuing some of these memorials, in receiving and imparting light respecting them, and in treasuring up facts which may serve to enrich the pages of some future historian of the county.

The other study promoted by this Society is that of Architecture. Now, here it is with nations as with individuals. From time to time it has pleased God to raise up men whose characters and examples stand high above the average level of mankind—men who have been able to stamp their own impress so deeply on the age in which they lived, that no lapse of time has been able to efface it. And thus too, do we find that the intellectual character of a whole generation has been perpetuated through its own intrinsic excellence, whereby succeeding generations, sufficiently educated to enable them to appreciate the true and the beautiful, have been constrained to render homage to it. May we not affirm that they who cultivated the science of Architecture in the four centuries immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest have earned for themselves this distinction in their own particular science? Much has been written, and many conjectures put forth, upon the origin of the pointed arch, the characteristic feature of this style; but whether the discovery is to be referred to the accidental observation of the natural interlacing of the branches of an avenue, or to the intersection of the semi-circular arch, or most ingeniously to the requirements of vaulting,—or whether the account of its origin may be concealed in some unknown archives of the mysterious fraternity of freemasons—this, at least, is clear, that it sprung up almost simultaneously in England and in Italy, in Germany and in France. It is possible that its origin may be traced remotely to those changes in society caused by the admixture of the Northern races which overran and subdued the ancient Roman empire. The Norman Architecture has been described with some truth, but with

less praise than it deserves, as an awkward imitation of the Roman, or perhaps the Saracenic.* It remained for the Architects of the succeeding period to construct out of this the beautiful outlines of what we call Gothic Architecture. And nothing can be more interesting than to trace the science in its gradual development through the chaste simplicity of the Early English period, to its perfection of beauty in the Decorated period, and then through its declining glory in the Perpendicular or Florid. But beyond this we cannot follow it. During the last three centuries a dreary blank is presented to us; and for us, who live in the most ancient period of the world's history †, it seems vain to expect any new style of Ecclesiastical Architecture. If ever this was to be looked for, surely it would have been during the last half century, in which we have been emerging from that un-intellectual age in which Archæologists were ridiculed as dreamers, and in which the highest achievements of the science were, first to build a Church *like* a heathen temple, and then to *make it one* by crowding it with the representations of Pagan mythology. The attempt to introduce some of the ancient features of Norman or Roman, under the new name of Lombardic or Romanesque, though made in more than one instance with exquisite taste, and costly expenditure, seems to have been unsuccessful: and the multitude of Churches now rising on every side of us with the elegant and chaste proportions of our own Early English and Decorated, proves that this style of Church Architecture has taken fast hold of the English mind, and that in this respect, at least, we are content to follow humbly in the train of those masters of the science who have left us our magnificent Cathedrals,

* Hallam.

† And to speak truly "*Antiquitas seculi, juventus mundi*," These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from ourselves.—BACON. Advancement of Learning. Book I.

and our goodly Parish Churches, and the precious fragments of our Abbeys, as the monuments of their skill, and the memorials of their piety.

It seems then that in Architecture the highest wisdom of our age is to reproduce, and for this purpose we must go to the best and purest models, and make them our study. Not that we are to sink to the level of mere copyists, but that we should do with this science just as the wise student will do with the writings of our great masters of wisdom—namely, so to study them as to assimilate them, and to make them part and parcel of his own mind, and then to give them forth again, coloured, it may be, with his own genius, and fresh from his own fount of thought. Thus should we study these models of Architecture, so as to make the science our own, not taking any one example as though that were necessarily perfect in its kind, but comparing and contrasting the many and various examples around us, and determining by a diligent collation of them what is the best and highest perfection of the science. “Antiquity,” says our great English philosopher, “deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way, but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression.” Most unwisely, therefore, would that Antiquarian act who would copy everything ancient merely because it was ancient, and make no distinction between the excellencies and the errors of the ages which have preceded him. Experience has taught us how the noble science of Architecture may be made to minister to error—how falsehood has its symbols as well as truth, and how the carved stone may but too faithfully represent the corruptions of the age in which it was chiselled. To reproduce these, therefore, is but to act over again the errors of our predecessors, and that too with the evidence before us of the evil source from which they sprang, and the fatal end in which they have issued. Many of us must have felt their spirits

stirred within them, to see how the clustered columns or the deep rich mouldings of some fine fabric of the 13th or 14th century have been chipped away to make room for the arrangements of the more corrupt age which followed; and then how, by the necessary law of reaction, Puritanical violence in the next succeeding age, whilst aiming its blow chiefly at the corrupt symbol, nevertheless has struck indiscriminately at all symbols alike. Our wisdom will, therefore, be to eliminate truth from error, avoiding the equally dangerous extremes of a morbid veneration for antiquity on the one hand, and a restless craving after novelty on the other. For it should never be forgotten that we have to mould the mind of the age which is to succeed us; and upon us lies the great responsibility of endeavouring to transmit that which is truth to them, with as little admixture of error as human infirmity will admit. We should learn wisdom, therefore, by the faults as well as by the merits of our predecessors, and give to our pure form of faith and discipline the advantages of the very best and purest Architecture, drawn from the best models of antiquity, and chastened and tempered by the genius and scholarship of our age.

But surely this is not the only end or the ultimate scope of our aims. "The greatest error," says Bacon, "is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or farthest end of knowledge; for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of men; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud

mind to raise itself upon ; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention ; or a shop for profit or sale ; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."* And if this be true of all knowledge, how true is it of those pursuits with which we are engaged. It is undoubtedly an object of laudable ambition to strive to gather together such facts as may aid us in constructing a more exact and copious history of the past—it is surely an object worthy of our highest endeavours to search out what is the most becoming Temple in which to worship Him who of old inspired a Bezaleel, and an Aholiab, and a Solomon for this very purpose ; for thus may we hope to bring men to esteem more highly the houses of God, and to regard them as the central points of their interest and affections. But we who desire to kindle these devout sentiments in others, must so pursue our studies as to make them the means of elevating our own character and raising our own moral tone. It would, indeed, be a sad result if our spirits were to slumber amidst the materialism of our work, and we were to accustom ourselves to trace a pedigree or examine a moulding without drawing for ourselves the moral instruction to which they point. Even the rusted ring of the Roman knight may tell us of the end of human ambition, for the earth has kept his ring that could not keep him ; and the little hoarded treasure, it may be, of the 13th century, which the ploughshare of the 19th century has revealed, may speak to us of some unprospered act of covetousness or of theft. And shall not our Architectural studies be rich in profit to us ? Shall not each sacred Temple that we visit speak loudly to us of the presence and nearness of Him to whom it is dedicated ? Such pursuits, are, indeed, full of moral and spiritual lessons. The mouldering fragments of some beautiful fabric may preach to us of the tendency to decay and ruin in the

* BACON. Advancement of Learning. Book I.

neglected spiritual Temple ; while the restored Church, in its harmony and beauty, will tell us how even a defaced and dishonoured Temple of the Holy Ghost may be renewed and made once more worthy of His gracious indwelling. Moreover, the very form and pattern of our Churches, exhibiting a general uniformity of outline with great variety of detail, proclaims to us God's grand law of unity in the spiritual building, in which Christians, with all their varied detail of gifts and graces, are the living stones, cemented by love and faith to Him who is the head corner stone.

By thus pursuing our objects with an intellectual and spiritual mind, we may, indeed, be recreated in the full sense of that word, for we shall then bring back with us to our ordinary associations, and into the round of our daily life, such thoughts as may cheer and strengthen us ; and aid us in the one great object to which every action of life should tend ; even the building up of ourselves and each other in the strength of our common Lord, into the fair proportions and perfected glories of the everlasting Temple.

ON THE TRACES OF ANCIENT ROADS IN THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.*

BY REV. W. J. BURGESS, A. M.

It was remarked by a learned Member of the Archæological Society, lately assembled at Cambridge, that evidences are continually accumulating of the wonderful unity of the Roman Empire. These evidences are commonly indirect, and therefore the more convincing, as being both undesigned and unexpected. The instance quoted at Cambridge was furnished by the recent discovery in this country of earthenware vessels of the Roman Period, on which the names of Caracalla and Geta having been originally impressed, that of Geta had been subsequently erased; upon which fact a second learned Member remarked, that vessels bearing the same names, and the same subsequent erasure, had been met with in the most opposite portions of the Roman dominion. I need scarcely add, that the name of Geta had been erased after the murder of that prince, by his brother Caracalla, A.D. 212. This rather singular discovery drew forth the observation I have above alluded to; and to those who have given any attention to this subject, many equally striking features of this unity would be familiar. In fact, there appears to have been an intensity and an individuality in the national character of the ancient Romans, that of itself both developed and sustained this unity, wherever the Roman Legion fortified its camp, or the Roman colonist erected his villa, or cultivated his farm. With the same hereditary feeling, and from the same national instincts that lead the Englishman in all possible circumstances to surround himself with English comforts and habits of life, with all the associations and familiar things that serve to bind his feelings to the Old Country, we find the Roman invaders in Britain laying out their settlements and forming their stations on the

* The Writer in drawing up the following Paper is indebted to Leland's Itinerary, Chutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, and a volume of Bohn's Antiquarian Library, for much valuable information.

same pattern as served them in Africa or the East—or the Roman colonist building his villa with its open court, its “impluvium,” its baths in the rougher clime of England as under the sky of his native Italy—his rites of sepulture, his implements and articles for domestic ornament or usefulness—all betoken the Roman individuality of his character, and his modes of life and thought. This uniformity if due in a great degree to the national character, was a part also of the able policy which enabled Rome both to extend her conquests and to tenant the conquered territory, as a subjected and settled country. So that according to the doctrine of Seneca—“where the Roman conquers he inhabits,” not only did the Roman arms effectually subdue our Island the “*divisos penitus toto orbe Britannos*,” but the Roman colonists dwelt peaceably in Italian style throughout the greater portion of Britain, and with the evident intention of permanent occupation. Proofs of this would multiply upon us were we to search the records, though but imperfect, of a very interesting page of British History—that of the Roman Occupation—a period that has received much light from the pursuits of the Antiquarian, and, it is predicted, will fully reward his further researches. A map of our island under this period gives us a very interesting view of the Roman settlements—military or pacific—and the means by which they maintained the constant circulation of Roman life and energy, from the Head of Empire to its most distant members—I mean their admirable lines of communication—for to this practical people it was self-evident that the mode of bringing distant places into profitable connection consisted in directness and rapidity of communication; and thus by their far-extending and admirable Roads, they led the way towards the consummation almost attained by modern Science—that of uniting distant lands, and bridging over mighty waters by steam power—and thus infinitely increasing the intercourse of Earth’s inhabitants, by adding to time what we apparently deduct from space. It may be interesting, therefore, to note how England’s past has fashioned England’s present, and how modern lines of communication have often merely followed in the tracks of Roman Roadways, and how many of the present courses of our traffic flow on in

channels opened up 1,800 years ago—some few, perhaps, at some unknown period, previous to the Christian Era. It is also an interesting topic, as connected with this subject, that if our English Itinerary be in a considerable measure the record of that of our Roman or Celtic predecessors, the Roman Itinerary has left its traces upon towns and villages in the names still inherited by them, as memorials of the passage of the Roman Road, or the presence of the Roman Station.

A few instances of these verbal traces of the Roman Via may not prove uninteresting. Such names are often merely provincial versions of the Latin Via Strata—the paved causeway so levelled or thrown up by the Roman Armies. Thus, the names of towns and villages combining this syllable “strat” or “street” for the most part sufficiently indicate their origin—as the Stratfords or Streetfords, in the northern portion of this county, on the course of the Roman Watling Street, or the village of Streetly, in Berkshire, on the line of the ancient Icknield way—or as Stratton, in Gloucestershire, on the route of the Roman Ermin Street—or Stratton in the Forseway, a few miles S. W. of Bath, situated on the Roman Road—the Foss—or still more simply as Street—a mile S. W. of Glastonbury.

To take another form of this local tradition, how numerous are the Stantons, Stauntons, and Stansteads—names of places which still give the echo of the Stony Street or paved causeway of the Roman Road-makers. Another reminiscence of the Ancient Via is found in the Saxon syllable Old or Auld, used as a prefix as Old Street or Auld Street, and Old-ford; and yet another, less obvious at first sight, is found in a purely British version of the Roman Stratum, indicated in the names of places through which it passed. This is the British term “Sarn,” with its compounds. Thus, on the track of the Roman Via called the Fossway we find Sharncliffe, and South Sharnley between Cricklade and Cirencester, North Survey two miles distant from the latter place, and Sharnton three miles from Gloucester. There is also (says Camden) a Sarn Helen to this day. But we need not even travel beyond this county for our instance, since on the track of the Watling Street, in Northern Bucks, we find a village named “Shenley,” anciently “Sharn-

ley." Occasionally, also, the villages, towns, or stations were called after the particular, and not the generic name of the Roman Road on which they were situated. Thus, one important Roman Road, as is well known, was called Fossata—now Fossway—from the deep trench and embankment marking its line; and still along its ancient line are met corresponding names of places. Thus, in Somersetshire, Stretton-in-the-Vorseway, near to Bath, with Fosscott midway between them, and Stretton-super-Fosse, where that ancient way enters into Warwickshire; and other instances might easily be brought forward if these did not suffice as illustrations of the case before us.

It will be necessary before particularizing the ancient Roads that are traceable in this county to detail in mere outline the names and general bearings of those that have been best ascertained by historical enquiries. These were—1. The Watling Street (Saxon Guethelinga) in two branches, northern and southern, leading from the Straits of Dover to the Irish Channel. 2. The Ermyn Street, leading from the Coast of Sussex, near Eastbourne or Perecusey, to the S. E. part of Scotland. 3. The Icknield Street, which never lost its original character of a British Trackway, leading from the country of the Iceni, on the East Coast, to the S. W. extremity of England. 4. The Rycknield Street, leading through the country of the Upper Iceni. 5. The Upper Saltway, leading from the Salt Mines at Droitwich to the Coast of Lincolnshire. 5. The Lower Saltway, leading from the same Mines to the S. E. Coast.

Of the Roman Roads in Britain the most conspicuous was the Watling Street, or Irish Road, leading from Richborough (Rutupiæ), in Kent, to Chester (Deva), and thence into Wales, terminating at Holyhead, in an ancient town, of which the name is lost. This Way was formed upon the track of a British Road, and bears a modern form of the Saxon name, Guethelinga. It passes in its course from the S. E. Coast, Canterbury (Durovernum), Rochester (Durobrivæ), London (Trinobantum), where Watling Street is still a familiar sound, St. Alban's or Verulam (Verolamium), a spot distinguished by Roman Fortifications, and abounding in interesting remains, Dunstable (Durocobrivæ), in the vicinity of which are both a Roman Camp and a British

stronghold, now called Maidenbower. From Dunstable, where the Watling Street crosses the Icknield Way, it is identical with the great North Western Road through Bucks, and passes through Little Brickhill, Fenny Stratford, Shenley, Stony Stratford, and leaves the county at Old Stratford, a quarter of a mile N. W. of Stony Stratford. Is it necessary to point out the significance of the last mentioned name? The Stony Street of the Romans there crossing by a ford the River Ouse. Thence the Watling Street pursues its route to Towcester (Lactodorum), and by Burnt Walls (Isanta Varia), near Daventry, close to which is Borough Hill, a British Station, anciently Bennavennæ, to Wroxeter, as so onward to Chester. We may notice as a Buckinghamshire relic that near this Roman Way at Fenny Stratford lay the Roman Station Magiovinium, still called Old-fields, where many Roman Antiquities have been brought to light. Of the Watling Street, in Buckinghamshire, no traces peculiarly Roman remain, if we except the undeviating straightness of its course, and the record of its once paved causeway preserved in the names of the towns through which it passes.

If we pass from the northern to the midland portion of this county, another ancient Road is distinguishable, commonly named in maps, and by tradition, the Akeman Way. This Road enters Bucks from Hertfordshire, a little westward of Tring, and pursues a direct course by Aston Clinton towards and through the town of Aylesbury, on leaving which place it passes in a generally straight direction by Waddesdon to Bicester, in Oxfordshire, a little southward of which was the Roman Station of Alchester (*Ælia Castra*). Here it is met by a Roman Road coming through Oxfordshire, from the south, and passing N. E. to join the Watling Street. Thus, this so-called Akeman Street follows the direction from the east usually assigned it by historians, and probably in its Buckinghamshire Section formed a connection between Verulam on the east and Alchester on the west: but, in the face of the authorities who place the course of the true Akeman Street higher in the county, and give its course as from Bedford, by Newport Pagnell, Stony Stratford, and Buckingham, to Alchester, I shall merely suggest that some weight at least is due to the traditional

name of the Aylesbury Akeman Street, that it certainly bears the test of Roman directness, that it connects Roman Stations, and that it completely answers the received idea of the Akeman Street as a deviation from the Icknield in a more northerly track, and that on these grounds it has some considerable claims to the name it now bears.

It is well worthy of notice also, that the N. W. boundary of a portion of this county is for some distance formed by the track of a Roman Road, as is also the N. E. limit of a detached section of the county which lies in Oxfordshire, a little to the west of Stratton Audley. This ancient Way and its neighbourhood are of a very interesting character. It may be traced from Alchester in a N. E. course, and passes near Fringford and through Newton Purcell, in Oxon, until it reaches the main body of this county at Water Stratford, and so continues through Stowe Park, to a junction with the Watling Street, on its entrance into Northamptonshire. I should describe this way, as a portion of the Akeman Street, when understood as passing by Newport Pagnell and Buckingham to Alchester, and it is clearly connected at the latter place with a Roman Way, the traces of which run southward from that station towards Headington, near Oxford, over Ottmoor, which Road appears to have been a connecting link between the Watling Street and Alchester, and the famous Roman Station on the Thames, at Dorchester, Dorocina, from which again a southward branch passed on to Silchester.

It is necessary also in making this Record, to allude to traces of a Roman Road, which, under the usual name of the Portway, are visible in the vicinity of Stone and Hartwell; and if we connect this with the fact that many Roman relics have been found in that neighbourhood, that the western side of the county, as at Long Crendon, presents many remains of Roman occupation and sepulture, that a Roman Way seemed to connect these posts from east to west and from north to south, there seems little room to doubt that Aylesbury itself stands on a Roman Road of a very distinct character. But this Paper would be very incomplete if I were not to give due commemoration to a Trackway of ancient renown, and still in excellent preservation, a portion of which lies through the county of Bucks—the Icknield Street or Way. This

Way may be termed the Road of the Iceni, from which ancient Celtic tribe it derived both its name and origin, for under its various provincial designations of Acknell, Hackney, or Ikenild Way, the true name of the ancient inhabitants of the East Coast of Britain is, I think, sufficiently apparent. The Icknield Way still preserves its original features as a British Trackway, as distinguished from the Roman Road; and as a proof that it does so, I may cite from a good authority the characteristics which distinguish the Roman from the British Way. The British Ways are not paved nor raised, nor always straight, but often wind along the tops or sides of the chains of hills which lie in their course. They do not lead to Roman towns or notice such towns, except when placed on the sites of British fortresses. They are attended by "tumuli," like those of the Romans, but usually throw out branches, which, after running parallel for some miles, are re-united to the original stem. Now in all and each of these particular features, the Icknield Way is conspicuously British. Thus, the Road of the Iceni, still bearing with the name its ancient British peculiarities, appears to have been made originally for commercial purposes, and led through districts probably then, as now, thickly populated. It commences on the East Coast of Britain, near Yarmouth, and first points for Taesborough, "ad Taum," the chief town of the Iceni. For some part of its course it forms the boundary between Essex and Cambridge. It then runs by Ickleton and Ickleford, to which it has given their names, to Royston in Hertfordshire. From Royston, crossing the Ermin Street, it passes through Baldock, also in Herts, and runs under Welbury Hill, where are remains of a camp supposed by Stukeley to be a British town, thence to a village in Herts, also called Ickleford, and so passing under the Warden Hills, and crossing the Road from Luton to Bedford, sends a principal branch to the British Post at Maiden-bower, near Totternhoe, and another to Dunstable, whence it passes through a small part of Beds and Bucks, leaving Totternhoe and Ivinghoe both on its right. Thence it re-enters Herts, near Bulbourne Head, leaving Tring on its right, and so finally quits Herts. After this re-entering Buckinghamshire, it still keeps the edge of the

Downs, and skirts the Chilterns through Aston, Halton, and Wendover, and runs through Ellesborough and the Kimbles to the foot of Whiteleaf Hill, in Monks Risborough, whence it bends southward of Princes Risborough, for the sake of keeping the higher ground. Thence leaving Bucks at the parish of Bledlow, it enters Oxfordshire, near Chinnor, and still keeping the declivity of the hills as it traverses Shirburne, Watlington, and other Oxfordshire villages, it crosses the Thames at Goring to Streatley, in Berkshire. Here it divides into two branches. One called the Ridgway ran along the Berkshire Downs, by Cuckhamsley Hill, White Horse Hill, and Ashbury, towards the British Sanctuary at Abury, in Wiltshire, from whence its course is not positively known, though probably it proceeds towards Glastonbury, and thence into Devonshire and Cornwall. Another branch from Streatley passed by Aldworth and Newbury Street to Old Sarum, "Sorbiadunum," thence by the two Stratfords, Maiden Castle, Durinum in Dorset, Bridport, Honiton, Exeter, "Esca," to Redruth, and the Land's End.

Considered in its Bucks Section, this ancient Way is full of Antiquarian interest. It was anciently designed for the exchange of the corn and cattle of the East with the mineral riches of the West of England, and still serves for the passage of flocks of sheep from Wiltshire to Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Herts, forming for the traveller an agreeable route from South Oxon to Cambridgeshire. It is attended in this neighbourhood by a branch or parallel road called the Lower Icknield. It passes near to many British works with which it communicates, as Maiden-bower, Cholesbury Camp, Ivinghoe Beacon, Aston Hill, Long Down Camp, Kimble Castle, or the Castle of Cymbeline, White-leaf Cross, Princes Risborough Castle, Grims Dyke, at most of which sepulchral and other remains have been found. It is attended by many "tumuli," some of conspicuous size, as on White-leaf Hill. It has either attracted population to its line of transit, or has been the means of retaining it in situ, its course being studded with picturesque churches and villages, in the proportion of a parish church to every successive mile. Some of these churches occupy most picturesque and commanding sites,

as *e. g.* Eddlesborough and Ellesborough—the former on the Bedfordshire side, the latter in the centre of the county, and adjoining the beautiful grounds of Chequers. At Ivinghoe the Church is a fine structure. At Chinnor are many beautiful brasses. In the Bucks and Oxon section of the Icknield the scenery on either side is varied and beautiful, so that in an Archæological, Architectural, or Natural point of view, a tour of inspection along the Icknield would furnish the lover of such objects of pursuit with many a scene to please his eye, gratify his taste, or bring before his imagination visions of ancient tribes and long-past histories.

Touched by these sources of inspiration, the mind of Drayton found in the Icknield a Poetic theme, though his verse is homely, and his muse evidently travels the Icknield on foot :—

“ But, oh ! unhappy chance, through Time’s disastrous lot,
 “ Our other fellow Streets lie utterly forgot,
 “ As Icening that set out from Yarmouth in the East,
 “ By the Iceni then being generally possest,
 “ Was of that people first termed Icening in her race,
 “ Upon the Chiltern here that did my course embrace,
 “ Into the dropping South, and bearing then outright,
 “ Upon the Solent Sea, stopped on the Isle of Wight.”

—*Drayton’s Polyolbion*, vol. I., p. 247.

* * * In the Map of Buckinghamshire, which accompanies this Volume, the ancient Roads are coloured pink ; other Earthworks blue.

THE DESTROYED AND DESECRATED CHURCHES OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY REV. W. H. KELKE.

A ruined edifice of whatever description is an interesting object. But of all ruined buildings a Church in ruin is the most interesting—the most affecting—the most incentive to serious and varied reflection. There is something in Gothic Architecture which renders such a ruin singularly striking, and imparts to it a peculiar beauty that belongs to no other kind of dilapidated structure. But it is not the picturesque beauty of its Gothic Architecture—it is not the pointed arch, or the foliated tracery, or the clustered pier, and the groined capital, seen peering through surrounding trees, or mantled over with “burnished ivy”—it is not the mournful appearance of sculptured fragments, the tabernacled niche, the elaborate moulding, the plumed finial, and the delicate cusp, left unheeded in the rubbish of the mouldering pile—it is nothing of this sort that invests a ruined Church with its chief interest; it touches far deeper feelings, and awakens far graver associations than those connected with mere Architectural attractions. These, indeed, are not unworthy of notice. They deserve careful examination. They may well repay the attentive study of the Architect and the Sculptor, the Antiquary and the Historian. But a Church in ruin claims attention chiefly by the deep and plaintive notes of its associations. It carries back the mind to other days and other scenes. It leads one to think of the benevolence of its pious founder—of the holy devotions once offered within its walls—of the Christian dead entrusted to its hallowed keeping—above all, of the sacred act of its consecration, which, in the most solemn manner, conveyed it to Almighty God, devoutly presenting it to Him as a free-will offering, to be perpetually devoted to His service. While these considerations flash into the mind, the scene of desolation before us fills us with wonder, indignation, and woe. We feel at once that common justice to the

undoubted rights of others has been violated, the sacred acts of Religion sacrilegiously profaned, and Christian sepulchres invaded with a barbarous impunity that would have been punished with death by ancient Pagans.

These, and such like reflections, will throng the pensive mind whenever a ruined Church meets the eye, or when the spot where one once existed is knowingly approached. Perhaps it will be thought that such cases are very few and far between, or that such sacrilegious destruction has only been committed in times of civil war or popular tumult, or when the whole country was undergoing some extraordinary revolution and excitement. But a very slight research will dissipate these notions. It will be found that the instances of destroyed and desecrated Churches are not so few as is generally imagined, and that their destruction has often been gradual, and the mere result of parochial negligence, or of the profane covetousness of some private individual.

Not fewer than forty consecrated Houses of Prayer have been destroyed or permanently desecrated in this county. Most of them have been entirely swept away—not a vestige has been left to indicate their size, their style of Architecture, or even to mark the hallowed spot whereon they stood. A few, unheeded and desolate, are still to be seen, like the beautiful Chapel at Quarrenden, in mouldering ruin. Others have been converted into dwelling houses, or domestic offices. At Widmer, in the parish of Great Marlow, an ancient Chapel, a good specimen of Norman Architecture, has had its nave turned into a brew-house, and its crypt into a beer-cellar. Sometimes portions of destroyed Chapels may be seen in the walls or other parts of existing buildings; or found buried in the earth, or among heaps of rubbish in the neighbourhood of their ancient sites. In one instance, after making various enquiries in a large hamlet for relics of its demolished Chapel, we at last found part of its carved roof forming the roof of a malting-house, and another part the roof of a barn. On leaving the barn, we observed, on the opposite side of the farm-yard, the Gothic door of the ancient Chapel, with fine massive foliated hinges, used as a gate into an adjoining garden. In another instance a summer-house was built on the site of a demolished Chapel; and some letters of a celebrated

lady are still extant, in which she jestingly tells her friends that they were written on consecrated ground dedicated to St. Leonard.

Of others we learn, that, in the progress of their desecration, they were converted into barns, into dove-cotes, into cow-sheds, into pig-sties, or to any other purpose that suited the convenience of the possessor. The account of one especially is painfully interesting. It was the only Church in the parish, but having been seriously injured in the civil wars, it was allowed to fall more and more into dilapidation. Eventually the Manor-house, to which the Church was supposed to belong, became occupied by a Quaker, who, having obtained permission from his landlord to pull down the dilapidated Church and apply the materials in constructing farm-buildings, eagerly commenced the sacrilegious undertaking. The sacred edifice was quickly demolished—the materials used in building a cow-shed and other farm offices—the font was taken as a cistern for the use of his kitchen—the Church-yard fence was rooted up, and the sacred resting-place of the dead thrown open to the adjoining field. The work of desecration, however, was scarcely finished, when, riding over the desolated Church-yard, his horse stumbled over the remains of a grave, and threw its rider headlong from the saddle. He fell on his head, broke his neck, and instantly died. Such is the account given by Browne Willis, who at the time of the fatal accident was living not far distant from the spot where it occurred.

The cemeteries connected with these Houses of Prayer were not treated with more respect or decency. Some are used as farm-yards, others as corn-fields and cottage-gardens, and others have been taken into the pleasure-grounds attached to mansions. In most instances human remains are dug up and treated with great indecency whenever there is occasion to disturb the soil of these places. In one instance the Proprietor of one of these desecrated cemeteries boasted that he had dug up several stone coffins, and scattered abroad over his fields many thousands of human bones.

Thus have Christian temples and cemeteries been profaned in this Christian land. The work of desecration, however, was generally gradual, and begun under the

authority of Legislative enactment or Episcopal sanction, obtained by the specious pretext of persons interested in the destruction or abandonment of a Church. Sometimes the services and endowments of an old parish Church were removed to a conventual Church for the convenience of the priests who served it, and to enlarge the income of the monastery; in which case the old Church, as at Chetwode, was pulled down or allowed to fall into ruin. Sometimes it was deemed expedient to unite two parishes, as Tytingham and Filgrave, and abandon one of the Churches in order to make one good benefice; or a Chapel of ease, as at Elstrop in Drayton Beauchamp, was suffered to fall into ruin, because it was difficult to supply its services, or to keep it in a state of repair. Far the greater number of desecrations, however, were the consequence of the commission * for the suppression of Chantries and other superstitious institutions, by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Heylyn states, in his History of the Reformation, † that no fewer than two thousand three hundred and seventy-four free-chapels and chantries were seized in the King's name, and sold or otherwise converted to secular purposes. These Chapels were of various kinds, and it must be allowed that by far the greater part of them were never used or intended for public worship. Free-chapels are generally supposed to have been of royal foundation, and consequently were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and independent of the incumbent of the parish where they were situated. Long before their dissolution very many of them had ceased to belong to the crown, and had been devoted to some family or hamlet at a distance from the parish Church, but they still retained their original privileges.

Chapels of ease were similar to those still bearing the same name, being built for a hamlet at a distance from the parish Church, to which they were more or less in subjection, though they generally had separate endowments and were perpetual curacies. When the right to administer the Sacraments and burials was granted them they constituted Churches. Oratories were built by license from the diocesan, for the benefit of one or more

* The Injunctions for this Commission are given in full in Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. II., page 152, folio edition, 1683.

† Vol. I., page 103. Edition of Ecclesiastical History Society.

families living a mile or more from the parish Church. The Sacraments were not to be administered in them, nor the rite of sepulture. They were generally attached to manorial residences, and served by a private chaplain. Chantries were for the most part merely portions within a parish or other Church, or small Chapels attached to the edifice, and appropriated to the performance of services for the dead, for which there was generally a special Priest and a separate endowment. Some Churches had many of these Chantry-chapels—in St. Paul's Cathedral there were no less than forty-seven. Other Chapels, called Chantries, were often distant from their mother Churches, and served the purpose of chapels of ease to hamlets or houses near which they stood, but obtained the name of chantries, either from being first founded for chantry purposes, or because they subsequently received their chief endowment from a chantry being connected with them.*

It is only of the destruction of these latter chantries that I shall here speak. As a faithful son of the Reformed Church of England, I consider the suppression of chantry services as necessary as that of other Popish superstitions. But, surely, the services might have been reformed, and the sacred edifices and consecrated burial places scrupulously preserved. Some allowance, however, must be made for kings and bishops, who, often being obliged to act through the representations of others, have no means of obtaining an impartial view of the case, and still less of regulating the operations of those who have to carry the measure into effect. Doubtless their intentions were usually for the good of the Church, and the furtherance of true religion, and they expected the work would be effected with due regard to humanity and decorum. But sacrilege, or wilful desecration, like a predatory war, continues as it proceeds to harden the feelings, to sear the conscience, and to stimulate the cupidity of those engaged in it. The real question, then, for consideration appears to be this :—Is the preservation or destruction of a Church to be regarded as a mere matter of expediency ?

* For further information on these several kinds of Chapels see Burn's Ecclesiastical Laws, vol. I., pages 273, 284 ; Heylyn's History of the Reformation, vol. I., pages 102, 103, 124, &c. ; and Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, pages 585, 591, where the subject is elaborately discussed.

Surely it ought to be viewed in a far more serious light. We will, therefore, say nothing of such Churches as are needed for the surrounding population. The most frigid utilitarian, if a churchman at all, will admit that such should not have been destroyed. But let us look at the case of those which are no longer absolutely required for the celebration of Divine Service, or for the purpose of Christian sepulture.

In the first place then, be it remembered that all these destroyed Churches, before their consecration, were duly and legally conveyed over for sacred purposes by those who possessed full right so to dispose of them. Now, on what ground is this conveyance to be regarded as less obligatory and inviolable than the title by which any landed proprietor holds his estate? Is not the seizure of such property, against the consent of its legal trustees, a manifest robbery? Laws may be enacted to legalise such a procedure—plausible arguments may be adopted to gild over its grossness—but plain honest common sense will still view it in the light of plunder.

Secondly, all these Sanctuaries were duly consecrated, and a bare glance at the import of the Consecration Service should, one would think, be sufficient to convince any person that they were thus solemnly separated from secular purposes, and devoted to the service of the Almighty. They were indeed, for the most part, like all our old parish Churches, consecrated according to the Roman Catholic ritual. But this increases rather than diminishes the importance of their consecration; for the Romish form, not only contained stronger expressions of dedication than those used by our Reformed Church, but also maledictions against those who should dare to profane the places thus consecrated. I am not, however, disposed to base any argument on the stronger portions of this service, but only to urge its acceptance so far as our Reformed Church admits it. And it is evident that she admits it, just as she admits Baptism and Ordination by the Church of Rome. She considers the act as effectually performed, although disapproving of portions of the mode of performing it. Did she not admit the efficacy of such consecration, she would have re-consecrated all those which had been only thus dedicated, for in

law, no building is held to be a Church till it has been properly consecrated.*

Passing over, then, the peculiarities of the Romish service, and those stringent expressions which have only been used by a few bishops since the Reformation, † I will notice only those particulars in the Form of Consecration which were agreed upon by the Convocation A.D. 1712, and is now generally used. Before the Bishop begins to consecrate a Church or Churchyard, he requires the previous possessors of them to relinquish unreservedly all future claim to them as ordinary property, and to acknowledge their desire to have them henceforth devoted to the service of God. He then calls on the congregation present to join with him in separating them from ordinary uses, and consecrating them to the future service of God, beseeching Him to bless and hallow them, and to grant that they may henceforth be held in reverence, and no more used for profane or ordinary purposes. Amongst the sentences which the bishop alone uses occurs the following:—

“Grant that this place, which is here dedicated to Thee by our Office and Ministry, may also be hallowed by the sanctifying power of Thy Holy Spirit, and so FOR EVER CONTINUE through Thy mercy, O blessed Lord God, who dost live and govern all things, world without end.”

So likewise when a Churchyard is consecrated, this petition is used:—

“O God, who, by the example of Thy holy servants in all ages, hast taught us to assign peculiar places where the bodies of Thy saints may rest in peace, and be preserved from all indignities, whilst their souls are safely kept in the hands of their faithful Redeemer; accept, we beseech Thee, this charitable work of ours in separating this portion of land to that good purpose, &c.”

Immediately after closing the devotional part of consecration, the bishop, or his chancellor, reads aloud a document, entitled the “Sentence of Consecration,” in which occurs this, or a similar declaration:—

“Dedicamus, et sic dedicatam, consecratam, et assignatam esse, et in futuris temporibus perpetuis remanere debere, palam et publice pronunciamus et declaramus.” ‡ (Anglice.) “Having dedicated this place, we now openly and publicly pronounce and declare that it

* Jacob's Law Dictionary, on the word Church. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. I., pages 29, 68.

† Bishop Laud's Form consisted of maledictions and other observances of a Romish character. Burns, vol I., page 299.

‡ As I could not find any modern Form containing the “Sentence of Consecration,” I have made this extract from the Form used by Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1654; and given in Hearne's Edition of Leland's Collectanea, vol. IV., page 384.

is so dedicated, consecrated, and assigned, and ought so to remain perpetually throughout future ages."

Now, taking the lowest possible view of the act of consecration, can it be considered as less than the dedicating and solemnly delivering over to God the ground and place consecrated? Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the effect of consecration on the consecrated object, there can scarcely be two opinions as to the complete and perpetual disposal of it by such deeds and expressions as those used at the time of consecration. All alike must acknowledge that it has been truly and expressly surrendered up and devoted to God. Yea, more, God has been entreated to take part in this solemn act of consecration, and to confirm and seal the deed and intention of his servants. Now, after Churches and Churchyards have thus been consecrated to God, it must be a very serious matter, on any pretence whatever, to treat them as if no such solemn dedication had ever taken place. To appropriate such consecrated places to secular purposes for the sake of gain can be nothing less than sacrilege. In this opinion I am supported by high authority. Hear Hooker on this subject:—

"The main foundation of all, whereupon the security of these things dependeth, as far as anything may be ascertained amongst men, is, that the title and right which man had in every one of them *before donation*, doth by the act, and from the time, of any *such donation, dedication, or grant*, remain the proper possession of God till the world's end, unless Himself renounce or relinquish it. For if equity have taught us that every one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours, no other can alienate from us, but with our own deliberate consent; finally that no man having passed his consent or deed, may change it to the prejudice of any other, should we presume to deal with God worse than God hath allowed any man to deal with us?"

Thirdly, all these consecrated places, with the exception of about half-a-dozen out of the forty alluded to, have been devoted to Christian sepulture; and is it not revolting to the common feelings of humanity, to say nothing of Christianity, to find them now heedlessly used as corn-fields, vegetable gardens, or pleasure grounds? Is it not belying the very words of the Consecration Service, which professes "to set them apart as peculiar places where the bodies of the faithful may rest IN PEACE, and be PRESERVED FROM ALL INDIGNITIES?" These wanton violations of the appointed resting-places of the dead are, in my opinion, so unchristian, so barbarous, and so revolting, that I will not trust myself to say more on the subject.

Those three points, then—the legal conveyance of the ground, its consecration to God, and its solemn assignment to the purposes of sepulture—are, in my opinion, such strong reasons for the sacred preservation of Churches and Churchyards, that they ought to be held inviolable, except where it can be clearly shown that their removal is absolutely necessary for the safety of the living. And if Churchmen generally are found to sanction their removal or alienation on any less cogent motive, it will soon have the effect of bringing the rite of consecration into utter contempt; of brutalising those finer feelings of human nature which have always respected the appointed resting places of the dead; and of greatly injuring the future prosperity of the Church, by necessarily exciting the apprehension of charitable persons lest any bounty bestowed on a Church or Churchyard may, ere long, only serve to increase the ill-gotten wealth of some covetous and profane worldling.

Having taken a general view of the subject, I now purpose to give a specific notice of each consecrated Sanctuary alluded to, in the order of their Deaneries.

DEANERY OF BUCHINGHAM.

BUCKINGHAM.—In this parish three Chapels have to be noticed :—

1. The building, now used as the Grammar School, was originally a Chantry Chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist and Thomas of Acon, and founded by Matthew Stratton, who was Archdeacon of Buckingham from about A.D. 1219, till his death, A.D. 1268. Apparently he was not buried here, for in his will he directs his body to be buried in Oseney Abbey, in Oxford.

This chapel, having become dilapidated, was rebuilt or restored by John Ruding, Archdeacon of Bedford, and Prebendary of Buckingham from A.D. 1471, till his death, A.D. 1481. He also built, or restored the Chancel of Buckingham Church, “as appears,” says Browne Willis, “by his arms in divers parts of the Chancel, and in the panes of the glass windows. He gave a folio Latin Bible, now in my possession, to the Church; in which are his arms painted, and this inscription written in it: *Hunc Librum dedit Magister Johannes Rudyng, Archi.*



[St. John's Chapel, Buckingham, now used for the Grammar School.]

Lincoln; Cathedral. in principali disco infra Cancellum Ecclesie sue Prebendal de Buckingham, ad usum Capellanorum et aliorum in eodem Studere volentium quamdiu duraverit. The motto of his arms, as drawn in the book, was, *All may God amende.*"

He also rebuilt, about A.D. 1467, the Chancel of Biggleswade Church, in Bedfordshire, in which he was buried, having died in A.D. 1481. Browne Willis says, "he erected his own monument, the inscription of which may be seen in the survey of Lincoln Cathedral." A plate of his tomb is given in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*. The brass containing his effigy had been torn off before A.D. 1813, but his arms were then still to be seen under the seats of some ancient wooden stalls in the north aisle.*

Browne Willis gives from a drawing in his possession the following description of St. John's Chapel:—"Over the altar, on the boards of the ceiling, was depicted an holy lamb bleeding, and on each side two angels or

* Lysons *Beds*, p. 57.

monks, with cups to catch the blood. Underneath the lamb was St. John the Baptist's head in a charger, and Ruding's motto, *All may God amende*; which was remaining till 1688, when it was destroyed as a relict of Popery by the school-boys. The rest of the work was decorated with crescents and escallops, as were the panes of the windows and the back of the master's seat, being Ruding's arms, as in Buckingham Chancel windows." There was belonging to this Chapel a small house adjoining to the Cross Keys Inn, and a tenement and two acres of pasture at the north-east end of the town.

The following is the return made of this Chantry, 2 Edw. VI. 1548: "The revenue thereof is lxix shillings; and Thomas Hawkins is Incumbent there, and hath yearly the profit thereof for his salary, over and besides 37s. 4d. which he receiveth yearly of — by reason of the late house of Sir Thomas Acon, in Westcheap, London, as it is said: the ornaments thereof be said to be worth £2 8s. 4d. Also there is a chalice with an image of Christ, the foot gilt, weighing 12 ounces."

After the Chantry Services were suppressed, this Chapel was converted into a school-room, and was endowed with £10 8s. 0½d. a year by Edward the Sixth, from the property belonging to St. Thomas Acon's College in London, which was then dissolved. It is still used for the same purpose, and has obtained the name of the Free Grammar School. As it is too near the sites of the old and present Churches to be needed for divine service, it perhaps could not have been converted to a better purpose; but its consecrated precincts, especially as they have been used for sepulture, should have been more respected. It was evidently used as a cemetery, for human remains are frequently found a few feet beneath the surface, both in the garden and the courtyard of the building. The original boundaries of the cemetery should have been preserved, and this sacred resting-place of the dead not have been used for ordinary purposes. Had it not been for this violation of the rites of Christian sepulture, I should probably not have included it amongst the desecrated Chapels of the county. It is, however, an interesting specimen of early architecture. The doorway is Norman, though much mutilated. Lysons says "the ancient pews of the Chapel still remain;" but this is a

curious mistake. When the old parish Church fell down in 1770, all the materials were sold ; and from the general wreck about eight or nine bench ends were purchased by the then master of the Grammar School, and placed for ornament's sake in the boy's school-room. Two of these are of good design ; the rest are probably of little value. These bench ends are doubtless what Lysons mistook for "the original pews" of the ancient Chapel. The Rev. H. Roundell, the present Vicar of Buckingham, to whose kindness I am indebted for the preceding information, also states that "the building probably originally served the double purpose of a Chapel and a dwelling house, being divided by a partition. The upper part is certainly a modern erection, and most likely an addition." It is remarkable that Lipscomb does not mention that this building was originally an ecclesiastical structure, although he gives a wood-cut of it from which the accompanying illustration is taken.

ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF MURSLEY.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HORN.

Mursley or Muresley, in the Deanery of that name, and in the Hundred of Cotslow, lies about four miles nearly east of Winslow. The early notices respecting it are not very numerous, but the Deanery in which it is situate, being called by its name, it must have been a place formerly of some note. Some doubt, however, exists as to the name of the Deanery being derived from this parish. There seems to have been a Priory, called St. Margaret's or Meurseley, in the southern part of the Deanery, near Ivinghoe, of which few or no traces now exist ; and this probably may have designated this Ecclesiastical Division of the county. The present Hundred of Cotslow formerly comprised the three Old Hundreds of Coteslai, *Mureslei*, and Erlai, which Civil or Terri-

torial Division, no doubt, refers to the same place, wherever it was, with the Ecclesiastical. One thing is certain, viz., that once, in a remote period, it was a place of more consideration than it is at present, the proof of which we shall adduce. The Manor was anciently in the Giffards, Earls of Buckingham; afterwards in the Fitzgeralds; from whom it passed, by a female heir, to the family of Nowers. Grace, daughter of Robert Fitzneale, married Almaric de Nowers, sister of Sir John Nowers, of Gothurst or Gayhurst, through whose marriage Mursley-cum-Salden came to the Nowers; they surrendered it to the Crown in 1351. Henry the Fourth gave Mursley to his second son, John Duke of Bedford; it having been seized by the Crown on the Attainder of Sir Robert Tresilian. On the death of the Duke of Bedford it was sold by the King to Cardinal Beaufort. In 1439 it was conveyed to Robert Whittingham, Squire of the Household, and Alderman of London, and confirmed to him by the King's patent in 1449. After this the Manors of Mursley and Salden appear to have been separated. Sir Ralph Verney, who inherited both from the Whittinghams by female descent, sold *Salden* about 1580, to Sir John Fortescue. Mursley continued to be the property of the Verneys nearly a century longer, having been purchased by the Fortescues in the year 1664. Of this latter family (the Fortescues) we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But first we will present you with some further particulars respecting the parish where they resided. Mursley, though now only a village, was once a small market town. It had formerly a market on Thursdays, granted to the Prior of Snelshall in 1230. Warren Fitzgerald had another charter for a market on Wednesdays, in 1243, and a fair on the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. This charter was renewed to John Duke of Bedford, who had the grant of another fair on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, renewed to Robert Whittingham in 1449. "The Wednesday market is said to have been held in a yard on the left-hand side of the town, as you approach it by the Whaddon road, near the great tiled house on this side of it."—(Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus.) There was a hamlet in this parish named *Hyde*, and a distinct Manor; but where it stood is unknown; perhaps it was in the Liberty of

Salden, in which there is or was a meadow called Hyde Meadow. It was the opinion of Mr. Lord, of Drayton, that Mursley lay on an old Military Roman way. It was, it is thought, a branch from the Watling Street to the Akeman Street; the road from Little Horwood to Stewkley, is, in his opinion, too well mended with stones to suggest any other idea than that of an old Roman way. How Mursley became a market town seems to have been this:—The direct road from Buckingham to Dunstable, and so on to London, lay through this place; Mursley and Leighton divided the distance between Buckingham and Dunstable: so that Mursley was well situate for a small market town lying between them. When Aylesbury began to flourish, and the fore-mentioned towns, Buckingham and Dunstable, decayed, the road through Mursley began to be neglected; and so “*poor Mursley* (it is the expression found in Cole’s MSS.) dwindled into a neglected village.” To shew the antiquity and comparative consideration of the place, it is worthy of remark, that Winslow was then of no note, and had no market till five years after Mursley. Cole, in the middle of the last century, writes of this parish, “Here are about 66 families, and 258 souls; of which six are reputed Papists, and one Anabaptist.” The Papists have disappeared, but the Anabaptists have greatly increased: indeed, the population is now nearly double what it was then, with probably little more accommodation for the inhabitants. The effect of this on their health and morals may easily be conceived. In temp. Hen. III., the Advowson of Mursley was given to the Monastery of Nuneaton, county of Warwick, and the living was in the patronage of that Convent till the dissolution of Monasteries. After which, it seems by the patents, first to have been granted to Sir Francis Verney, Knight, and then, on his Attainder, Anno 1560, Queen Elizabeth granted the Rectory of Mursley, by letters patent, to Robt. Davy and Henry Vynne or Dynne, and their assigns for ever, who sold it to the Ashfields, and thus it came by marriage to the Fortescues. Sir Edmund Ashfield appears to have gotten a lease of this Advowson from the Convent of Nuneaton. The mention of the *Ashfields* may lead us to refer to a place in the neighbourhood, a few remains of which are still standing

(Snelshall Priory). In the spot where this little Priory stood, viz., about a quarter of a mile from Whaddon Parish Church, is a farm-house, the north side of which is supported by some arches, originally belonging to the Cloister of the Conventual Church: excepting this, no part is remaining, the whole of the materials having been disposed of to erect a new chapel at Tattenhoe adjoining, which was before the Reformation subordinate to Snelshall. We have already seen that Mursley had formerly a market on Thursdays, granted to the Prior of Snelshall, 1230, and this connection between this village and the Priory is further shewn by an account of its revenues taken 26th Hen. VIII. Next to the value of the site of the building, and the adjacent lands, occurs this entry—"In Mursley Redditus unius Clausi," (the rent of one close) 61s. 4d." The estate originally belonging to the Convent in this immediate vicinity (principally in that part of the parish called the Hamlet of Selden) is thus described at a later period—"A close called Oxwicks, lying near Newton Field, Salden Leys, containing 90 acres, with eight acres lying on Bletchley Leys. Queen Mary, in consideration of £301 9s. 10d. paid her by Edmund Ashfield, of Tattenhoe, Esq., demised Snelshall to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever." Snelshall becoming the property of the Ashfields, it came into the Fortescue family, by the marriage of Cecily, daughter of Edmund Ashfield. The Fortescues sold it about 1620, to Sir George Villiers, the celebrated Duke of Buckingham; of whose son's trustees it was bought in 1697, by James Selby, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law, and has since descended to Wm. Selby Lowndes, Esq., of Whaddon Hall. The Chapel of Tattenhoe just mentioned, stands in a very retired situation, in Whaddon Chace. It is a very small building, not much larger than a room, with a single bell in an open turret. Close by are the remains of a moat, with some water, indicating the spot where a mansion formerly stood; most likely the seat of the Ashfields. A daughter of Sir Edmund Ashfield, married to Sir John Fortescue, lies buried in Mursley Church, where a monument is erected to her memory by her husband. Warinus de Fitzgerald, and Agnes his wife, founded at Salden a Chantry Chapel, to the honour of St. Nicholas, and to pray for their souls, Anno 1253. A list occurs in Cole's MSS. of the Chaplains to the Chapel of St. Nicholas,

Salden. The first name is John de Chandon, 1250; the last but one is Richard de Mursley, and the last is Hugh Withee de Kimpton. The Chapel was for the use of the Manor House, and was discontinued 1350. The existence of an ancient Manor House at Salden, before that built by Sir John Fortescue, was reported to Cole by Mr. Lord of Drayton, who told him that "Lewin de Newenham had a mansion there, and that this tradition was further confirmed by what happened at the pulling down of the latter house, when there was found an old chimney-piece behind the wainscoat in one of the parlours, with *an ancient date* upon it." But that which has conferred on this parish more celebrity than anything else, was the residence of the Fortescues there for a century and a half. Sir John Fortescue, having become possessed of Salden, a hamlet in this parish, A.D. 1580, built there a most magnificent seat. It was built round a court or square. The width of the principal front was 175 feet, with a balustrade at the top; and nine large windows on a range, gave it the appearance of a palace. The second front, with an equal row of windows, in the middle story of which was the gallery of 148 feet, and which probably faced the garden, was little inferior to the former. The building was of excellent masonry in the brick and stone work. About £33,000 were expended on it; in itself a large sum, but remarkably so for the time, although some of the rooms were not finished, and notwithstanding the carriage of the materials and the timber were found by Sir John. In Salden House were a great many coats-of-arms in the various windows, all of which were bought by the celebrated Antiquary, Browne Willis, for a trifle, and some of them were presented to Judge Fortescue, a descendant of the family. Two coats-of-arms, taken from this house, were put up by Browne Willis in the east window of Fenny Stratford Chapel, and two were in 1760, in the parlour of Old Whaddon Hall. "There was also in the dining-room or gallery chamber of Salden House, an alabaster or marble chimney-piece, justly admired for its curious workmanship, which was sold for about £5 to the Lord Fermanagh, and is put up in his house at Middle Claydon."—(Cole's MSS.) The mansion at Salden, on the property becoming divided, was pulled down; part of it in 1738, and the remainder in 1743: the materials were sold to one Thomas Harris,

a builder, of Cublington, for £400 or £500. So that this noble seat is entirely demolished, except a small portion, which served as a passage from the lofty kitchen and great parlours, and which is now occupied as a farmhouse. The situation is pleasant, and bears some marks of former splendor. There are remaining a large piece of water, which doubtless helped to supply the family with fish; a circular mound, surrounded here and there by a straggling hawthorn bush, the remains, it may be presumed, of a well clipped hedge, which served as a fence to the bowling-green. On digging around the site of the building, traces of cellars have been found; and, perhaps, if further excavations were attempted, some additional discoveries might be made. The double-terraced walks of the garden are still to be seen, with the fine old yew trees which stood near the lodge at the entrance, towards the south; while, in various parts, traces of the wall that surrounded the building are distinctly visible, the wall, in some places, still standing entire, with portions of the original stone coping upon it. Three drawings were taken of the house before it was pulled down, one of which was exhibited to the meeting at the time this paper was read, and also a drawing of the remains of Snelshall Priory.

AYLESBURY IN THE TIME OF HENRY VIII.

(From Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. Fol. 191. b. 192. a.)

“ If ever I passed into Alesbury, I rode over a little bridge of Stone called Woman's Bridge, under the which passed a Brooke downe on the right Hand as I rode; and from this Bridge to the Towne is a Stone Cawsey. This is, as farre as I can gather, Tame Water.

“ The Towne selfe of Alesbury standeth on an Hill in respect of all the Ground thereabout, a 3 Miles flatt North from Chilterne Hilles. The Towne is neatly well builded with Tymbre, and in it is a celebrate Market. It standeth in the High-Waye from Banbury to London,

and Buckingham to London. There is *domus civica* in the middle of the Market Place, a late reedified by — Baldwin, cheife Justice of the Common-Pleas; but the Kinge gave the Tymber of it. The Gaole for Buckinghamshire is in this Towne.

“There is but one Parech Church standing West-North-West in it; but that is one of the most ancientest in all those quarters, as it appeareth by the life of St. Osith. Querendon, a mile and an halfe from Alesbury, also Burton and Alesbury in Chilterne, 3 miles of by South, with divers other Hamletts, were in Alesbury Parish.

“It is sayd that a B. of Lincolne desired by a Pope to give the Personage of Alesbury to a stranger, a kinsman of his, found the means to make it a Prebende, and to impropriate it to Lincolne Church. At the which time also the Personage of Tame was impropriate and made a Prebende in Lincolne. Soe that the care of both the churches with a right bare Livinge be reject unto the Vicars. St. Osith, daughter to Fredwald, was borne in Querrendon, in Alisbury Parish, and brought up with an Aunt of hers at Ellesburrowe, in Chilterne Hilles, a 3 Miles from Alesbury by South, whereof the E. of Salesbury were late Lordes, and now the Kinge by atteinture.

“St. Osithe’s body was translated for a while for feare of Danes from Chich, alias St. Osith, to Alesbury. There was, as some saye, a Nunnery, or other House of Religion, whereas the Personage is now, and record yet remaineth that this house should be of the Matarines, alias *patres ordinis S^æ. Trinitatis*, of like sect to the Fryers of Tikhill and Hundestawe, 10 Miles from London.

“There was a house of Grey-Friars in the towne towards the South, founded about the tyme of K. R. 2. The Lord of Ormund was in the tyme of man’s minde counted cheife L. of Alesbury, since Boliew by Partition of Land.

“There runneth a pretty brooke, almost at the very End of the Towne, by South under a Wooden Bridge. It runneth downe from East by West into Tame. I take the head of it to be towards Wendover a through Fare, 3 miles of.

“Tame River selfe, as I there learned, riseth in the Easterne Partes of all the Chilterne Hilles toward

Dunstable, and the Head of it is about 7 miles from Stone-bridge on Tame, betwixt Alesbury and Quendon."

CHICHELEY.

This estate belonged originally to Tickford Abbey, and was with much more, granted by Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey for the building of Christ Church, and at his fall resumed by the Crown. It was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Anthony Cave, and came to the Chesters through marriage with his daughter and heiress Judith. In the Church there are two Brasses to Anthony Cave,* one representing him in armour with his wife Alice, and inscribed *Hic jacet Anthonius Cave Armiger quondā mercator Stapule & Alicie dominus de Chicheley, qui obiit nono die Septembris An^o dñi Millesimo CCCC lbiit^o, cujus animæ vpietetur deus Amen*; the other bearing a Skeleton in a Shroud, with the arms of Anthony Cave, and the inscription—

*Vos qui transitis memores nostri esse velitis
Quod sumus eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis
Et lege et plege, et nihil terribilius inbeneris
Quam bibere in eo statu in quo mori times.*

*All ye that pass hereby
Ye may se where I lye
Sone gone soner forgotten
So shall ye be that come after
Wherefore Remember & Remember againe.*

WEST WYCOMBE CHURCH.

The Church here was erected in 1763, but stands on the site of a much older Building. Its remarkable position on the top of a high hill was accounted for by John Aubrey in 1686, on the supposition that the first Church built there took the place of an ancient heathen altar. It is not uncommon to find Churches dedicated to S. Michael built on the tops of hills, or else with lofty steeples.

* For rubbings of these the Society is indebted to the Rev. Anthony Chester, the present Lord of the Manor.

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

Established Nov. 16th, 1847.

RULES.

I. OBJECT.—That the object of this Society shall be, to promote the study of Architecture and Antiquities, by the collection of books, drawings, models, casts, brass-rubbings, notes, and local information, and by mutual instruction at Meetings of the Society in the way of conversation and by reading original papers on subjects connected with its designs.

II. CONSTITUTION.—That the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, two Auditors, Honorary and Ordinary Members, being in Communion with Church of England; of whom, the Bishop of the Diocese for the time being shall be requested to accept the office of President; the Archdeacon of the County, being a Subscriber, shall be considered *ex officio* one of the Vice-Presidents; and that the remaining Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the Committee, and with the other Officers be elected by a Majority of the Members present at an Annual Meeting of the Society; and that every candidate for admission to the Society shall be proposed and seconded at a General Meeting or at a Committee Meeting, and balloted for at the next General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude; and that on the election of a Member one of the Secretaries shall send him notice of it and a copy of the Rules.

III. GOVERNMENT.—That the affairs of the Society be transacted by a Committee consisting of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurer, and twelve Ordinary Members, elected annually at a General Meeting of the Subscribers; and that three do constitute a quorum; further, that all Deans Rural in the County, being Subscribers, be considered *ex officio* Members of the Committee, exclusive of the twelve elected; and that Members of the Committee in any neighbourhood may associate other Members of the Society with themselves for local purposes in communication with the Central Committee.

IV. FINANCES.—That each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of not less than Five Shillings, to be due on the first of January for the current year; or shall compound for the same for five years by one payment of a Guinea, or for life by one payment of £5. And that if any Member's Subscription be in arrear for one year, he may be removed from the Society after three months' notice to him from the Treasurer, at the discretion of the Committee. Excepting that all persons holding the office of Churchwarden in any Parish of the County be placed, on the recommendation of the Clergyman of their respective Parish, and with the sanction of the Committee, on the list of Members without payment; and also that when extraordinary talent in Architectural or Archæological pursuits is shown by any person, it shall be competent for a majority of the Committee to elect such person an Honorary Member without Subscription.

V. MEETINGS.—That the General Meetings of the Society be held once a quarter, or at such times in each year as the Committee shall fix, of which due notice shall be given; and that each Member may be allowed to introduce Visitors at all General Meetings, except during the transaction of private business.

VI. PROPERTY.—That all Books, Drawings, Papers, and other property of the Society, be kept by the Secretaries for the use of Members, subject to the regulations of the Committee.

VII. RULES.—That no new Rule shall be passed, and no alteration made in any existing Rule, unless notice of the proposed new Rule or alteration shall have been given at the preceding General Meeting.

Architectural and Archæological Society

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR 1854.

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Ex-Officio—The above named Officers.

The Rural Deans, viz. :—

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Rev. H. BULL
Rev. F. W. CARTWRIGHT

Rev. T. EVETTS
Rev. C. LLOYD

Elected :—

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BARNETT, Rev. J. P., Northampton
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Societies in Union.

The Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society
 The Cambridge Ecclesiological Society
 The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society
 The New York Ecclesiological Society
 The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture
 The St. Alban's Architectural Society
 The Surrey Archæological Society
 The Yorkshire Archæological Society
 The Society is also incorporated with the Archæological Institute of Great
 Britain and Ireland.



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

Found in Wharfedale Chase.

RECORDS
OF
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,

BY THE
Architectural and Archæological Society

FOR THE
COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

~~~~~  
PART I.  
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AYLESBURY:
PRINTED BY JAMES PICKBURN, TEMPLE STREET.

—
1854.

P R E F A C E.

In issuing the present series of papers as recommended in the Report read at the General Meeting of the ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM, Jan, 2nd, 1854, there are two objects which the Committee especially desire to promote, viz.—

1. The diffusion of correct information on all subjects which fall within the cognizance of such a Society, and

2. The collection and preservation of such materials as may serve to illustrate the history of the County.

For this purpose, the papers will not only contain accounts of those features of Architecture, or Antiquities, to which attention has already been drawn, (though many of these are but partially known,) but also, and more especially, of those which have hitherto been almost or entirely overlooked, or which shall from time to time be discovered.

Many such have to our own knowledge been brought to light in the restoration of Churches, or removal of parts of ancient Buildings; many by the plough and spade of the agriculturist, or excavator: many more, doubtless, have perished unnoticed, or

forgotten, for want of some storehouse in which at least their memory might have been preserved. Such discoveries are now especially likely to be made, at a time when Church restoration is daily progressing, and new railways are contemplated through the County. Nothing need be said to shew the interest which these must possess, nor of their value to the Architect or Antiquarian. Besides this however, they may be of the utmost importance to the landed proprietor, or to the historian, by bearing independent testimony on some doubtful point; while a collection of such isolated facts, though some might appear unimportant in themselves, may form the nucleus of a County history, which could not be gathered with accuracy from other sources.

A great amount of such information has already been collected in the form of papers read at the General Meetings of this Society: more has been gathered by individual Members, and others who have communicated the result of their researches to the Society: and much also that is interesting and useful has been culled from curious and scarce documents, and other records which would not otherwise have been likely to reach those by whom it will be most valued. Hitherto however this information has scarcely been used by Members of the Society; still less by others who might be interested in it; and it has never appeared in such a shape, that any person might collect and pre-

serve it for himself. It is hoped that this may be remedied by the present series, which is intended to circulate at least the most valuable of the materials alluded to, those especially which possess the greatest *local* interest.

Besides the above, which will generally supply the longer articles, it is proposed to reserve a space in each number for *shorter* communications. This portion is intended to contain authentic information on all subjects bearing upon the History, Antiquities, or Architecture of the County. Here will appear notices of all Archæological discoveries, of Churches or other edifices built, wholly or partially restored, or (if from any circumstance it should so happen) destroyed. Objects worthy of note in each locality in the County, will in turn be pointed out. Here will be published such extracts from old Registers as may contain curious and important information; while matter of a lighter and more amusing, though often not less valuable kind, may be found in the accounts of local phrases, customs, and traditions.

Enough has already been said to shew the importance of such a collection of facts connected with the County. It only remains now to state, that after all the exertions of the Committee to attain completeness, the success of the undertaking must depend mainly upon the co-operation of those who are able to furnish information on the points

which have been mentioned. Most, it is believed, will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of so easily turning to good account the information that may be at their disposal ; and there are few, who are not at some time or another able to contribute *something* to such a store of materials. Only, let none be deterred from making their communications by an idea that information on the same subject *may* possibly be obtained from other sources, or that it is not sufficiently important, or from their own inability, real or fancied, to give a *learned* account. What the Committee chiefly desire, is a plain clear statement of every matter of fact in any way connected with the objects of the Society. In obtaining these, they earnestly solicit the aid and co-operation of the inhabitants of the County, and more especially of their own Members.

R E P O R T

READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Architectural & Archæological Society

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM,

JANUARY 2nd, 1854.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM having now existed six years, it has been thought desirable to deviate from the usual practice, and to give a general summary of the objects of the Society, and of its operations during that period. Indeed, in consequence of the resignation of one of the Secretaries, and the illness of the other, it has been found impracticable to draw up a satisfactory Report of the proceedings of the past year.

The objects of the Society are clearly indicated by its name. It appears to have had its origin from a desire expressed in various quarters, that on the one hand our County might not be negligent in preserving those relics of antiquity with which it abounds, or in collecting accurate information respecting them; and on the other hand that a misguided zeal for restoration might not lead to the spoliation of our ancient Ecclesiastical and other Edifices, or to the erection of modern buildings unworthy of those examples which surround us, or unsuited to the purposes for which they might be intended.

It appears to have been with feelings such as these, that a number of gentlemen met together in the Vestry of Aylesbury Church, Nov. 16, 1847, to consider the best mode of carrying their desires into effect. That was the nucleus of our Society.

The first General Meeting was held in January, 1848; and in its first year the Society numbered 55 members,

including the LORD BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE as its President, the then ARCHDEACON OF THE COUNTY, a number of the more influential Clergy, and many of the Laity, amongst whom should be mentioned the late T. TINDAL, Esq., as its first Treasurer. Since that time its numbers have gradually increased, and it has continued to hold General Meetings periodically. At the close of 1849, the Society received a check by the resignation of its Secretary, the Rev. ARTHUR BAKER, who had held that office from the first, and to whose ability and untiring energy in the cause, the prosperity, if not the very existence, of the Society was mainly attributable. His colleague, G. L. BROWNE, Esq., retiring shortly afterwards, three new Secretaries were appointed—the Rev. T. EVETTS, W. HASTINGS KELKE, and W. B. GALE. Mr. Gale retired in 1850; and now your Committee have to record with great regret the resignation of Mr. Evetts, who most kindly undertook at great personal inconvenience, and has for four years most ably fulfilled, the duties of the office. In addition to other losses since its commencement, the Society has during the past year been deprived of one of its Vice Presidents, by the lamented death of ARCHDEACON JUSTLY HILL, and of its Treasurer, by the departure from this neighbourhood of the Rev. J. R. PRETYMAN. To this latter gentleman the special thanks of the Committee are due, for the uniform interest which he has manifested in behalf of the Society, and for the kindness and ability with which he has promoted its objects.

While, however, we regret such losses from among the leading officers of the Society, your Committee cannot but congratulate you upon the acceptance of the office of Vice-President by one who, independently of his position, is so admirably qualified to take a lead in a Society such as ours, as the present ARCHDEACON OF BUCKINGHAM; one whose ability and interest in the work of ecclesiastical architecture have been so practically manifested, as well in the valuable suggestions offered by him relative to the

Churches which he has visited in all parts of the county, as in the active part he has taken for the completion of his own Church in the County Town, the restoration of which had been most judiciously commenced by the late Vicar.

The Committee have the pleasure to state that the other vacancies in the official staff now only require the approval of this Meeting in order to their being satisfactorily filled up. Mr. BAYNES, a member of the Society from the first, having expressed his willingness to accept the office of Treasurer, and the Rev. A. NEWDIGATE, one of the Curates of Aylesbury, having consented to succeed Mr. EVETTS as Acting Secretary.

A feeling of disappointment has arisen rather extensively amongst its members, that the Society has not publicly exhibited more fruits of its labours. And it is candidly admitted that it has not made that effectual progress which might have been expected. Various circumstances have hindered its progress. The change of its officers, combined with the known difficulty of assembling its members in sufficient numbers,—the deficiency of funds, which from the small amount of the subscriptions can scarcely ever suffice to carry out any important object—these may be mentioned as the principal discouragements and hindrances with which the Society has had to contend. Still it has never ceased to exercise some of its most useful functions. Those members who have been present, will not soon forget the very interesting papers which have been read at its meetings, many of which have since been published. Few words might suffice to remind you of the joint meetings with sister Societies which have been held in neighbouring towns, and of pleasant and profitable excursions on those occasions. Such instances as Princes Risborough and Leighton Buzzard and Banbury will readily occur to the members of the Society.

The benefit of such meetings does not pass away with the occasion, nor is it confined to those members who

attend them. For not only do we thus add to our own information by what we hear, and to our own stock of examples by what we see ; but the fact of such visits being made by the Society often creates an interest in its objects where it had not existed before, or revives it where it had languished. In this respect the meetings at Leighton Buzzard and Banbury have been very successful. In the former case it promoted the restoration of the very interesting Market Cross of that town ; and in the latter it led directly to the institution of a local Society of the same character.

But such are only what may be called the more external and apparent operations of this Society. It has also been working in another direction in a less obtrusive but no less useful manner. One of its chief fundamental objects has been to collect such materials and promote such measures as might assist in the compilation or illustration of a complete history of the County. This has ever been kept in view by your Committee. They have lost no opportunity which presented itself of increasing the stores both of its museum and library. The result is, that it is now in the possession of various records, manuscripts, books, drawings, plans of Churches, Schools, and other buildings ; ancient and scarce prints ; coins and other relics of antiquity ; portions of parochial and manorial history ; genealogies of County Families, &c. &c. A Society which has accumulated such a store, if of no other service, has not existed in vain. Nor let it be supposed that this collection will be useful only to the County Historian, or the Antiquary. The possessors of landed property, and indeed various other persons connected with the County, may find such a store of real value.

This collection, however, may be considerably enlarged and enriched, if all the members will endeavour to aid its designs, by communicating information relative to antiquities, or objects of interest in their respective localities.

To awaken a more general interest in the Society, and

to preserve a more extended record of the fruits of its labours, the Committee desire and recommend the publication of a Journal, to be issued quarterly, (should the interest shewn in it justify them in so doing), which should consist of papers and notes illustrative of the History and Antiquities of the County, and Architectural notices, as well as a record of the Society's transactions. The documents of the Society, together with such information as may from time to time be furnished, will, it is believed, be found sufficient to supply the materials for such a Journal.

In order to promote this object, the Committee undertake to collect information in any way bearing upon the objects of the Society, in the various parts of the County in which they reside ; and to communicate such information to the Secretary resident at Aylesbury. It is hoped that members of the Society, and others who may have the opportunity, will aid the Committee by collecting and furnishing information of this kind. With a further view to the gaining and diffusing information, it is intended to revive and continue the practice of holding Annual Meetings of the Society within the County.

In conclusion, your Committee beg to remind the members of this Society that their aims and objects are *practical* throughout. In the study of Archæology their chief design is, as has already been stated, to collect such material as may aid in the compilation of a complete history of the County. While aiming at this, they hope that a profitable experience may be gained from the intimate knowledge of the actions, habits, and motives of our ancestors, which such study alone can impart. In their pursuit of Architecture they seek to gain and diffuse information as to the best and purest models in each successive period of the science. This will lead them to mark those innovations which may be more or less identified with corruptions in doctrine, and to gather from each style its own peculiar merits. Thus, while they

shun the defects, they become better able to take advantage of the excellencies, of the ages which are past.

Pursuing its labours in such a spirit, the Society will best guard itself against the abuses to which they are liable, and which are so well pointed out in the Inaugural Address of the Right Rev. the President. No efforts of the Committee shall be wanting in order to secure harmony and united action in promoting the objects of the Society. And as the fruit of their labours they look not only for a harmless recreation, but for mutual and general edification; and, above all, for the happiness (if it may be so) of having promoted, in however faint a measure, the progress of that Spiritual Temple, the foundations of which are eternal.

ANCIENT BRITISH GOLD COINS FOUND IN
WHADDON CHASE.

Through the kindness of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., we have the gratification of presenting our members with a plate containing several examples of these interesting coins. We are also indebted to him for the following authentic account of the discovery, and a few particulars which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* :—

The coins were discovered in February, 1849, by a tenant of Mr. Lowndes, whilst ploughing a portion of Whaddon Chase, which had been recently cleared and enclosed. The discovery attracted many persons to the spot, some of whom contrived to get possession of nearly one hundred specimens, which have been dispersed. About 320 reached the hands of Mr. Lowndes.

Fragments of an earthen vessel are said to have been turned up where the coins were found; but, on enquiry, we could gather no satisfactory information on this point, and it is not known whether they were contained in some description of urn, or placed in a less fragile depository. The passing and repassing of the plough, had scattered the coins over the surface of the land, and driven many of them nearly half-a-foot into the clay, which was dug out and burnt, whereby several pieces more were recovered.

On visiting the spot, we could perceive no traces of pottery, nor any evidence of the ancient occupation of the spot; but from the name of the field in which they were discovered, "Narbury," we were led to examine the neighbourhood, and our search in a part of the adjacent Chase, yet uncleared, brought us upon a very perfect Roman camp, enclosing an area of about five acres. The vallum and fosse appear to have undergone no material alteration since the position was abandoned.

Though these coins are extremely interesting to the numismatist, it is greatly to be regretted that not a single example of an inscribed coin occurs amongst them. About one fourth consists of pieces of a type already well known, stamped on one side only with the rude figure of a horse, the head grotesquely shaped, and re-

sembling the bill of a fowl, and the limbs disjointed. The rest have, on some examples, a tolerably well-executed figure of a horse unbridled and at liberty, and on the reverse, a wreath dividing the field; one of the divisions being filled up by various unknown objects, the other by a flower which we shall not attempt to describe with the pen, but which is accurately represented in the engraving No. 1. The more perfect striking, and fair preservation of some of the coins of this description, enables us to identify others of less perfect type.

It is not easy to discover the meaning of the types of British coins of the degenerate class, to which these pieces certainly belong. The progress of corruption of design seems to us to have been sometimes influenced in a great measure by the skill, or want of skill, of the engraver; but we shall not err much in the conjecture, that these coins are of a later period than those of Cunobelin, with the wheat-ear and rampant horse. We hold in common with the numismatists of the Continent, that the rudest coins of this class are the latest; and with this view, we do not hesitate to ascribe the Whaddon Chase coins to the important period just previous to the annexation of Britain as a Roman province; * a period on which but little light is shed by Dion Cassius, and the history of which, owing to the loss of a most important book of Tacitus, must be investigated principally by means of the few numismatic monuments which have descended to us.

A person residing in the village of Whaddon showed us a coin similar to those of the first seven specimens, which was found by a labourer in a part of the Chase about five years ago; but he could give us no particulars as to the precise spot where it was picked up.

As before observed, it is all but hopeless to attempt an illustration of pieces which bear no traces of inscription, nor any very satisfactory indication of what may have been the prototype, for we must regard them as belonging to the class of degenerate British coins. All that can be done, therefore, is to chronicle their finding, and patiently wait the chance of future discoveries.

Any conjectures as to the accident which led to the deposit of these coins in such a place; whether they were

* The resolute struggle of the Britons for their independence ended in this part of the island.

the produce of plunder, or the buried hoard of a British chieftain, or the spoil of some Roman soldier located in the adjacent camp, are questions which may amuse, but can elicit nothing of value to the antiquary.

The average weight of these coins is just under 90 grains, Troy; a very few only exceeding that weight by half a grain. Though so truly adjusted, however, their fineness varies considerably. They may be estimated at about 12s. each, being inferior to our gold standard, and alloyed with silver.

The spot where the coins were found is called "Narbury." Knowing this to be a provincial form of Norbury, or Northbury, Mr. Akerman said that he was not surprised at finding a fine Roman camp in an adjacent part of the Chase not then cleared. The fosse and vallum were quite perfect, enclosing about five acres.

On hearing of the discovery of the Whaddon Chase coins, Mr. Lowndes, as Lord of the Manor and owner of Whaddon Chase, instituted a legal inquisition, an account of which, as founded on the ancient law of Treasure Trove, may not be without interest.

Evidence of the discovery having been given before the Coroner D. P. King, Esq., the Solicitor on behalf of Mr. Lowndes, Lord of the Manor and ancient Chase of Whaddon, produced a grant given by King James the First, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to "George Villiers, Knight, Master of the Horse, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and a Knight of the Garter, &c.," of "the manors of Whaddon and Nash, the Queen's Park in Whaddon, the Chase in Whaddon, with all coppices, mines, goods and chattels abandoned, goods and chattels of felons, fugitives, etrays, franchises, liberties, &c., of every kind, nature, or sort."

The Coroner stated to the Jury his having received notice of the finding, and consequently the obligation (by his office) to make such a novel inquiry: and then explained the law as affecting Treasure Trove, and the operation of the grant from the Crown. The Jury found that Mr. Lowndes was, as the present Lord of the ancient Chase, entitled to the coins.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHILTERN HILLS.

BY THE REV. W. J. BURGESS, M.A.

There is a certain celebrity attached to the name of the Chiltern Hundreds, nominally those of Stoke, Desborough, and Burnham, from the fact that a seat in the Lower House of Parliament is vacated by accepting the Stewardship of the said Hundreds. The Stewardship has this efficacy, because it is still held as a Royal Appointment; and indicates the time when this forest tract of hill-country required the appointment of Two Knights or Wardens, to act on behalf of the King, for the protection of his liege subjects dwelling in or travelling through these parts. Thus it was an office, speaking more favourably for the Royal care, extended over the subject, than for the security and moral condition of the Chiltern country. The necessity of such a Stewardship implies too clearly a degree of wildness, violence, and lawlessness existing in this unreclaimed part of the country.

But the same wild and woodland features which secured for the Chilterns the unenviable notoriety of the Royal Stewardship, favoured also another purpose, for which this line of country was distinguished. This was the amusement of hunting pursued by the Royal Masters of the Chiltern Knights or Stewards. Here might the beasts of chase be found in abundance, undisturbed by the cultivation of the land, unmolested by the busy haunts of men, alike hateful and hostile to the wild boar and other like animals *feræ naturæ*.

That Edward the Third, and his chivalrous son, the Black Prince, frequented this country, is well authenticated by the fact, that in the town of Princes Risborough the Black Prince held a Castle and Demesne, the foundations of the Castle being at this day visible near the church: whilst another seeming indication of the presence of these great personages among the Chiltern Hills, is afforded by the amusing and unpoetical stanza, which imputes to an ancestor of the long-descended family of Hampden, the loss of three manors at once, in consequence of an early outbreak of antiregal independence of cha-

racter, in the shape of a blow administered by the Hampden to the Prince. The stanza is as follows :

“Tring, Wing, and Ivinghoe,
Hampden did forego,
For the striking of a blow,
Right glad to escape so.”

But whilst we may believe that the King visited the house of Hampden, and perhaps joined him in a friendly hunting excursion, the fact that the manors in question could not have been thus confiscated because they never had belonged to the Hampden estate, leaves us in the conviction, that there was no such stain upon the loyalty of John Hampden's ancestor, and that he was a better subject than his calumniator was a poet.

The occasional visits of Royal persons to the sequestered haunts of the Chilterns appear also indicated by the significant names of many places among them. Thus we have King's Wood, near St. Leonard's, with King's Ash, and King's Gate, King's Beech, also a venerable tree in the valley below Hampden House, may have witnessed the time when the Monarch partook of his twelve o'clock dinner under its shade, literally “*recubans sub tegmine fagi.*”

Of the Chiltern Hills as a natural feature of the country, those who know them may well speak with pleasure; for it is this district of varied scenery that adds a picturesque quality to the generally monotonous county of Bucks. Taking their rise in Cambridgeshire, and there known as the Gog-Magog Hills, this chain of heights runs through Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, and entering this county by Ivinghoe, at a very fine elevation, runs across in a south-west direction, and leaves it at Chinnor in Oxfordshire. Through Oxfordshire, the Chilterns pursue their course with the same bearing, and in a line but little broken or varied; until after receiving the Thames from the Vale of Oxford, at Goring and Streatly, they change at once their course, and running due westward, form the line of the Berkshire Chilterns, on one of which, near Newbury, is incised the gigantic and rude figure of a horse, well known round all that country.

But if Buckinghamshire falls in for but a narrow section of these conspicuous hills, it receives its full share of their characteristic beauty or boldness. Viewed from the Vale of Aylesbury or of Thame, the appearance of the

hills is that of a high rampart of table-land, of very uniform level, its front to the vale here green with downy turf, there clothed with native and characteristic beechen wood. The escarpment of this high land is very often broken into deep recesses, and penetrated by vallies in some cases, as at Tring, Wendover, and Risborough, running through the chain eastward into the sloping country within the Range. Viewed in profile, the hills present a series of lofty slopes, and bold brows or headlands, some of very sharp descent, and turfed, others covered with hanging woods, in which are found the box and juniper, as well as the ash, oak, and beech. These eminences, attaining the height of 910 feet above the sea level, are all distinguished by that roundness of outline which the Geologist recognizes as peculiar to the chalk formation, of which the Chilterns form a distinguished example: although within the range, at about four miles from the summit, runs a line of hard sandstone boulders, claiming no kindred with the great masses in which they are embedded. It may be observed further, that this platform of high land, showing invariably its steepest face on the north-west limit, is penetrated by vallies running into it at intervals from the plain which carry off its waters. It is at the opening of the vallies or among the declivities of the hills, that there are found those hanging woods and wild glades, which have gained for such spots as Velvet Lawn or Bledlow, their well deserved name for picturesque beauty. Within the high rampart of the hills slopes gently down, for many a mile to the south-eastwards, what may be termed the Chiltern country. It forms a high but undulating tract of hill, vale, and wood, in which the upland Hamlets, with "secure delight," have invited and might still invite the visits of a Milton and in which quiet and picturesque farms, country towns and villages, seated generally by the brook in the vale, a few pleasant with some noble mansions, may claim for the district a character for cheerful rural beauty. Assuredly, from an acquaintance of some years with this country, the writer can promise the lovers of good exercise, fine air, and pleasant scenery, many an agreeable walk or ride over the open commons, or through the shady lanes and fertile fields of this variegated hill country. Let the scenery of Marlow, Missenden, Penn, and Wycombe attest that this is no undue partiality.

Viewed, however, in an antiquarian light, the Chiltern district cannot compare with other counties of older civilization, or more directly Feudal or Ecclesiastical Associations. We have near this spot indeed, the ancient and interesting mansions of Hampden and Chequers; and on the lofty eminence of Ashridge, its noble pile: but we can boast no ruined Castles like Herstmonceaux, or Bodiam, nor any Abbeys like Tintern or Fountains. For of the ancient foundations of Great Missenden and Wycombe, I am not aware that any vestiges remain, beyond those written records which the page of history has rescued from oblivion. The Churches, too, of the Chiltern country are not of a very ancient order, but are for the most part fair specimens of the Architecture of their day.

It is to a much earlier age that the chief Antiquities of the Chilterns belong—an age so remote that the conflict once raging in this neighbourhood, between King and Parliament, Cavalier and Roundhead, appears an event of comparatively recent occurrence; and, perhaps, had those learned Antiquaries, Sir R. C. Hoare, and the Rev. Edward Duke, of Wiltshire, bestowed as much attention on Buckinghamshire Barrows as on the mysterious relics of Salisbury Plain, some connected and even satisfactory theory might have been prepounded of the old-world history of these parts.

True it is, however, that the Chiltern Forest, forming a strong and impenetrable country, abounds with evidence of the care once bestowed by its inhabitants on camp and fortification. They were a warlike people, who once on these natural ramparts were driven, in self-defence, to study their rude art of war. Whilst in honour probably of some Chieftain slain in battle, many a Barrow, or Sepulchral Tumulus, rises in the solitary place, a durable monument indeed of death and sepulture; but no memorial of the name or deeds of him who was consigned to the “narrow dwelling-place” within. Singularly striking for the most part is the situation of the “lonely Barrow” on some deserted plain or lofty eminence, whence we may imagine the spirit of the dead surveying the wide spread scene of his former power or enjoyments—a scene now overlooked by the earthen memorial of his mortality.

Many such Barrows exist among the Chiltern Hills. Of these there are remarkable instances on the west side of Bledlow Down. On the western foot of Lodge Hill in

Saunderton parish are two conspicuous Barrows. In the same parish, near Slough, are three Barrows, two of them having been recently opened with no result. There is a single Barrow on White-leaf Hill, another on the Down above Wendover, another on Ivinghoe Beacon. In Hampden Park, and in a wood adjoining are three Barrows of great size, and very interesting character, large enough to have formed like that above Velvet Lawn, the base of a Keep or Tower. That such earthen mounds are British places of interment, is the received opinion. A very ancient authority, Herodotus, speaks of this kind of sepulture as a Scythian or Celtic mode of burial. He terms them from the manner of their formation, *χωματα*—Herod. iv. 71.

It is probable that the other considerable earth works of this district may be attributed to the Britons and Romans, and as *tradition* goes, to the Saxons and Danes. We possess in proof of the former assertion, the square camp of the Roman close by the circular work of the Briton, the two forming rival positions, or camps of observation. Thus at Tottenhoe, on the borders of this county and Bedfordshire, there is a circular work of Ditch and Rampart, whilst close at hand is a large square or rectangular Fortification, called Maiden Bower, which is probably the Roman work, and which reminds the Antiquary of a similar strong-hold near Dorchester, in Dorset, there called Maiden *Castle*. Proceeding along the Chilterns, from the eastward, we find works of similar aspect, as on the hill near Aldbury, in Herts. At Hawridge, near Chesham, is a very strong circular embankment, with deep fosse and well-defined entrance. It is now occupied by a farm-house, and doubtless was made use of for a moated mansion long after its original purpose was fulfilled. Again, nearly in a line between Chesham and Berkhamstead, stand in close vicinity a circular and a rectangular camp; or, as it is believed, British and Roman Posts. At Cholesbury, near Tring, is a very extensive camp or fortified Village, of circular form, with deep moat and lofty rampart, in one side of which stands the Parish Church. The earthen mound is here overgrown with trees, and within its circuit are cultivated lands, of a size to justify the opinion that this was rather a stronghold for *residence* than a work for warlike purposes.

It would be tedious to mention the relics of this nature

scattered thickly about the recesses of the Chiltern Hills. Mysterious walls and dykes meet the observant eye in the woods near Missenden, and around St. Leonard's, the moat filled with water, and the lines towering among the trees with a regularity of design, that speaks of some strong force employed, and important purpose to be fulfilled, in the operation. On a lofty eminence, within sight of Princes Risborough, named Long Down, we meet with another fortification or camp; now, however, devoted to the purposes of a Religion benignly contrasting with the Heathen rites, once connected with the spot; for the place itself and the wood in which it is partly hidden, form part of the Glebe of Hampden Rectory, and the wood is probably called from that circumstance "Pulpit Wood." Again, the traveller from High to West Wycombe, may observe on his left hand the irregular outline of an ancient stronghold, described in the Ordnance map as a "Danish" camp. And at any rate he cannot fail to notice the fine situation and commanding strength of the earthwork on West Wycombe Hill. This interesting work is circular. The agger is very clearly defined, and within its girdle stands the Parish Church, as once did the ancient village, although for purposes of shelter or of water, or both, it has since quietly sunk down into the valley below.

Arriving at the interesting country around Velvet Lawn, and examining the features of its picturesque hills, we observe a Mound of massive size, situated on a spur of the Chilterns, yet commanding very finely the surrounding country. The name of this conspicuous work is Kimble Castle. The tradition concerning it, is, that it was the Hold of Cunobeline, or Cymbeline, a British King, and that an action was fought in this neighbourhood between the sons of the British Chieftain and the Roman General, Aulus Plautius, in which one of the British Princes named Togodumnus, was slain. The facts that the ancient name of Kimble is Cynebel, or Cunobel—that there are funeral Barrows near the spot—and that history attests that such an action was fought in this vicinity—appear to give much weight to a tradition which certainly invests Kimble Castle, or as it is sometimes called, Belinuss Castle, with no common interest. An inspection of the spot will not disappoint, either the lover of nature, or the student of the ancient history of our country. We have, too, in the parish of Princes Risborough, vestiges of camp

and barrow, from both which coins, urns, and other relics, have been taken. The Malt, or *Mort* Hills, are traditionally burial places; whilst Horsenden, or Horsa's dwelling, and the Cross of Whiteleaf, point rather to Saxon than to Celtic times.

That the Roman legions ever penetrated the surrounding hills, is more than even an Antiquary can conjecture; though the Hamlet of Speen may possibly derive its name, as Speen in Berkshire is supposed to do, from the Roman *Spinæ*. It is still a thorny nook in the woods. Nor is it unlikely that the Icknield way, pursuing its persevering course to the westward, along the lower eminence of the Chilterns, would be overlooked by so good a judge of roads as the Roman Conqueror. For the Icknield was, I presume, an ancient British Trackway from East to West, and may have been so called from the Icenii, from whose territory it takes its rise.

But I must hasten to conclude this paper, with a few remarks on one of the chief mysteries left us from the olden time in the keeping of the Chiltern Hills. Mystery certainly envelopes the origin, and a solemn awe is felt by the country folk in the presence of a work passing by the ominous name of Grimsdyke, *i.e.* the foss or ditch of Grim. The name itself is ancient. It occurs in a charter granted by Edmund Earl of Cornwall, in the reign of King Henry the Third, to his Monastery of Bonhommes, at Ashridge in Bucks, and describes the course of a way, as leading "usque ad quoddam fossatum quod dicitur Grymes ditch"—*Clutterbuck's Herts*, vol. i., p. 291. The name is also found in Scotland as descriptive of a similar work. It is there called Graham's Græme's or Grim's dyke, and is believed to have been executed by Lolius Urbicus. It is an immense ditch, averaging 40 feet in width, and stretching from sea to sea. By the country people it is commonly asserted that the Chiltern Grim's Dyke runs round the world, for the notion of German or Atlantic oceans is but imperfectly presented to their minds; or, at least, the Great Dyke is more than a match for the sea, and like the Sea Serpent, drags its length along beneath the surface. Certain it is, that the extent of country traversed by the Dyke is very great, and the labour of moving so great a mass of earth could only have been undertaken when whole tribes turned out to break the ground, nothing daunted by the difficulty of moving soil with their fingers, or at best

a wooden spade and wicker-basket. The course of this singular Bank or Ditch is very devious. In is met with in Berkshire, near Streatly, and is traced for a considerable distance. It appears on the Chilterns in Oxfordshire, near Watlington. In this county it has been tracked from Bradenham, whence it runs in bold outline through woods to Lacey Green, forming the boundary of Princes Risborough parish. Thence, turning at right angles, it maintains its conspicuous course, by Redland End, through Hampden Park, where, again turning sharply round, it runs near Hampden House, and onwards by some lofty Barrows, towards Great Missenden. Crossing the valley, we find the well known features of our old friend near King's Ash, in Wendover parish; then passing through woods near St. Leonards, it passes in bold relief over Wigginton Common, and is met with in full preservation above Berkhamstead, in Herts; and crossing the valley northwards at that point stretches over Berkhamstead, Common towards Ashridge.

The main feature of the Dyke consists in its *course*, kept carefully within the platform of the high ground, and generally, when it approaches the outer face of the hills, maintaining a uniform distance from the summit. But for what purpose all this labour? Did this line of embankment serve to connect the Strong Holds of West Wycombe, Cholesbury, and Maiden Bower, not far from which it runs? Or, if a Military work, would it leave the summit of the hill undefended, and follow the weaker positions, being itself a line of defence too long to be held by troops, without the aid of towers and forts in close connection, such as distinguish the Northern Wall of Severus? Let us then conceive that this work, so massive and continuous, was a territorial line, the boundary of tribes or nations. Let us suppose that its singular appearance and unknown origin have gained it the name it bears. Let us suggest that the name is not a translation of Severus into Grim, as some suppose, but rather, that like other mysterious works, as the Devil's Causeway, or the Devil's Bridge, our Dyke owes its name to the superstition which assigns such matters at once to a supernatural origin; and that the aid of the magician or wizard was necessary for the digging of so deep, so long a trench, for Grima is the Saxon for magician. And with this clue, we may fairly interpret Grimsdyke as the Ditch of the Wizard.

Consistently with such an origin concerning this said Dyke, many and curious traditions are afloat. It is a weird, or wizard spot, upon its bank nothing of good omen happens. I have been told in perfect good faith, by one who dwelt near it, that on Grimsdyke the unhappy Jane Shore perished, being starved to death by King Richard's order, a baker being also put to death for his compassion in offering her a penny loaf. A curious connexion in which to find an historic name, and showing how great names and tragic events are rumoured amongst the people, though often, as in this case, in a distorted shape. That fairies make fun or make mischief, that ghosts and spectres have peculiar liberty on the soil of the Dyke, is the current belief of the country gossips.

I must, however, take my leave of my subject, by confessing that my tale can boast no fairy charm, but that I am content if this simple record of facts and features of the Chiltern Hills may serve to excite interest upon its subject, and direct the researches of more persevering enquirers.

ANCIENT CUSTOMS, LEGENDS, TRADITIONS &c.

STEPHENING.

An ancient custom existed in the parish of Drayton Beauchamp, called Stephening, a brief notice of which may not only be amusing, but may elicit some evidence as to its origin, which at present is totally unknown in the neighbourhood. On St. Stephen's Day all the inhabitants used to pay a visit to the Rectory, and there assert their right to partake of as much bread and cheese and ale as they chose at the Rector's expense. On one of these occasions, as tradition states, the then Rector, being a penurious old bachelor, determined to put a stop, if possible, to this rather expensive visit from his parishioners. Accordingly, when St. Stephen's Day arrived, he ordered his housekeeper not to open the window-shutters

or unlock the doors of his house, and to be perfectly silent and motionless whenever any person was heard approaching. At the usual time, the parishioners began to cluster about the house. They knocked first at one door, then at the other, then tried to open them, and on finding them fastened, called aloud for admittance. No voice replied; no movement was heard within. "Surely the Rector and his housekeeper must be both dead!" exclaimed several voices at once, and a general awe pervaded the whole group. Eyes were then applied to the key-holes, and to every crevice in the window-shutters, when the Rector was seen beckoning to his old terrified housekeeper to be still and silent. A simultaneous shout convinced him that his design was understood. Still he consoled himself with the hope that his larder and cellar were secure, as the house could not be entered. But his hope was speedily dissipated. Ladders were reared against the roof, tiles hastily thrown off, half a dozen sturdy young men entered, rushed down the stairs, and threw open both the outer doors. In a trice a hundred or two unwelcome visitors rushed into the house, and began unceremoniously to help themselves to such fare as the larder and cellar afforded; for no special stores having been provided for the occasion, there was not, of course, half enough bread and cheese for such a multitude. To the Rector and his housekeeper that festival was converted into the most rigid Fast-day they had ever observed.

After this signal triumph, the parishioners of Drayton regularly exercised their "privilege of Stephening" till the incumbency of the Rev. BASIL WOODD, who was presented to the Living A.D., 1808.

Finding that the custom gave rise to much rioting and drunkenness he discontinued it, and distributed instead an annual sum of money in proportion to the number of claimants. But as the population of the parish very greatly increased, and not considering himself bound to continue the practice, he was induced about A.D., 1827 to withhold his annual payments. For some time after, however, the people used to go to the Rectory for the Stephening-money, but were always refused.

In the year 1834, the Commissioners "appointed to inquire concerning Charities," made an investigation into this custom, and several of the inhabitants of Drayton gave evidence on the occasion; but nothing was elicited

to show its origin or duration, nor was any evidence produced to prove that the Rector was legally bound to comply with such a demand.*

Some of the present inhabitants have been heard to regret the loss of their "privilege," and say that they have heard their fathers and grand-fathers assert that the custom had continued

"As long as the sun had shone
And the waters had run ;"

and that it was never to be discontinued while things retained their natural properties.

QUERIES.—Is there any similar custom on St. Stephen's Day in any other part of the County?

Why should such a practice be on St. Stephen's Day?

KAPPA.

PAROCHIAL NOTES.

The Members of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Bucks, it is presumed, will readily admit that the object of a Society like our own consists, not so much in the agreeable intercourse which it promotes among the present residents, as in the accumulation of materials of permanent interest in the County: we have to do with the monuments raised by the piety or industry of preceding generations; and it is only fair that we, as a Society, should hand down to posterity an enduring record of things as we find them, with whatever explanation we may be able to give. A thoroughly comprehensive and accurate County history would be a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰὶ* worthy of our Society; and a series of such histories proceeding from the various Archæological Societies of the Kingdom would be no mean addition to the literature of our age. There is no time to be lost in amassing information for such a work if it is to be attempted. We live in an age of re-

* See the Report of the Charity Commissioners, Vol. xxvii., p. 83, in the British Museum.

storation and improvement, highly praiseworthy in itself, but far more destructive to the records of the past, than years of neglect and apathy. Modern Norman Architecture, and early English of 1850, are discoverable on all sides: ancient earth works and venerable ruins are rapidly disappearing before the energy of the high-farming system, and the levelling influence of railroads; bills now decorate every barn-door in this neighbourhood stating that the remains of an ancient Royal Palace* are to be sold by auction, to be made probably into mince meat to satisfy the cravings of the hungry shareholders of some new Land Society. Now or never, therefore, must the historical antiquary exert himself. We do not detract from the value of the information which Dr. Lipscombe has collected, when we say that if every member of our Society would look up the antiquities of his own parish, and send an outline of his researches to the Society, it would be the means of collecting a considerable amount of valuable information at present unrecorded, or at least of directing the attention of others to objects of interest unvisited, because unknown.

The parish of Chesham, in which the writer is resident, contains some spots little known, yet rendered interesting by the monuments of former generations and their connection with the history of families once conspicuous in the annals of our County. We have the ancient Parish Church, a venerable cruciform structure on a slight eminence adjoining the town; the chapel of Latimer in the grounds of the Hon. C. C. CAVENDISH, rebuilt a few years ago on the foundations of the former structure; and two desecrated chapels at Hundridge and at Grove. The former measuring externally 44 feet by 20, and built of flint dressed with Totternhoe stone, stands on the south side of the farm yard of the Manor House. It is in a state of considerable preservation, having an east window of the perpendicular period of three lights; and on the south side, two yew trees indicate the ancient burying ground. The chapel at Grove, (if indeed the ancient barn said to be so was really the chapel, which once formed part of the group of buildings which stood there,) is surrounded by a deep moat, and masses of ancient masonry, which indicate the existence in years gone by of edifices of no mean kind.

* The palace of Henry III. at King's Langley.

At no great distance from the latter place is a circular earth work apparently of the Roman era. Adjoining the town is a spot where a martyr was burnt; and at no great distance the supposed site of the second Parsonage, when the two Medieties of Chesham Woburn and Chesham Leicester, now consolidated, were held by separate Vicars. Such spots of interest abound throughout our County, and it is hoped that our Records may be the means of bringing them under notice, so that at no distant time a complete history of the County may be published which may leave no object of interest undescribed.

B. B.

AYLESBURY CHURCH IN 1848.

ARCHITECT'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN,—I have in compliance with your wishes made a second and more minute survey of the Tower of your Church, adding to it an examination of the condition of the building in general.

My former Report having been addressed more particularly to the Committee for the Restoration of the Church, it will perhaps be better for me not to refer back to it, but to describe the state in which the building is, and the measures I would recommend, though in doing so I may be in some degree repeating what is contained in that Report.

The entire structure appears to have been re-erected at one date, probably between A.D. 1200 and 1250. The existence of an earlier building may be inferred from the beautiful Norman Font and the existence of some fragments of the same age. It is, however, pretty clear that the Church was re-planned and re-built during the above-named period, though it has been subjected to numerous subsequent alterations. I mention this as it tends to account for the universal failure of the foundation of the

original portions, the whole having probably been laid at one time, and with one prevailing defect.

It cannot fail to strike every one who examines the Church, that there is scarcely one wall or pillar of the original date, which has not gone out of the perpendicular.

The four great piers of the Tower are buttressed up in all directions to keep them standing, while the arches adjoining them have been early walled up for additional security.

The pillars of the Nave lean westward to a frightful extent. The western wall has probably been partially rebuilt to correct a similar defect. The south wall of the Nave is terribly crooked; and even the Porch, trifling as its weight is, follows the general fashion of the building by spreading on both sides. The Chancel leans sadly on the north, while the south wall has been rebuilt, as have probably the end walls both of the Chancel and of the Transepts, with some other parts, and indeed every part which is not in a failing state.

It at first struck me as most extraordinary that so universal a failure should exist in a building said to be founded on a rock, and this, as well as other reasons, has led me carefully to examine the foundations of the Tower piers. These are probably a fair specimen of those of all the original parts, at least it is hardly to be supposed that those which had to carry the greatest and most concentrated weight would be *worse* than those of the lighter portions of the building, and from my examination I should doubt the possibility of the latter being *worse* than the parts I have exposed.

I find that from the surface of the rock to nearly the level of the floor of the Church (a depth of four or five feet or more), the foundation consists of a mass of loose stone and earth, thrown in without order and without cement, so that the whole being composed of parts readily moveable among themselves, presents no resistance to any tendency to change of position in the superstruction, which fully accounts for the anomaly which I have mentioned, as though the Church is in one sense founded upon a rock, there intervenes between the rock and the walls a stratum of perfectly loose and moveable material, so that all the advantage of the natural strength of the foundation is lost.

The failure of the foundation would naturally first show itself in a serious manner in the piers carrying the central Tower, as the weight is there the greatest, and the outward thrust the strongest. The thrust of the great arches would have but little effect to the eastward, on account of the longitudinal walls of the Church, but in other directions it would be less resisted, and would be helped by the foundations of the smaller piers, which would deprive the Tower of their aid as subsidiary abutments.

The Piers were unfortunately of a material of but little strength, and would be quite incapable of supporting the oblique and partial pressure thrown upon them from the time when they began to deviate from the perpendicular, so that there is little doubt that they became very seriously cracked, if not in some parts actually crushed. We find accordingly proofs that the Tower piers began to fail at an early period, and that from time to time various expedients were resorted to, to strengthen them.

An Arch between the south-east pier and the transept must evidently have been frightfully crushed as early at least as the 15th century, when it was blocked up by the very curious wall which now fills it, and the pier buttresses both towards the transept and the little chapel at the back. At the same time the southern and eastern arches of the Tower itself appear to have been much injured, and to have lost their true curves.

It might possibly have been about the same time that the arch on the west side of the transept was walled up, and the south-west pier of the Tower buttressed on its south side. At a much later period (as is shewn by the date 1596 upon the stonework) the remaining sides of this pier were encased in stonework. A little later still (1599) the same operation was performed on the north-west pier, and probably at the same time the arch abutting against it was walled up. In 1622 the south-east pier underwent a second buttressing, and at perhaps some other period the casing was built round that to the north-east, and its arches walled up. This is proof that in one instance at least (that of the south-west pier) the second casing failed at an early date, as is shewn by the large cramps which have been added to it, and subsequently there have been continued failures in casing of both of the western piers.

It will be seen from the above that there has been a consecutive series of failures, repairs and re-failures, from a very early to a very recent period, and when it is recollected that during at least the last two or three centuries burials have been going on immediately round the piers, many of them cutting into the rock below the level of the foundations, and others cutting off the projecting masses of loose rubbish before described, and thus increasing its weakness, it is rather to be wondered at, that the Tower should have stood so long, than that it should now evince symptoms of immediate danger.

The more recent signs of failure consist of the cracking of the casing which encloses the two western piers, and of the arches which have some years been opened in the north transept, to which may be added the increase of the numerous old cracks in the walls surrounding the staircase leading into the upper stories, and of some cracks in the upper part of the Tower itself. It is clear that these recent signs of movement have been gradually increasing, and still continue to increase; and when it is considered how constantly progressive has been the failure of the piers, and that the stone-work, from time to time erected to strengthen them, is now itself rapidly failing, it must be clear that immediate danger is to be apprehended, and that immediate steps *must* be taken to prevent the most serious consequences. It is now about five months since I made my first survey, and during that time the cracks have unquestionably increased—another such period, or perhaps a much shorter one, might render the case hopeless if steps be not taken to avert the evil.

In my former Report I have described the means which I would recommend for the restoration of the piers to a sound and substantial state.

My subsequent examination has only altered my views so far as regards the foundations, which being so much less substantially executed than I could have anticipated, will probably require to be somewhat differently treated. I then recommended that all the surrounding graves and bodies should be removed, and the entire surrounding area filled in with a solid bed of concrete abutting all round upon the old foundations, and so keeping them from bulging under the weight they have to carry.

Finding them, however, to be so entirely unfit to support the superincumbent weight, I am rather disposed to suggest that they should be under-built from the undisturbed surface of the rock, with massive and closely-jointed stonework, which would not only serve to keep the whole mass together, but would in great measure replace it, and carry the weight which now rests upon it—even this stonework it would probably be advisable to surround by a mass of concrete. So that the removal of the bodies, either wholly or to a great extent, from that part of the Church would still be necessary.

I need hardly say that this must be done to only one pier at a time, and that very substantial shoring would be required before commencing upon it, which will be rendered the more difficult from the insecurity of the present surface, even for the support of the shoring, so that much skill and consideration will be required. I am inclined to think that masses of concrete must first be laid for the support of the shoring, spaces being left round the piers, to be filled in one by one after the stone under-building of these foundations is completed. In this case much of the shoring which would be used during the restoration of the foundations may continue during that of the piers above.

It is needless to trouble you with details of the mode of shoring by which the piers must be relieved from the weight and secured during the operation. This is, however, a part which will require the greatest care, and on which no feeling of false economy can be safely brought into exercise. The security of the Tower would be increased by the insertion of four massive iron ties about the level of the present ringing floor.

When sufficiently shored, the stone casing must be gradually removed from the pillars, taking them *singly*. The original stonework will have then to be cut away, supporting each part by temporary shoring, distinct from the main shoring before alluded to. The pillars will then be in great measure rebuilt with new and hard stone,* giving the lower courses a firm bearing upon the new

* I would recommend one of the harder of the Derbyshire stones. That from Darley Dale would answer admirably, though somewhat costly. I am decidedly of opinion that none of the varieties of Bath stone would answer.

stonework before described, and continuing the operation in portions at a time till the pillar is reconstructed to its whole height, when the same operation must be carried on successively with the others. The arches abutting against the pillars will then have to be either wholly or in part rebuilt, and in such a manner that they may assist in strengthening the Tower. The curious features which fill the arch on the east side of the south transept may be replaced, as possessing considerable interest, but the other arches should be left open.

The cracked portions of the Staircase of the Tower, and of the walls above, must be substantially repaired and bounded. I would recommend the re-opening of the lantern or triforium story of the Tower, which would greatly add to the beauty of the Church. The Clock can in that case be removed to the lower part of the leaded spire, where it would be nearer to its work.

The Timbers of the Spire will require some repairs, including the insertion of four new beams.

Besides the above repairs, I would recommend that the pillars of the Nave should be restored to their perpendicular position, which would not only be removing a painful disfigurement, but would tend materially to strengthen the Tower.

The Roof of the Nave is in a seriously decayed and defective state, the wall plates being thoroughly decayed, and three of the beams more or less broken, besides many other serious defects. It has never been a good roof, and from its present state I am of opinion that any attempt at reparation would be hopeless, though if taken off some of the present timbers may be used again. I would therefore recommend its reconstruction in oak, according to the original form, with some improvements, which might be derived from the roofs of the transept.

The Clerestory Walls being bulged in some places, should be repaired at the same time.

The Roofs of the Transepts require some repairs and restorations, particularly one of the beams of that in the north Transept, of which the end is decayed.

The Roof of a part of the North Aisle of the Nave is much decayed, and should be removed.

The wider Roof at the eastern end of the same Aisle requires some repairs, but is in the main sound. The ornamental work of this roof requires restoration.

The above are the most urgent matters which require consideration; many other restorations would clearly be desirable, but I have limited myself to those which require immediate attention, or result directly from absolutely necessary works.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.

20, Spring Gardens,
November 4th, 1848.

A LETTER FROM G. G. SCOTT, Esq.

ON THE

SUPPOSED SAXON WORK AT IVER AND AT WING.

“ 20, Spring Gardens,

March 27th, 1850.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your inquiry about the supposed ante-Norman remains discovered at Iver, I will give you such particulars as my memory affords, as I have no distinct memoranda; but will, at the same time, mention that a more detailed account has been drawn up by my friend Mr. E. H. FREEMAN, and will, I believe, appear in the *Archæological Journal*.

“ The Church is of the ordinary plan of a Parish Church, having nave and aisles, chancel, and western tower, and its present aspect is that of a Church of the fifteenth century. There are, however, remains of nearly every period of English Architecture.

“ There are two or three late decorated windows in the chancel; there are early English or lancet windows both in the chancel and in the lower part of the tower, and the tower and chancel arches, with the sedilia and piscina, are of that period. There are Norman arches on the north side of the nave, and the west window of the north aisle is in that style. And, finally, there are the remains in

question of decidedly earlier work, which I will briefly describe. These remains are limited to the walls now occupied by the two arcades of the nave, and go to prove that before the Norman arcade was made on the north side, and the much later one of the south side, the Church was without aisles, and in a style not agreeing with what is usually found in buildings subsequent to the Norman Conquest.

“The proofs, however, are very scanty. They consist, externally, of a quoin of brick, resembling Roman brick, forming the eastern termination of the wall containing the Norman arcade. This, of itself, would prove nothing; but, internally, we found in the middle of a wide pier, between two Norman arches, the jamb of a doorway, which must have existed before the Norman arcade was made; and higher in the wall we found a window which had been cut away to make room for that arcade. This would not of necessity prove more than that there were two ages of Norman work in the Church, but there is a peculiarity in the appearance of the window which indicates its belonging to a distinct style. I cannot describe it from memory, but I am sure that this is the impression it would produce on the mind of any one accustomed to Norman work. We know Norman windows of the earliest date, and know that they differ from those of later date chiefly in rudeness and coarseness of workmanship and detail. This window, however, differs less in this respect, but strikes one as belonging to *another style*, just in the same way as we find in other Saxon work, such, for instance, as the doorway of the Church at Barton-on-Humber, which not only is clearly not Norman, but seems to have scarcely anything but the round arch in common with it.

“There are indications also on the other side of a wall of earlier date having existed before the present arcade was formed. I may mention that the earlier work also differs in *material* from the Norman parts.

While on the subject of Saxon work, I may perhaps mention that, the Church at Wing contains remains apparently of that date, though perhaps not so decidedly so as to be capable of proof. The arcades are of the simplest character, being in fact only semicircularly arched perforations in the walls, having plain masses of wall between them, without capitals, but with a kind of impost

on the sides facing the openings, formed by courses of brick overhanging one another.

"The chancel arch is also semicircular, but the arch is relieved by a projecting archivault—a feature I do not recollect seeing in any Norman building, though very usual in work of supposed Saxon date. The chancel is apsidal of an irregularly polygonal form, the eastern face being much the widest. Internally it presents no early features, but externally it has narrow projecting pilasters at each angle, which are continued in projecting archivaults on each side. These are all plastered, and on examination I found the pilaster to be formed of rough stone of the country, but the archivaults of tufa, a material common in works from the Roman period to about the time of Henry I. These narrow pilasters and archivaults do not, however, appear to me to accord at all with the Norman style.

"Beneath the chancel is a crypt, now walled up. I had an opening made into it, and found it to be of a very singular and most rude construction; it is so arranged as to divide the chancel into three widths, like the choir and aisles of an apsidally finished cathedral. There were external arches or windows in the alternate sides of the apse; and on following the aisles westward I found them each to terminate in a doorway. There can be no doubt, as the floor of the chancel is considerably raised above the nave, that there were, as was frequent with very early crypts, two entrances descending by a few steps from the nave on each side of the steps ascending to the chancel. The crypt is at present filled with earth to within three or four feet of the top, but by excavations I have had made, I find it to have been about eight feet in height. The whole of the material is the roughest stone, with here and there a piece of tufa or brick, all of which have been plastered over.

"I am sorry to give you so very vague a notice of these two supposed Saxon remnants, but I give you the best I can, and such remains are usually not very susceptible of distinct description.

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours, very faithfully,

"GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.

"The Rev. A. BAKER."

NOTES FROM THE MINUTE BOOK
OF THE
Architectural and Archæological Society.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

JAN. 30, 1854.—Impressions of several *Ancient Seals*, including those of Missenden Priory and the Grey Friars of Aylesbury, were presented by Mr. FIELD. Also, a specimen of the Remains found, A.D. 1818, near Holman's Bridge, on the Aylesbury and Buckingham Road. —These appear to mark the site of the *Battle of Aylesbury*, fought on the 1st of November, 1642, between the troops of King Charles I., under the command of Prince Rupert, and the Parliamentary Garrison who held Aylesbury under Sir William Balfour, in which the latter were victorious.

Notice was received of the Roman and Anglo Saxon relics found at Mentmore.

It was resolved that as a mark of gratitude to the first Secretary, who has now left the country, the name of the Rev. A. BAKER be transferred to the list of Honorary Members: likewise to that of W. SLATER, Esq., Architect, in consideration of the services which he has rendered to the Society.

FEB. 6, 1854.—Mr. FIELD presented some fragments of a Roman tessellated Pavement, found near the Turnpike at Little Kimble, Bucks. The pavement was laid in mortar, and resembled a hearth, about 4 feet by 3. Some foundations of Flint were discovered at the same time; and in the adjoining fields, nearer to Great Kimble, Roman Tiles have frequently been ploughed up, and Roman Coins occasionally found.

MARCH 27, 1854.—The following letter was read from the Rev. W. HASTINGS KELKE, one of the Secretaries:—

“Drayton Beauchamp Rectory,
Tring, March 18th, 1854.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Although my health prevented my taking any active part in the proceedings of the Society after Mr. EVETTS resigned the Secretaryship, yet as I was then the only person in whose name

Circulars could properly be issued, I readily assented to my name being used for the purpose of convening a General Meeting, to fill up the vacant offices, and restore the effective operations of the Society.

"Had my health continued to improve, I should willingly have retained the second Secretaryship, in the hope of rendering occasional services to the Society, without taking any very active part in its proceedings; but as my bodily infirmities have rather increased than diminished, I feel it necessary to withdraw from all avocations which have no direct demand on me, that I may devote my small remaining powers to those duties which have an imperative demand on me.

"Under these circumstances I feel compelled to resign the office which the Society did me the honor to confer on me, although in my hands it has always been little more than a sinecure; and I sincerely hope and believe you will soon find a more efficient coadjutor, who will give you such help as I could never hope to afford.

"I shall, however, be happy to place at the disposal of the Society the loan of such materials as I have heretofore collected or prepared bearing upon its objects; for I verily believe it is calculated to be useful, not only in a scientific and historical, but also in a religious point of view, if its proceedings be fairly conducted on the broad and impartial principles laid down in our Diocesan's Inaugural Address.

"Wishing, therefore, the Society all prosperity,

"I remain,

"My dear Sir,

"Your's truly,

"W. HASTINGS KELKE.

"To the Rev. A. NEWDIGATE,
Hon. Sec. of A. & A. S."

The Secretary was directed to assure Mr. KELKE of the very great regret, with which the Committee received his resignation, and of their grateful sense of the services that he had rendered to the Society since its commencement, especially during the four years in which he had held the office of Hon. Secretary.

The Secretary announced that the Society had been admitted to Membership of the *Archæological Institute*; and the privilege conferred upon its Members of attending the apartments of the Institute, at 26, Suffolk-street, Pall Mall, at its Monthly Meetings and other times.

A notice was read of a weapon (if it may be so called) resembling a Miniature Pistol, or a Match Lock, found in digging a grave in Ellesborough Church-yard, in August, 1853, and now in the possession of the Rector.

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FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

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The New York Ecclesiological Society
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————— Journal, published by the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. 4 Vols. 1846, 1847

————— Nos. 17, 18, 19. 1848

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 1803

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Church Builders, a few Words to (P)

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS.

Cyclops Christianus; or an Argument to disprove the supposed antiquity of the Stone Henge and other Megalithic Erections in England and Brittany, by A. Herbert. 1849. Presented by Mr. J. Petheram

Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs, from the 14th Century, by James Orchard Halliwell. 2 vols. 1850

———— A Compendious Anglo-Saxon and English, by Rev. J. Bosworth, D.D. 1852

Domesday Book, a Translation of the Record called Domesday, by the Rev. W. Bawdwen. 1812. 4to.

Dugdale's Monasticon, Extracts from:—Tykford Priory; Rutley or Roctele Priory; Bittleden Abbey; Ankerwyke Nunnery; Snellsall Priory; Ravenstone Priory; Bradwell Priory; Asheragge Priory (imperfect); Burnham Abbey (imperfect); Missenden Abbey (imperfect); Little Marlow Nunnery—all from Dugdale's Monasticon, edited by Carey, Ellis, and Bandinel. Folio. 1846.

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———— of Oxfordshire

Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, Transactions. 4to.

Favorite Haunts and Rural Studies, including Visits to spots of interest in the vicinity of Windsor and Eton, by Edward Jesse, Esq., with numerous Illustrations. London, 1847. Foolscap, 8vo.
Fonts, Illustrations of Baptismal, with an Introduction, by F. A. Paley, M.A. 1844

———— Some Particulars connected with the History of Baptismal Fonts, by the Rev. Robert Eaton Batty (P)

Franks' Ornamental Glazing Quarries

Freeman's Proportions in Gothic Architecture

Gentleman's Magazine, Extracts from, Buckinghamshire

Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture. 3 vols. Oxford, 1850

———— of Terms used in British Heraldry

Gothic Architecture, by Thos. Rickman. London, 1848. Presented by Mr. J. H. Parker

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Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words

Heads of Local Information (P)

Heraldry, Glossary of Terms used in British, with a Chronological Table illustrative of its rise and progress. 1847

Herbert's Cyclops Christianus

Howdy and Upgetting, Tracts on British Topography

Issue Roll, T. De Brantringham

Jesse's Favorite Haunts

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS.

- Labourers' Cottages, by Rev. J. James (P)
- Local Information, Heads for the Arrangement of, in every department of Parochial and Rural Interest, by Edward Stanley, D.D., Bishop of Norwich. 1848. (P)
- Lords, Knights and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates, a Catalogue of the. 1733
- Lyson's Magna Britannia (Buckinghamshire), from Rev. A. Baker. 4to.
- Manual of Gothic Mouldings, by F. A. Paley. 1847
- Medailles, Catalogue de la Collection de, par John Yonge Akerman. 1839
- Monumental Brasses and Slabs, by the Rev. C. Boutell. Oxford, 1847
- Brasses, List of
- Effigies found at Chenies (P)
- Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons, by Edward Blore. 6 Parts. 1825
- Mouldings, Manual of Gothic, by F. A. Paley. London, 1847
- Nevill, Testa de, Sive Liber Fedorum in Curia Scaccarii, containing an account of Knights' Fees and Serjeanties, from 1216 to 1307. Folio. 1807
- Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii—Temp, regis Edwardi 3. Folio. 1807
- Numismatic Chronicle (P)
- On the Discovery of Ancient Gold Coins at Whaddon Chase
- Report of the Mint Commissioners. 1848
- Orkney—Accounts of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, including the Stones of Kenness, Tumuli, Picts' Houses, &c., with Plans. Communicated to the Secretary of Antiquities by F. W. L. Thomas, R.N. 1851
- Ornamental Glazing Quarries, a Book of, by Augustus Wollaston Franks. 1849
- Oxfordshire, Topography of
- Paley's Baptismal Fonts
- Gothic Architecture
- Gothic Mouldings
- Palgrave's Rotuli Curie Regis
- Plea for the Restoration of Ancient Churches, by G. G. Scott
- Prayer Book, Popular Tracts illustrating the, of the Church of England, from the Author (P)
- Privileges of the Baronage of England when they sit in Parliament, by John Selden, Esq. 1689
- Proportion in Gothic Architecture, Freeman
- Rickman's, Thos., Gothic Architecture, from Mr. J. H. Parker. London, 1848

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS.

Rotuli Curiae Regis.—Rolls and Records of the Court held before the King's Justiciars or Justices, from the 6th year King Richard I., to the Accession King John. Edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H. Rotulorum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Calendarium. Folio. 1802

———— Chartarum, et Inquisitionum ad quod damnum, Calendarium. The Calendars (1) to the Charter Rolls in the Tower, which contain Royal Grants of Privileges, from 1199 to 1483: (2) to the Inquisitions, as to whether any Privileges to be granted would be prejudicial to the King or to others, from 1307 to 1460. Folio. 1803

Scott, G. G., Architect—A Plea for the faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches. 1850. Presented by the Rev. A. Baker

Selden's Privileges of the Baronage

Sermon on the Union of Scotland (P)

S. John's College Chapel, Cambridge, by F. C. Woodhouse. From the Rev. J. W. Hewett. 1848. (P)

Slymbridge—Notes, Historical and Architectural, of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Slymbridge, Gloucestershire, with some Remarks on Decorative Colouring. 1845

Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, Auctoritate P. Nicholai. Circa, A.D., 1291. Folio. 1802

Testa de Nevill

Testamenta Vetusta; old Wills relating to Buckinghamshire

Thomas's Celtic Antiquities of Orkney

Topography of England, Ecclesiastical and Architectural, Buckinghamshire. Oxford, 1849

———— Oxfordshire. 1850

Topography, History and Dialects, Tracts on British. Presented by the Publisher (P):—

Trial of Jannet Preston, July 1612: for practising devilish and wicked arts called Witchcraft

The Howdy and the Upgetting, Two Tales of 50 years sin syne, as related by the late Thomas Berwick, of Newcastle, in the Tyne side dialect

Bath, Wells, Glastonbury, Taunton, &c., by Jeremiah Milles

Commission to the Earle of Huntingdon for the cayre and defense of the Borders of England, for and against Scotland. 1592

Trial of Jannet Preston, Tracts on British Topography

Union with Scotland, a Sermon on the (P.) 1707

Windsor and Eton—Jesse's Favourite Haunts

Wycombe, History of, by H. Kingston

Wymeswold—A History and Description of the Restored Parish Church of S. Mary, Wymeswold, from the Rev. E. Chamberlain 4to.

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS.

PLANS, &c., IN POSSESSION OF THE SOCIETY.

- Chart of Ancient Armour, by J. Hewett
Plan of the Ancient Camp at Cholesbury
Plan of the National School and Teacher's Residence, at Drayton Beauchamp. Presented by Rev. W. Hastings Kelke, Rector
Plan of the Moats and Fish-ponds of the ancient Manor House, Drayton Beauchamp. Presented by Mr. Brown, Land Surveyor, &c., Tring
Map of Barrows, and other ancient earthworks on the Chiltern Hills
A portfolio of Drawings and Prints, illustrating the Architectural and Archæological Topography of Buckinghamshire
-

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Three Ancient British Gold Coins, found at Whaddon
Fragments of a Roman Pavement, found at Little Kimble, in 1821
Remains found at the site of the Battle of Aylesbury, A.D., 1642
A Collection of Ancient Seals
A Collection of Brass Rubbings
A Collection of old MS. Deeds relating to Buckinghamshire, on Parchment
-

Presents to the Library, Portfolio, &c., will be thankfully received.

HEADS OF INFORMATION.

The Committee, feeling the increasing importance of collecting materials for an accurate Topographical History, earnestly solicit information illustrative (so far as may be) of each locality in the County, especially with reference to the following points :—

1. Any alterations made in the Church, or Churches, since the publication, in 1849, of the "Ecclesiastical Topography of Buckinghamshire;" and any inaccuracies or deficiencies known to exist in that work.
2. Historical, interesting, or peculiar Monuments, Epitaphs, incised Slabs, or Brasses.
3. Ancient Books, Plate, Seals, and Embroidery; remarkable Ironwork, Carved Wood, and Sculpture; Frescoes.
4. Have any Churches or Chapels in the Parish been destroyed, or converted to secular purposes? Are there any traces of ruined Castles, Mansions, or Religious Houses? Their Date and History.
5. Is there any Edifice deserving of notice on account of its Antiquity, Architecture, or other reason?
6. If there are any Alms-houses, Church-houses, or Poor-houses, their date, nature, and rules of their foundation.
7. The date of the earliest entry in the Parish Registers. Memorable or curious extracts from the Registers, Parish Account-books, Wills, Letters, or other Documents.
8. Any memorable circumstance which may have occurred in the Parish within the memory of man. Have any celebrated Characters been born in, or connected with it?
9. Is there any Manorial Residence? Of what date? Any peculiar Manorial Rights, Customs, Tenures, or Courts?
10. Are there any good Maps or Plans of the Parish; Prints or Drawings tending to illustrate its past or present Topography, History, Antiquities, &c.?
11. Remarkable Traditions in any Family of the Parish, and peculiar devices or legends connected with their Armorial bearings.
12. Are there any ancient Roads, Encampments, or Barrows? Have the latter been opened? What was discovered?
13. Have any ancient Vessels, Weapons, Coins, or other Relics been found? Where are they preserved?
14. Legendary Rocks, Wells, &c.; Superstitious Practices or Opinions: Local Traditions, Customs, and Provincialisms.
15. Any Trees remarkable for size, antiquity, or historical connections; any peculiar Plants, Animals, Reptiles, or Insects that may have been found in the Parish.
16. Anything peculiar in the Geological formation of the District; any Fossils found therein.

Papers on Natural History, Botany, and Geology will be thankfully received; as also illustrative Drawings, Plans, and Maps.

Architectural and Archæological Society

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

Established November 16th, 1847.

R U L E S.

I. OBJECT.—That the object of the Society shall be, to promote the study of Architecture and Antiquities, by the collection of books, drawings, models, casts, brass-rubbings, notes, and local information, and by mutual instruction at Meetings of the Society in the way of conversation and by reading original papers on subjects connected with its design.

II. CONSTITUTION.—That the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, two Auditors, Honorary and Ordinary Members, being in Communion with the Church of England; of whom, the Bishop of the Diocese for the time being shall be requested to accept the office of President; the Archdeacon of the County, being a subscriber, shall be considered *ex officio* one of the Vice-Presidents; and the other Officers shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society; and that every candidate for admission to the Society, shall be proposed and seconded in writing at a General Meeting, according to the annexed form, and balloted for at the next Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude; and that on the election of a Member, one of the Secretaries shall send him notice of it and a copy of the Rules.

III. GOVERNMENT.—That the affairs of the Society be transacted by a Committee consisting of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurer, and twelve Ordinary Members, elected at a General Meeting of the Subscribers; and that three do constitute a quorum; further, that all Deans Rural in the County, being Subscribers, be considered *ex officio* Members of the Committee, exclusive of the twelve elected; and that Members of the Committee in any neighbourhood may associate other Members of the Society with themselves for local purposes in communication with the Central Committee.

IV. FINANCES.—That each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of not less than Five Shillings, to be due on the first of January for the current year; or shall compound for the same by one payment of £5. And that if any Member's Subscription be in arrear for one year he may be removed from the Society, after three month's notice to him from the Treasurer, at the discretion of the Committee. Excepting, that all persons holding the office of Churchwardens in any Parish of the County, be placed, on the recommendation of the Clergyman of their respective Parish, and with the sanction of the Committee, on the list of Members without payment.

V. MEETINGS.—That the General Meetings of the Society be held once a quarter, or oftener, on days to be fixed by the Committee, of which due notice shall be given; and that the Committee meet on the first Thursday in each month at Two o'clock, or oftener if required. And that each Member may be allowed to introduce Visitors at all General Meetings.

VI. PROPERTY.—That all Books, Drawings, Papers, and other property of the Society, be kept by the Secretaries for the use of Members, subject to the regulations of the Committee.

VII. RULES.—That no new Rule shall be passed, and no alteration made in any existing Rule, unless notice of the proposed new Rule or alteration shall have been given at the preceding General Meeting.

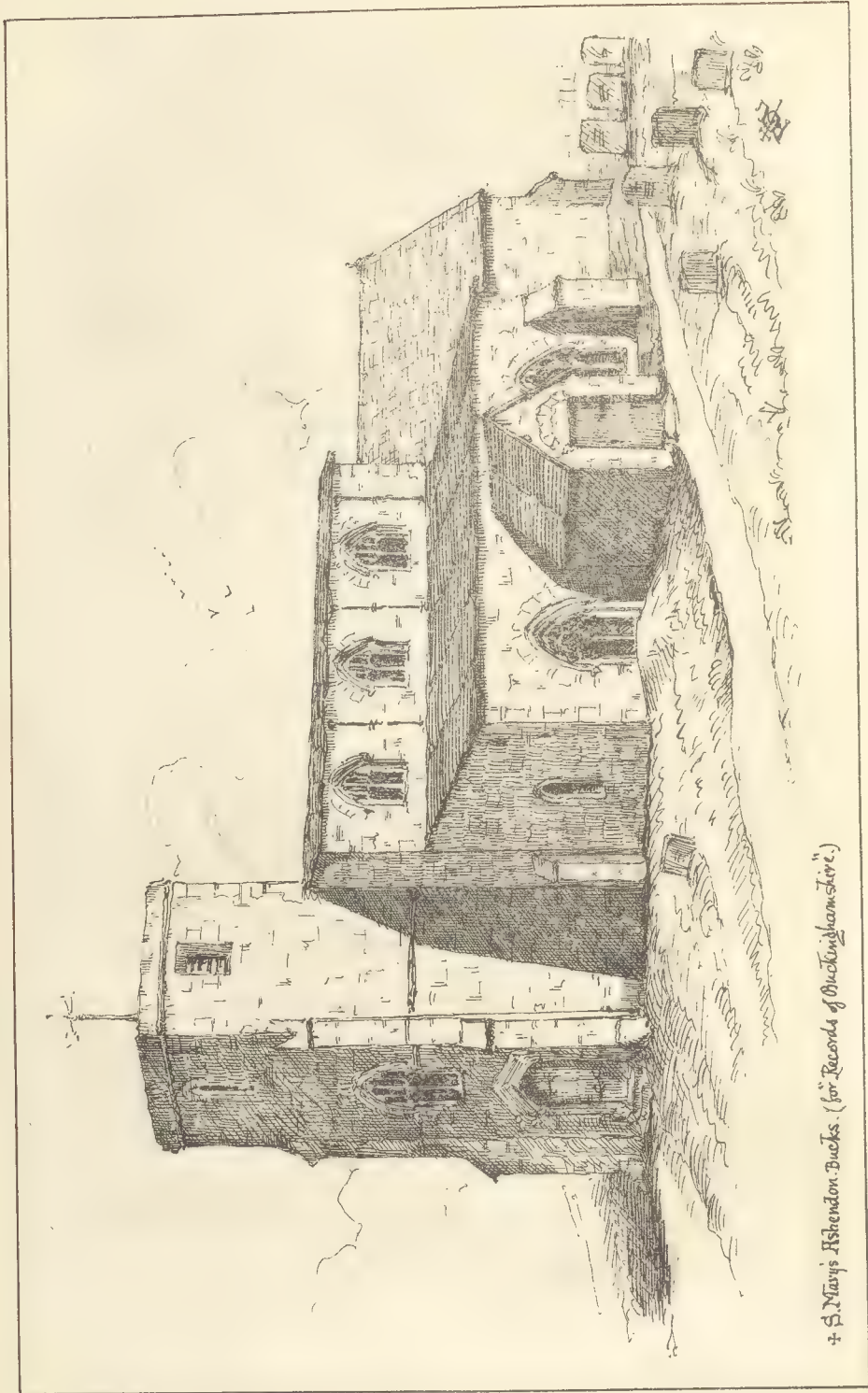
FORM REFERRED TO IN RULE II.

*We, the undersigned, do hereby recommend _____
_____ being in Communion with the
Church of England, to be an _____ Member of the
Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham.*

Proposer, _____

Seconder, _____

Dated _____



† St. Mary's Ashendon, Bucks. (for Records of Buckinghamshire.)

CHURCH BELLS.

BY THE REV. ROBERT EATON BATTY, M.A.

The Church Bell—what a variety of associations does it kindle up—how closely is it connected with the most cherished interests of mankind! And not only have we ourselves an interest in it, but it must have been equally interesting to those who were before us, and will probably be so to those who are yet to come. It is the Churchman's constant companion—at its call, he first enters the Church, then goes to the Daily Liturgy, to his Confirmation, and his first Communion. Is he married?—the Church bells have greeted him with a merry peal—has he passed to his rest?—the Church bells have tolled out their final note.

From a very early period there must have been some contrivance, whereby the people might know when to assemble themselves together, but some centuries must have passed before bells were invented for a religious purpose. Trumpets preceded bells. The great Day of Atonement amongst the Jews was ushered in with the sound of the trumpet; and Holy Writ has stamped a solemn and lasting character upon this instrument, when it informs us that "The Trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised." The Prophet Hosea was commanded to "blow the cornet in Gibeah and the trumpet in Ramah;" and Joel was ordered to "blow the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm." The cornet and trumpet seem to be identical, as in the Septuagint both places are expressed by *σαλπίζατε σάλπιγγι*. But the use of the trumpet as a call to holy worship is manifest from Numbers 10, "Also in the day of your gladness, and in your solemn days, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings." It was also employed as a war signal to gather together the people and for the journeying of the camps.

Reflection brings with it the conviction that in the first ages of the Church, neither trumpet nor bell could have been commonly used to summon the people to the united worship of their Divine Master. The Pre-Constantine

era was for the most part an era of persecution to the infant Church. The world and its prejudices riveted to heathen habits and heathen liberty, would naturally in its unenlightened state coerce, if possible, Christianity into oblivion. To have tolled the bell, or blown the trumpet in such a case would have only brought Decius or Diocletian to their door. It is not, therefore, improbable that when persecution was at its height, the Primitive Christians may have retreated to such secret places as the Catacombs suggest, that in quietness and confidence they might worship God in the beauty of holiness.

But we may not, I apprehend, jump to the conclusion that because the Church sometimes sought retirement for safety's sake, it had not Church buildings of its own. Of course, in vain should we look for the spacious nave, the well-proportioned aisle, the ornate chancel, and the "dim religious light" which it is now our happiness to see and enjoy, and our duty to re-produce. The circumstances of those days, whether we have regard to State-policy, or pecuniary resources, would not have admitted of all this; otherwise the Apostolate with the plain fact before them of an inferior religion possessing its "magnificent" temple, would not have scrupled to erect becoming edifices for the new religion which exceeded the old in glory.

King David strikes the right chord when having obtained rest from his enemies, he would no longer himself dwell in an house of cedar while the Ark of God was within curtains;* and the Church so soon as she had rest by the conversion of Constantine the Great, follows up the pious suggestion of the King, and emerges from the "*τὸ ὑπερώιον*" or the lower chamber of a Catacomb, and erects for herself† temples of a style and grandeur befitting the Holy Religion committed to her trust. S. Ignatius and Clement of Alexandria testify to the existence of Churches in the second, and Eusebius and S. Cyprian in the third century. Socrates says of Frumentius, that after he had converted the Indians, he immediately built Churches for them; and a Body of Bishops, and the martyrdom of St. Alban, are an indication that there were Churches in Britain before Ethelbert united with his pious Bertha in

* Chron. xxii, 5.

† See description of Ecclesia Constantiniana in Bingham, viii, cap. 2.

the profession of Christianity. There was one at Canterbury, it is stated, dedicated to St. Mark, and at the Council of Arles in the year 314, London, York and Lincoln each sent its Bishop for consultation.

Although history is clear as to the existence of Churches in the Pre-Constantine era, no mention is made of their having had any bells annexed to them. Had there been any, most probably we should have heard of them; as it is, we may safely conclude that at least for the first three centuries they had none. In Egypt the Christians used trumpets after the manner of the Jews; every monk had to leave his cell as soon as he heard the sound of the trumpet calling him to Church.

Bells for a variety of purposes have been used for many centuries past; we read of the "golden bell" in the Book of Exodus, and we learn from ancient sources that they were used in the mysteries of the Corybantes; that the Romans tied them to the necks of horses, oxen, and sheep; that they summoned slaves to work, announced the opening of the baths, called the family to dinner and supper, and adorned the necks of criminals when led to execution. They were thus used to keep watch and ward in the fortified cities of Greece. A guard being stationed in every tower, an appointed person walked to and fro on the portion of the wall between two towers. It was his duty to carry the bell which he received from the guard of one tower, to deliver it to the guard at the next tower, and then to return, so that the bell by passing from hand to hand made the circuit of the city, and showed if any guard was asleep or did not answer to his bell.*

The origin of bells for ecclesiastical purposes has been attributed to Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who lived A.D. 400; hence they were called *Nolæ* and *Campanæ*—Nola being in Campania. But as the Bishop in an epistle to Severus gives an exact description of his Church, omitting all mention of bells, it has been supposed that we cannot give him the palm for an invention destined to become celebrated and perpetual.† The next claimant to the honour is Pope Sabinianus, A.D. 604, who, De Sueur assures us, ordered them to be rung at the canonical

* See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, Voc. Tintinnabulum for illustrations.

† Bingham.

hours and mass;* and this much we may safely believe, that if he did not invent them, his age was not ignorant of them. History informs us that in the year 610 the Bishop of Orleans being at Sens, then in a state of siege, scared away the besieging army by ringing the bells of St. Stephen's Church; so that Church bells must have been in existence, and, at the same time, an alarming novelty.

With respect to their introduction into Britain, we have a more definite announcement from Venerable Bede, who mentions them in the year 680. About this period too, as Bede relates, the nuns of St. Hilda were called together by the sound of the bell. It is reasonable to suppose that we are indebted to the Church peal for the spacious and elevated tower, of which some beautiful illustrations are supplied us in Whittingham, Northumberland; Barton-on-the-Humber, Lincolnshire; Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire; Clapham, Bedfordshire; St. Michael's, Oxford; Sompting, Sussex; Stanton Lacy, Shropshire; Dunham Magna, Norfolk; and St. Mary Bishophill Jun., York.† Before that period the British Christians used wooden rattles to call the faithful together; and amongst Mahometans something of the same contrivance is still in vogue—bells being forbidden.

A correspondent of the *Daily News*, dating Bucharest, October 14, describing a visit which he made to a Wallachian monastery, writes—"The perfect wildness of the scenery,—the absence of roads,—of villages,—in short of all the usual marks of civilization at the present day,—the abundance of wild fowl which soared around and dabbled in the lake unscared by our presence;—the primitive aspect of our farm buildings, the corn lying on the threshing-floor after having been trodden out by bullocks,—in short the presence of almost all the attributes and incidents inseparably connected, in my mind, with an English monastery of the middle ages, as it would appear in the glowing pictures of Scott, rendered the whole scene to me one of the greatest interest. After an hour's saunter along the shore in the midst of a silence broken only by the sound of our voices, we returned once more to our quarters, and found our dinners served up on the table in the hall. We had hardly finished when we were roused by a loud noise

* Gatty. † See Appendix to Rickman's Gothic Architecture.

of hammering in the court, and on going out we found a nun pacing up and down in front of the Church-door, beating with a large mallet a short piece of wood, somewhat resembling the board used by a tailor to flatten out the seams upon, and pierced with two or three round holes. The effect was a loud and sonorous sound; the strokes were delivered at regular intervals, but about every five minutes became heavier and more rapid, and each of these paroxysms, if I may use the word, ended in one tremendous bang which wakened up echoes from every corner of the convent. The performer accompanied herself by repeating her prayers in a long dismal nasal drawl. This lasted about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, and no sooner ended, than the very same sounds issued from the old brick tower, under the archway of which we were standing. I mounted, and found the board with the holes in it suspended by ropes from the roof, and a nun beating it with a mallet precisely in the same manner. On inquiry I learnt that this was the old Greek manner in the primitive time, before bells were in vogue, of calling the faithful to prayer. In this instance, as soon as the nun had laid aside the mallet, she commenced to toll the bell in slow and measured time."

Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, who died A.D. 1109, distinctly assures us of the existence of bells before his time. He says that "the first Abbot of Croyland gave six bells to that monastery, that is to say, two great ones, which he named Bartholomew and Beladine: two of a middling size called Turketullum and Beterine: two small ones denominated Pega and Bega; he also caused the great bell to be made called Gudla, which was tuned to the other bells, and produced an admirable harmony not to be equalled in England." During the Heptarchy, Croyland was the retreat of St. Guthlac, who built himself a hermitage, near which Ethelbald, in 716, founded a Benedictine monastery and dedicated it to SS. Mary, Bartholomew, and Guthlac. It was destroyed by the Danes in 870, and rebuilt in 948; and on the acquirement of the Crown of England by William in 1066, Ingulphus, who had previously been his secretary, was created Abbot of Croyland; and by the favour of the King and Archbishop Lanfranc, obtained for it many privileges.*

* Maunder.

Thus, the monastery having been founded in the eighth century, and enriched by the first abbot with six bells, renders it a matter of certainty that at this period bells in Britain were becoming generally known. Turkeytel's successor* is supposed, also, to have caused the first tuneable set to be put up at Croyland Abbey A.D. 960, in which case it would be subsequent to the destruction of the abbey by the Danes, and prior to the accession of Ingulphus on the elevation of William to the Throne of England.

The second excerption of Egbert A.D. 829, commands every priest, at the proper hours, to sound the bells of his church; and in 900 Pope John IX. ordered them to be rung as "a defence against thunder and lightning." Paul de Caen, the first Abbot of St. Alban's after the Conquest, supplied the town with bells. Litholf, who resided in a woodland part of the neighbourhood, sold his sheep and goats and bought a bell, of which, as he heard the new sound when suspended in the tower, jocosely said, "Hark! how sweetly my goats and my sheep bleat." His wife added another, and the two together produced a most sweet harmony.† Bishop Hythe placed four bells in Rochester Cathedral, which he named Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc. Richard I., as we are informed by Matthew Paris, was welcomed at Arec with a peal of bells as he landed in 1190. Edward III. furnished St. Stephen's Church in the Sanctuary with three bells; so that, as is quite evident, a set of bells had now become the ordinary appendage to a parish Church.

In 1684 Abraham Rudall, of Gloucester, had brought the art of bell founding to great perfection, and in less than one hundred years his establishment had cast no less than 3,594 bells.

A valuable MS. is extant on Church bells, with notes in Bucks (between the years 1730 and 1766), the compilation of Cole and Browne Willis, and to be found in the British Museum; for the loan of a copy I am indebted to the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth. In the Deanery of Buckingham the following Churches had six bells:—Buckingham and Hillesden; and in that of Burnham, Amersham, Beaconsfield, Farnham, and Iver; and in that of Mursley, Soulbury, Whaddon, Whitchurch, Wing,

* Stowe.

† Buckler.

and Wingrave; and of Newport Pagnel, Brickhill Magna, Chicheley, Linford, Olney, and Weston Underwood; and in that of Whaddon, no Churches are named as possessing six bells; and in the Deanery of Wendover, Aylesbury, Bierton; and in that of Wycombe, Hambledon, to which a note is appended, "In another MS. given me by Dr. Forester, Hambledon is said to have only three bells;" Haverington (in another MS. list only five)—Marlow Magna and Woburn Episcopi. With the exception of Denham, Bletchley, Newport Pagnel, and Wycombe Magna, each of which places then enjoyed a complete peal of eight bells, the remaining churches of Bucks had less than six bells. The biggest bells in the county are assigned to Eton, which had a large separate single bell weighing 37 cwt. or better; Crendon 35 cwt.; Wing 33 cwt.; Missenden Magna 32 cwt.; Olney 28 cwt.; Ivinghoe 29 cwt.; Edgeborough 28 cwt.; Buckingham 27 cwt.; Wycombe 26 cwt.; Aylesbury 25 cwt.; Denham 24 cwt.; Hanslop 23 cwt.; Shenley 22 cwt.; Newport 22 cwt.; Quainton 21 cwt.; Amer sham 20 cwt.; Winslow 20 cwt.; Waddesden 18 cwt.; Chesham 18 cwt.; Newton 18 cwt.; Bletchley 17 cwt. The following Churches had five bells each, viz:—Maidsmorton, Mersen Gibwen, Steple Claydon, Stow Langport, Tingwick, and Twyford in the Deanery of Buckingham; Burnham, Chalfont (St. Giles), Chalfont (St. Peter), Chesham, Chesham Boys, Datchet, Horton, Penn (now 6) Wyrardsbury, and Langley Capella, in the Deanery of Burnham; Chedington, Edgborough, Hardwick, Hardwood Magna, Ivinghoe, Marsworth, Mursley, Mentemore, Slapton, Stewkeley, and Swanborne in the Deanery of Mursley; Calverton, Stony Stratford, Clifton Reynes, North Crawley, Hanslop, Lavenden, Newton Longueville, Shenley, Sherrington, Stoke Geddington, Tyringham, and Wavendon in the Deanery of Newport Pagnel; Brill, Crendon, East Claydon, Ludgershall, North Merton, Quainton, Shabbington, and Waddesden in the Deanery of Waddesden; Aston Clinton, Stoke Mandeville, Bledlow, Dynton, Hadenham, Cudenton Capella, Missenden Magna, Princes Risborough, Stone, Wendover, and Weston Turvill in the Deanery of Wendover; in the Deanery of Wycombe no church is stated to have only five bells. The remaining churches of the county have either

one, two, three, or four bells—the result being that four have 8 bells, twenty-two 6 bells, fifty-seven 5 bells, twenty-one 4 bells, fifty 3 bells, sixteen 2 bells, seventeen 1 bell, and Borstal and Quarendon none; so that at the time the aforesaid notes were taken the county of Buckingham was possessed of seven hundred and thirty church bells. It would be an interesting inquiry, could we ascertain what increase the population of our church towers has made within the last hundred years; the difference, no doubt, would be found mainly to exist in cases where the peal numbers less than six bells—instances of retrogression would be very rare. The majority of our modern district churches are charged with only one or two bells. The old parish church with its spacious square tower, and its musical peal of six or eight is now seldom reproduced—partly through lack of zeal and partly on the score of economy.

(To be continued.)

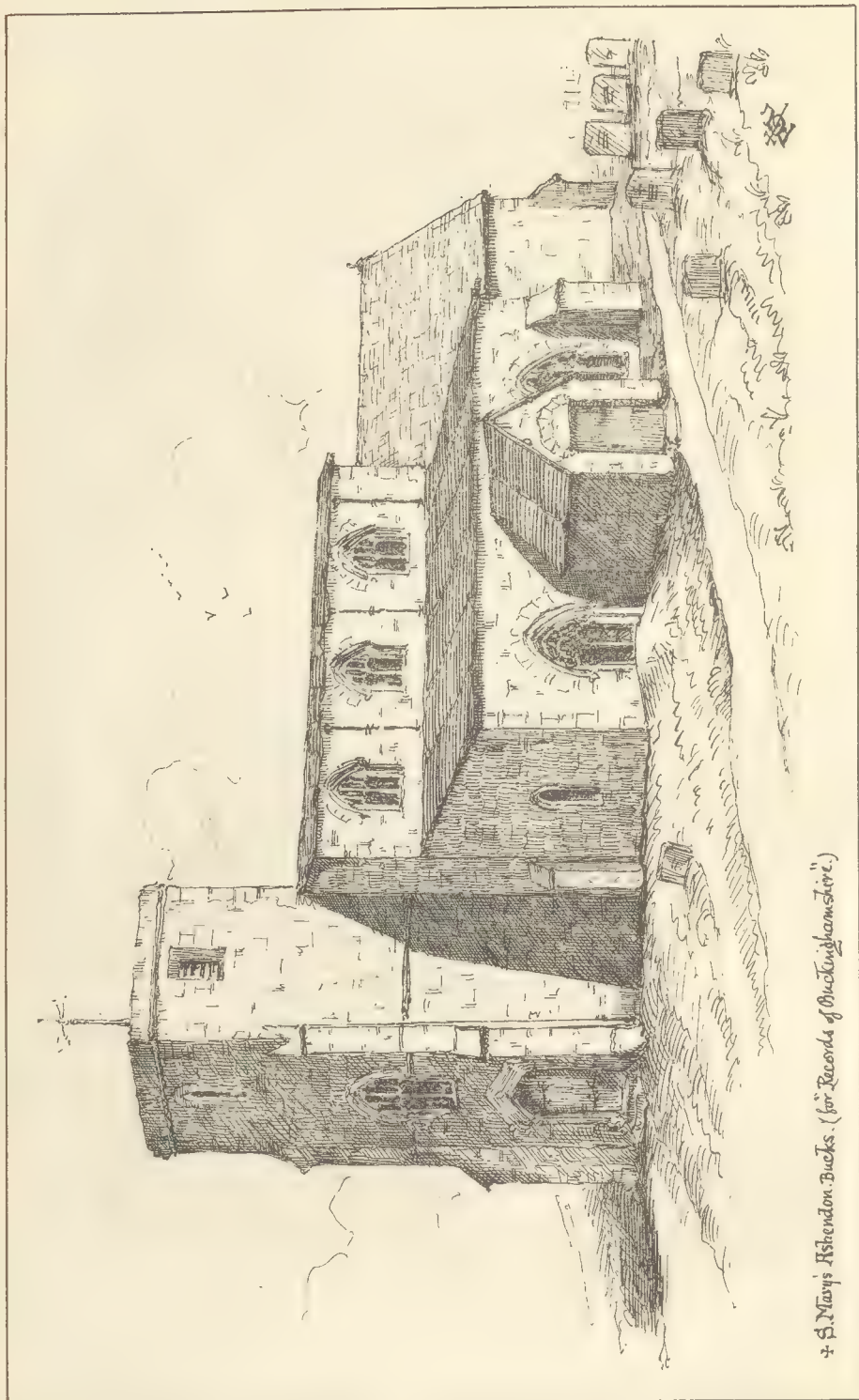
THE SHEPHERD'S GRAVE.

There is a spot on the Chiltern hills, in the parish of Aston Clinton, called the Shepherd's Grave. It is a lofty eminence commanding a wide and picturesque view of the surrounding country. Tradition states that a shepherd named Faithful, delighted with the panorama, used to make this spot his common resting place, while attending his master's flock. Becoming at length so attached to it, he exacted a promise from his fellow shepherds that at his death they would bury him here. This promise they fulfilled, and cut in the turf the following epitaph:—

Faithful lived and Faithful died,
Faithful shepherd on the hill side;
The field so wide, the hill so round,
In the day of judgement he'll be found.

The rustics of the neighbourhood used carefully to keep the letters clear; but, having for some time ceased to do so, the word "Faithful" alone was legible when I saw it. The spot, however, was still held in reverence, and my guide approached it with unmistakeable awe, and narrated the story with grave solemnity. This was about 1847; and I am afraid the ground has since been ploughed over.

P. P. P.



† St. Mary's Ashendon, Bucks. (for Records of Buckinghamshire.)

THE DESECRATED CHURCHES OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

(Continued from Page 85.)

DEANERY OF BURNHAM.

As it is not the object of these papers to notice Churches attached to Conventual Establishments, unless they were required also for parochial Services, the Chapel which belonged to the monastery at Burnham must be passed over, which leaves only two in this Deanery to be noticed, and these are both in the parish of Chesham.

GROVE is an ancient Manor which for many generations belonged to the Cheynés, of Drayton Beauchamp. They had a Mansion there, which, says Lysons, appears to have been strongly fortified, and this is confirmed by the site having still the remains of two moats around it. In the year 1585, John Cheyné of Chesham Bois and Drayton Beauchamp, the same who presented Hooker to the Rectory of Drayton, left Grove to his eldest son, John Cheyné, whom he had disinherited,—but for what reason does not appear, though the epitaph on his tomb, in the Church at King's Langley, indicates that he remained a Roman Catholic, whereas his father had become a zealous Protestant.—Lysons says there was a Chapel at Grove, and at my request the Rev. Bryant Burgess visited it, and has kindly given me the following report :—"The building stands East and West, and there has been a burial ground to the South. Tradition also calls it a Chapel. But I find nothing ecclesiastical in the architecture; and it evidently consisted of two stories. It appears to have been the refectory of a Religious house, with small buildings, probably dormitories, attached to it. I imagine there have been four such transepts, but only one remains, which is of two stories. The place is doubly moated, and full of massive flint foundations. It is an interesting spot, and there is a circular camp within a mile of it. It occurs to me that the *Chapel* may have been pulled down, having stood to the South of the present buildings."

Comparing Mr. Burgess's report with such historical facts of the place as I have been able to gather, I should imagine that the Chapel was intended chiefly, if not exclusively, for the Mansion, and was granted on account of its

distance from the parish Church: but I have not been able to procure any record in proof of this opinion, nor does Browne Willis, or Lipscomb, notice the existence of a Chapel. It must however have been a consecrated place from its having been used for sepulchral purposes.

HUNDRIDGE is a Manor and Hamlet of Chesham, about two miles distant from the parish Church. Lysons says there was a Chapel of Ease there, but Lipscomb does not notice it, nor have I been able to find any authentic record of its foundation or early history. By the kindness of Mr. Burgess, and Mr. Aylward the Vicar of Chesham, I am enabled to give the following account of its present state. The outer walls of the Chapel, which stands East and West, still remain, and some of the windows retain the original mullions and jambs. The East window is perfect, and contains three lights of the perpendicular period. In the south wall are two lancet windows, and one in the north wall. The Chapel is built of flint, dressed with Tottenhoe stone, and measures externally forty-four feet by twenty. Chimnies have been built on the south side, and the north wall has been refaced with brick, and two door-ways have lately been broken in. The greater part of the building is used as a brew-house, but the west end is converted into a dwelling, being partitioned from the rest. There is a garden on the south side in which human remains have been found, but not by the present occupiers of the dwelling. In this garden there are two fine yew trees, which are probably one or two centuries old, and were doubtless planted when this ground was held sacred as a spot consecrated to Christian sepulture. No entries, however, have been found in the Chesham Registers of interments, having taken place at Hundridge. Such interments, if they occurred since Registers were in use, were probably entered in a Register for the Chapel, which is now lost.

The present population of the Hamlet is not more than thirty. In the year 1801 the three Hamlets of Hundridge, Ashridge, and Chartridge in this parish, amounted to 626. The Manor-house at Hundridge, which is built of bricks, contains some handsomely panelled rooms, but they are not of very ancient date.

[For the illustration of Hundridge Chapel I am indebted to the Rev. Bryant Burgess.]

DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP.

By W. HASTINGS KELKE, RECTOR.

I. NAME AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARISH.

Drayton is a name borne by nearly twenty places, and yet its etymology has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Shaw, in his History of Staffordshire, (vol. ii., p. 1), says, "Dr. Wilkes, in his notice of Drayton Bassett, supposes Drayton to have received its name from the brook, or rivulet, near which it is seated." On this Shaw remarks, "Sir Henry Spelman enumerates twenty Draytons in his Villare Anglicanum. Whether all these places have a brook near them I cannot positively say; but all I have seen have, and yet I cannot find any word in Mr. Somner's Saxon or Mr. Humphrey Loyd's Dictionary of this signification. One of the rivers in Germany is called the Drave. The Doctor in another MS. is of opinion that this, and other towns in this County beginning with Dray, were named from their situations, Drai, or Dray, being, he imagines, a common name for a river among the Britons. Drayton, according to Mr. Baxter, is a contraction of Draith Ruidun, which words in British signify a town standing upon a strait or narrow road. Though the Britons generally named their places of abode from hills and rivers, yet doubtless they sometimes had regard to roads, the nature of the soil, and other remarkable things that were near them, in their names of places." That most, or even all, of the places named Drayton, were situated near a brook, would scarcely justify the attributing the name to this circumstance, unless it were the name of some particular brook: for almost all ancient towns and villages were so situated, the proximity to a river or brook being always one great object in the selection of the site. I will therefore venture to suggest another derivation; for it not unfrequently happens that learned men fail to find the true origin of a name from searching for it in too learned a manner, while it is to be found only in some common word known by every English rustic.

Now, a brewer's waggon is called a *Dray* in every part of the kingdom, the horses which draw it are called *Dray-horses*, and the driver a *Dray-man*. We have also the words *Drag*, *Draw*, *Draught*, *Draught-horse*, and in the northern counties *Draught* or *Draft-road*, i. e., a waggon road. All these, which are evidently derived from the Saxon *Dragan* to draw or drag, have reference to carriages of burden. I would therefore suggest that the name *Drayton* had reference to such carriages, and was given to places where they were made, repaired, or accommodated; or to towns near a road on which such carriages travelled; and all the *Draytons* that I know are situated near some ancient road. The name ending in *ton* shews that there was a village or collection of houses in Saxon times. The additional appellation of *Beauchamp* was acquired from a family of that name about 1238, to distinguish it from other *Draytons*.

Drayton Beauchamp lies at the eastern verge of the County of Buckingham, in the hundred of *Cotslow*, and in the Deanery of *Mursley*. The parish occupies a narrow tract of land, about seven miles and a half in length by half a mile in width, and is bounded by the parishes of *Tring* and *Puttenham* in *Hertfordshire*, and by *Buckland* and *Choulesbury* in the County of Buckingham.

It comprises the Hamlets of *Elstrop* and the Village of *Drayton*, with several scattered houses; and contains upwards of 1,700 acres of land, the greater part of which is arable, with about 128 acres of woodland. Formerly the parish of *Choulesbury* was a hamlet of *Drayton*, and is supposed to be included in it by the *Domesday survey*, as it is not otherwise therein mentioned. *Browne Willis* supposes that *Choulesbury* was purchased from the *Cheyné* family by *Sir John Baldwin*, in the reign of *Henry VIII.*, and thence became a separate and distinct parish.

The ancient British road, called *Ichenild* or *Iken street*, crosses the parish of *Drayton* not far from the Church, as does also the *Aylesbury* and *Tring* turnpike road. Two canals, the "*Aylesbury Arm*," and the "*Wendover Feeder*," both branches from the "*Grand Junction*," likewise intersect the parish; the latter passing close by the Churchyard. The Church stands near the centre of the parish, being within a few hundred yards of the village, and about fifty from the Rectory House. The Vil-

lage, which is clean, pretty, and rural, consists of three farm-houses, and about eighteen cottages, each possessing a small garden. The National School is about half way between the village and the Church. The Hamlet of Elstrop, which at present consists only of one farm-house and two cottages, is full five miles north of the Church. About half a mile distant in the opposite direction is Drayton Lodge, the present manor-house; and about half a mile farther on, in a picturesque valley formed by the Chiltern Hills, lie thirteen cottages and one farm-house, in three separate clusters, bearing respectively the names of Terrier's End, Paine's End, and Hang-Hill. Paine's End doubtless acquired its name from that of the first occupant of the farm-house there, as the following extract from the Parish Registers plainly indicates:—"1584—William Payne, of Payne's End, burryed ye 5th of October." Terrier's End most probably received its name in a similar manner, but the origin of "Hang-Hill" must have been from a very different circumstance, which will presently be noticed. From this part the parish of Drayton extends about two miles farther over the Chiltern Hills, along which, passing across the parish, runs an ancient Foss called Gryme's Dyke, which will hereafter be more fully noticed.

This extensive range of hills, which begins in Bedfordshire, and, passing through parts of the Counties of Hertford and Buckingham, terminates in Berkshire, is in many parts thickly wooded, and affords from some of the more lofty eminences exceedingly pleasing and extensive prospects. They possess some Roman encampments and other ancient earthworks, and also the ruins or sites of various Religious Houses. We learn from Matthew Paris and other authors, that they were formerly so thickly covered with woods as to be almost impassable, and so infested with hordes of robbers and wild beasts as to render the neighbourhood dangerous to reside in or travel through.

To protect the neighbourhood from these depredators, Leofstan, the 12th Abbot of St. Alban's, cut down large portions of wood, and granted the manor of Flamstead to a valiant knight named Thurnoth, and his two fellow-soldiers, Waldef and Tharman, on condition that Thurnoth, besides giving the Abbot privately 5 oz. of gold

a fair palfrey and a greyhound, should protect, by himself and his retinue, the western district from the incursions of robbers and wild beasts, and that if any traveller should suffer from them, Thurnoth should be answerable for the damage. By this contract Thurnoth was also bound to defend, to the best of his power, the Monastery of St. Alban's from damage, in case any public war should happen. Thurnoth and his heirs punctually performed these stipulations till the reign of William the Conqueror, when, disdaining to comply with the conditions of the Norman rule, they were deprived of the manor of Flamstead, which was then granted to Roger de Thoni, one of William's followers; who, however, "willed that right should be done to St. Alban's, and the same service should be strictly performed."

The Chiltern hills, notwithstanding, on the Buckinghamshire side, still continued long afterwards notorious for harbouring hordes of desperate freebooters; for Michael Drayton, in his *Poliolbion*, written about 1600, in speaking of this County says:—

"Here if you beat a bush, it's odds you'd start a thief."
Fuller says that Buckinghamshire "pleadeth for herself, that such highwaymen were never her natives, but fled thither for their shelter out of neighbouring Counties." Doubtless they were the outlawed and the lawless from various parts, who thought that—

"Mery it was in grene forest,
Among the leves grene,
Wher that men walke east and west,
Wyth bowes and arrowes kene.

* * *

They were outlawed for venyson,
These yemen everichone;
They swore them brethren upon a day,
To 'Chiltern'-wood for to gone."

Following the example of Leofstan, one of our early kings (but which I know not) is said to have instituted an office, called the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, the holders of which were bound to protect the neighbourhood from the ravages of these banditti, and to use their best endeavours to exterminate them. The successive Stewards sedulously discharged their duty till their office became, as it happily now has long been, a sinecure. The captured robbers were hung and gibbeted within

sight of the Chiltern Woods, for it was the practice of our forefathers to exhibit the dead bodies of malefactors, as we now often see dead birds hoisted up in gardens to deter their living comrades from pursuing a course likely to lead to a similar end. Hence the names of spots near the Chilterns indicate that they were devoted to this purpose. Gallows Hill is the name of a conspicuous eminence on the Chilterns, near Ellesborough; and Hang-Hill is the name of another such spot in the parish of Drayton, as already mentioned.

This spot, which doubtless thus acquired its ominous name, would be well suited to such a purpose. It is a lofty eminence in front of the Chiltern Hills, which here, making a considerable curve, form almost an amphitheatre around it, so that a gibbet on it would be seen for many miles along the Chilterns. While on the other hand, a spot so far distant from every town and main road would not be likely to be chosen for ordinary executions. Nor is there any reason to believe that the *privilege* of inflicting capital punishment was ever possessed by the Lords of Drayton Manor. We may therefore, perhaps, conclude that Hang-Hill was a place devoted to the execution of the Chiltern outlaws.

There is also near it a field called Longshot, where it is probable that the inhabitants of Drayton were accustomed to practise archery; for the youth of every parish were trained in the use of the long-bow. So late as the 38 of Elizabeth (1595) a proclamation was issued for the encouragement of archery, in which the Commissioners were directed to "make due and lawfull searche in everie place whether everie person, for himself, his servauntes, and other youthe in his, or their severall houses, have sufficient furniture and provision of bowe and arrowes, and have and do use and occupie the same accordinge to the true meaninge of the said Statute."*

II. POPULATION.

In 1801....191. In 1831....275. In 1851....261.

HOUSES AND FAMILIES.

In 1801	40 houses,	49 families.
1855	47 ,, 50 ,,	

* The Egerton Papers, p. 219.

EXPENDITURE IN POOR RATES.

	£	s.	d.
In 1666	7	2	4
1700	40	19	8
1717	35	16	6
1733	62	14	8 including Church-rate.

From Lady-day 1800 to Lady-day 1801...£467 12s. 9³/₄d.

„ „ 1832 „ „ 1833.. £627 2s. 3¹/₂d.

In 1854, about two shilling rates and a half, viz.—
£280 10s. 8³/₄d.

The cottagers are employed in agricultural labour, and the women and children chiefly in platting straw for bonnets.

Drayton is within the district of the Aylesbury Union.

III. CHARITIES.

John Cheyné, lord of the manor of Drayton, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having purchased a farm called the Moze, or Morse, in the parish of Chesham, left it chargeable with the yearly rent of £1; and having also purchased other land of John Bate, in the parish of Drayton Beauchamp, left it chargeable with the yearly rent of £1; both of these rents, “in brotherly charity towards the pious poor professing the Gospel,” he conveyed to certain trustees, to be yearly distributed among the poor inhabitants of Drayton Beauchamp, “that is, to such of the said poor people as should be good and godly in living, and had most need of relief.” The last donation, it is presumed, is the 19s. 6d., which has been paid nominally by the lord of Drayton manor, for two centuries or more. Sir Francis Cheyné, knight, “following y^e example of his good ffather Mr. John Cheyné, did by his last will, bind his heyres to pay out of landes, which y^e sayd S^r Ffrancis purchased of S^r Marmaduke Dorrell, forever forty shillings to sixe of y^e most godly and impotent poore people of Draiton Beauchampe, being no newe comers to ye towne, nor dwelling in newe erected cottages.”

This is chargeable on property belonging to the Duke of Bedford in Chesham parish.

The donors of the following are not known:—

LAND IN THE PARISH OF DRAYTON.

	A.	R.	P.
In the Great Meadow, Drayton Lodge, (marked in the Parish Map, 87A)	0	2	0
In Upper Slade Meadow (22A)	0	0	12
In Stockwell Piece (23A).....	0	1	28
In Great Field (24A).....	0	2	0
In Horne Piece (32A)	0	2	0
Total	2	0	0

Seven acres of land in the parish of Tring, being a field called "The Poor's Land," which was awarded under an Inclosure Act in exchange for various allotments in the parish of Tring, belonging to the poor of Drayton Beauchamp. One acre, which was given in exchange for this field, was left to the parish clerk of Drayton.

Half a crown, yearly, from George Humphrey's Stad Close, which appears to be lost.

The above-mentioned Charities are annually distributed in the Church, in the presence of the principal inhabitants.

There were three cottages, called "Town houses," within the memory of several living inhabitants, which used to be occupied rent free, by poor persons, or let to others for the benefit of the poor.

These are frequently mentioned in the Parish Account Book; and also a "Church-house," the existence of which is not remembered by any living person, nor is its site known.

THE ALLOTMENT GARDENS.

In the year 1844, a field belonging to the Glebe was appropriated to cottage gardens, consisting of from twenty to forty poles each. They are highly valued by the Cottagers, and the result of the experiment on the whole has given full satisfaction to the farmers.

ST. MARY'S, ASHENDON, BUCKS.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, S. C. L.

Ashendon—formerly Assendon, Assendune, Eshenden or Essendone,—with its hamlets of Great and Little Policott, is bounded on the north by the village of Wooton-Underwood; on the east by Westcott in Waddesdon, and Over or Upper Winchendon; on the south by Nether or Lower Winchendon, Chearsley and Chilton, and on the west by Dorton. It lies about eight miles and a half west of Aylesbury, six north of Thame in Oxfordshire, and two miles and a half south of the road from Aylesbury to Bicester. The village consists of farm-houses and cottages irregularly built upon a hill, from which elevated position it seems to have derived the latter portion of its name, “don” meaning an “eminence.”

The place appears to have been of some importance in Saxon times, as it is frequently mentioned, according to Browne Willis, in ancient chronicles. About the year 872, the Danes suffered a most severe defeat here by an army led by King Ethelred and Alfred his brother,* who

* THE BATTLE OF ESSENDUNE.—“S. Ethelred, the elder brother of Alfred, was attacked in the same invasion of the Danes, wherein S. Edmund suffered. A few days after the battle of Essendune, he received the Crown of Martyrdom in fighting against the Pagans. He was buried in Wimborne Minster, where a small brass is to be seen bearing his effigy. It is of the early part of the 17th century.”

“Go, call the priests, and bid the Thanes,
And let the Mass be said;
And then we meet the Paynim Danes,”
Quoth good King Ethelred.
“I see their Raven on the hill;
I know his fury well;
Needeth the more we put our trust
In Him that harrowed Hell.”

Then out and spake young Alfred,
“My liege, this scarce may be;
Our troops must out with battle shout,
And that right instantly.”
Made answer good King Ethelred;
“To God I look for aid;
He shield a Christian King should fight
Before his host have prayed!”

afterwards threw up entrenchments and earth-forts around it, and so for some years prevented a recurrence of the evil. In the year 1016, however, Eadnoth or Adnoth, Bishop of Dorchester (Oxon), formerly a Prior or Abbot of Ramsay, was slain in a battle with the Danes. This village and all the neighbourhood was then in the diocese of Dorchester, and not for some centuries afterwards in that of Lincoln. It has lately, together with the whole of the County of Bucks, being placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Oxford. It is comprised in the rural Deanery of Waddesdon and the Archdeaconry of Buckingham. The Church, situated on one of the most elevated spots in the village, is dedicated in honor of the Nativity of the B. V. M., and the Feast is observed in the early part of September. The Church consists of chancel, twenty-eight feet long and sixteen feet wide ;

The Priests are at the altar now
 The King and nobles kneel ;
 The Sacrifice is offered up
 For soul and body's weal ;
 And nearer now, and nearer still
 The Danish trumpets bray ;
 Northumbrian wolves came never on
 As they came on that day.

Four bow shots are they from the host,
 The Saxon is aware ;
 Yet not a knee in England's ranks
 But bendeth yet in prayer :
 The five stout Jarls looked each on each,
 And one to other spake :
 "By Woden but these Christian fools
 An easy prey will make !"

Young Alfred holds no longer ;
 "Let priests and women pray ;
 But out to battle, lords and thanes,
 Or else we lose the day !"
 Half with Prince Alfred grasp their arms
 And battle on the plain,
 And half with godly Ethelred
 At holy Mass remain.

Prince Alfred's men are on the hill ;
 Their shields are o'er their head ;
 The Raven flies triumphant midst
 The dying and the dead.
 Frean and the Sidrocs thunder here,
 There Harold's bloody crew ;
 And for each man the Northmen miss,
 The Saxon loseth two !

nave, about fifty feet long, with clerestory, south aisle, and porch; with a square tower at the west end, thirty-four feet in height. The tower and some of the windows are early second pointed; a window of three lights on the south side (of which we give an illustration), being particularly good, reminding us strongly of some of the latest work in Salisbury Cathedral. Some third pointed windows, with poor mouldings, and a flat arched door, have been inserted in the western side of the tower: and work of the same inferior character has been done in the chancel: the clerestory, likewise, is of a similar style, the windows being two-light third-pointed.

On the gable at the east end of the chancel is a small cross, of good design, not much damaged. In the tower the ancient Sanctus Bell remains, and bears great resemblance to that existing at Long Compton, Warwickshire. There are two piscinæ: one of second pointed work in the south aisle, for the altar of the B. V. M.; and another of somewhat earlier character, south of the

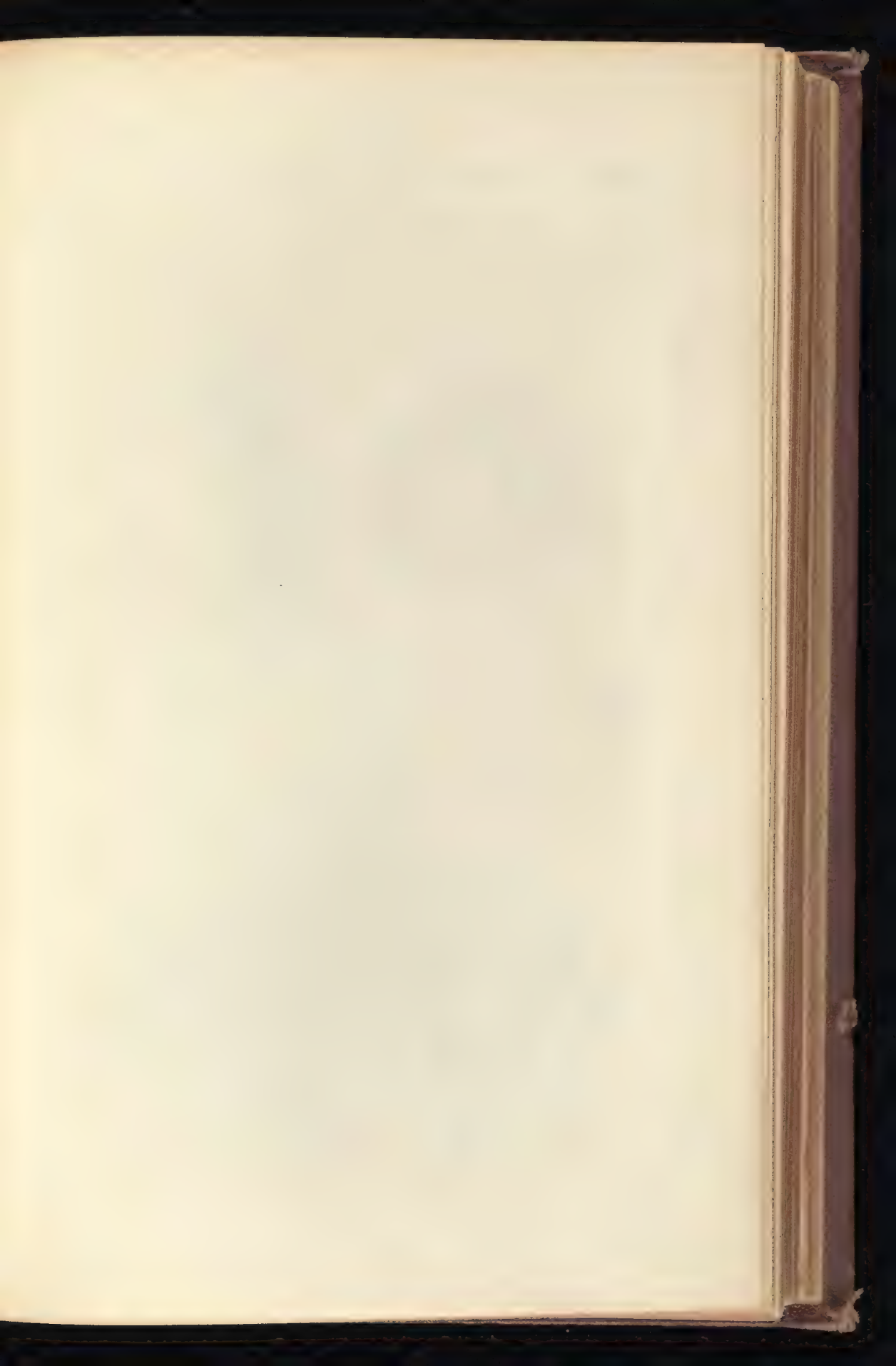
The Mass is said, the King is up :
 "Now, worthy liegemen, shew
 That they who go from prayer to fight
 Can fear no mortal foe !"
 And on with sword and battle-axe
 The Wessex column roll'd :
 Both Thane and Ceorl and Eardorman,*
 And Heretoch and Hold.

Then waxed the combat fierce and sharp,
 Yet ere the sun went down,
 The Raven spread his wings for flight,
 As far as Reading town :
 And on the morrow when they came
 The bearing dead to Court,
 Five mighty Jarls and one great King
 Were writ in that amount.

In English song the King live long,
 That won a field by prayer ;
 The bloody day of Essendune
 Long live recorded there !
 [Short life was godly Ethelred's ;
 Short life but long renown :
 And for the Royal Diadem
 He hath the Martyr's Crown !

J. M. NEALE.—*Mirror of Faith*, pp. 26—30.

* *Ceorl*, retained in our own language, under the form *Churl*. *Heretoch* and *Hold* were the names of officers in the Anglo-Saxon armies. Their functions are not accurately known.



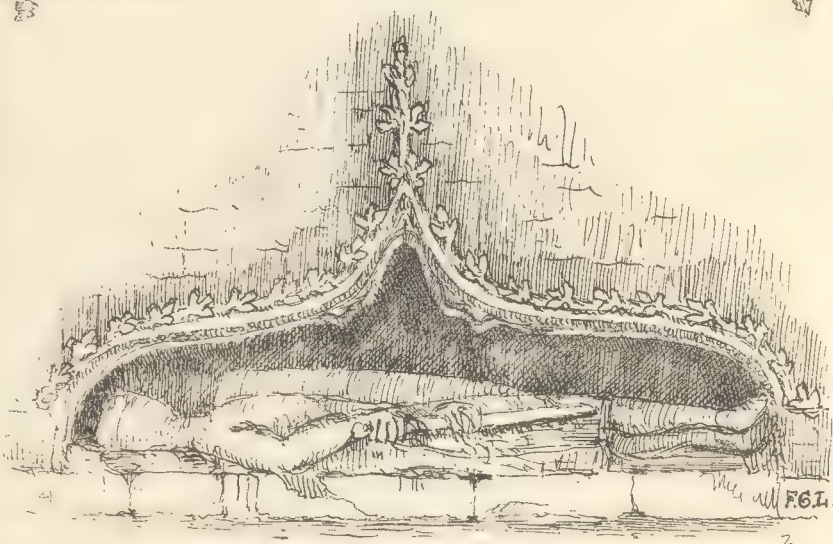
† PISCINE 1527



† Canoeel S. S.



† S. Hisle S. S.



† Recumbent Effigy S. Mary's Ashendon, Bucks S. S.

(For Records of Buckinghamshire.)

sanctuary, for the High Altar. We have given illustrations of both, that in the Chancel being the most uncommon. The steps to the ancient Rood-Loft have been closed up very lately: and the Rood-Loft itself existed within the memory of an old inhabitant still living. "It was covered," we were informed, "with color and gold, and a row of Bible characters along the bottom of it." In the north wall of the chancel, near the sanctuary steps, placed under a second pointed canopy, lies the figure in stone of a Crusader. He is habited in chain mail; his right leg—as is usual with such—crossing his left: the shirt or hauberk descending to his knees, and the border of the surcoat to about the middle of the leg. His left hand holds the scabbard of a large sword slung in a broad belt, while his right hand grasps the hilt. On the left arm is a large pointed shield. The whole figure, but especially the head, has been most wretchedly defaced, and appears to have undergone at various times some processes of restoration—by no means improvements—at the hands of the village mason. It has been daubed over with lamp-black, afterwards with chocolate, paint, and then with eight or ten coats of churchwarden's white-wash. We ventured to remove a small portion of these ornamental additions, and the result was, that we discovered in one or two places the presence of polycrome. Green, gold, scarlet, and blue, had been evidently used upon the figure, which appears to be in date late in the thirteenth, or early in the fourteenth century. It is not known for certain, of whom it is a representation: some have assigned it to Sir John Bucktot, or Bugden, of Policott; and some to one of the Cressy family, who were anciently Lords of the Manor there. The font is of first pointed work, and not very remarkable in its character. There are now no brasses in the church, though many existed there fifty years ago. In various parts of the sacred building there are monuments bearing the following names:—Fawconers, Cheynè (of Drayton Beauchamp), Winchcombe, Hawles, Webb, Rose, Lucas, Crouford, Humphries or Humphreys, Bampton, Rice, and Garrett. The Church appears to have undergone what the good-natured keeper of the key of it, called a "restoration:" i. e. objects of superstition have been carefully destroyed, memorial brasses have been sacri-

legiously sold, or made away with, the commonest and cheapest deal has been used to make sittings, the rood-screen has been removed, and white-wash has been plentifully applied to walls, roof, and wood-work. These "improvements" were made about fifteen years ago. Such things of course would not happen now-a-days, a taste for preserving objects of antiquity and interest having become prevalent, and the manner of making restorations better understood; but we look for the day, when GOD's houses shall not be kept merely decent, but restored with zeal to somewhat of their ancient glories as they stood in "the days of faith," and what is of still more infinite importance, with a restored daily and weekly sacrifice. God grant it in His good time!

EARTH-WORKS AT HAMPDEN AND LITTLE KIMBLE.

BY BOUGHEY BURGESS, ESQ. (H.E.I.C.S.) *Hon. Sec.*

At the last Quarterly Meeting of the Society, 17th April, 1855, the sum of £2 was voted for the purpose of opening barrows and other earth-works which might be expected to afford remains of interest to the Society. This sum was placed in the hands of the Rev. W. J. Burgess and myself for expenditure. D. Cameron, Esq., of Hampden House, had kindly given his consent to the opening of any barrows or mounds we might select on his property; and as there are three of great size, one standing in a corner in the Park and called Danes Camp, which has never been touched, and two others, which have been partially opened, contiguous to one another in a wood called Oaken Grove, we thought it advisable to open the one standing in the Park. This very conspicuous mound measuring about 130 yards in circumference on the outside of the trench, and eight feet in height from the level of the Park, was the one we determined to open, thinking it the one most likely to yield favourable results. By far the cheapest method being to dig down to the outside level

in the centre, I employed a man and a boy to dig a hole about three yards square, as near the centre of the mound as possible. After digging down to the depth of 12 feet, being four below the outside level, and nothing having been discovered which could lead to the idea of its having been erected for funereal purposes, the hole was filled up again. The whole expense incurred was ten shillings. To set the matter quite at rest as to the object for which so large a mound was raised, it might be worth while, should the Society think well, to make a cutting from the circumference to the centre; and thus, should any interments have been made between those points, they would be discovered: but this would incur considerable expense, as there is a large body of earth to be moved. It should be mentioned that, in digging, a piece of tile was found some six or seven feet below the surface, also several other pieces under the turf when removed. Some have stated that a wind-mill stood on the mound, on which some fine trees now stand, but it is hardly probable that so large a mass of earth would have been raised, on so high a situation as the spot on which the mound stands, merely for the sake of erecting a wind-mill on its summit, more particularly as there are two similar mounds in a wood about half a mile distant. There is one peculiarity about these three mounds, viz., that they have each two ways of access opposite to one another, one from the East and the other from the West. They are each surrounded by a deep ditch: the two in Oaken Grove stand on Grim's Dyke, the earth of which has been cut away and used in raising them. One of them is very large, measuring 105 yards in circumference in the ditch, 40 yards the circumference on the top, and about 20 feet high. This has been opened, and is almost hollowed out. The other has also been opened by a cross cut, but not to the same extent as the first. It measures 81 yards in the ditch, and 38 in circumference at the top. The one in the Park had never apparently been opened. It *was* evidently the opinion that these were barrows, by the way in which two have been searched in the hope of finding either treasures or remains. They are well worth a visit from the Antiquary. Mr. Cameron showed me 3 bronze Celts, dug up on the Hampden property, but I do not know for certain in what spot they were found.

A Member of the Society, who has had the opportunity of frequently visiting these mounds, considers them to have been raised for the purpose of defence, forming what we should now call block houses, and having been crowned with stockade works. As Hampden was from very early times a Saxon settlement, he would suggest that they were thrown up as a defence against the incursions of the Danes.

Hearing from the Rev. J. Ormond, residing at Little Kimble, a Member of the Society, that a Roman tessellated pavement had been some years ago dug up near the turnpike at Little Kimble, with the permission of Mr. Fordham, I set a man to work, to dig in the meadow behind the turnpike-gate house, close to the spot where, in making the new road, the tessellated pavement had been discovered. Some disjointed tesserae, pieces of thick mortar (evidently Roman) fragments of tiles, oyster shell, bones, and pieces of coloured stucco, were dug up, and after a short time, at the depth of about four feet, a solid mortar foundation was discovered. This was laid upon rag stone and yellow sand. The edge of the mortar had been rounded off, and on its upper surface had been covered with stucco and painted red. The hole was enlarged in the direction of the foundation or floor, but on account of injuring the meadow, we were not able to follow it to its termination; indeed, there is great probability that, if traced, the ground work of a Roman villa may be laid bare. Persons from the neighbourhood, who came to see the excavation, assert that large quantities of stone have been turned up in the fields adjoining.

Being anxious to prosecute our researches in the neighbouring Park of Chequers, I wrote to Lady Frankland Russell, asking permission to open at the Society's expense the camp at Cymbeline's Mount, and a small barrow at the top of the hill. Her Ladyship not only very kindly seconded our wishes, but employed men at her own expense, and asked me to superintend them, and set them to work where I thought best. Several holes were dug in the park near Little Kimble Church, and about 60 yards from where the foundation had been discovered in Mr. Fordham's meadow. The same style of Roman remains was dug up, consisting of fragments of brick, plain and flanged tiles, pieces of mortar stuccoed and painted

with different designs, a few pieces of Samian ware, pottery, oyster shells, bones, teeth, a very fine boar's tusk, tesserae, a small coin, and a quantity of charred wood. A solid portion of foundation was also laid bare amidst a great mass of the debris of buildings. The whole of the ground near the spot has a very peculiar tumbled appearance, as if covering the remains of buildings; and there is every indication that a considerable Roman or Romano-British town stood here. The road between Great Kimble and Ellesborough formerly followed the track of the old Icknield Way, which may still be seen skirting the foot of the hills below Cymbeline's Mount, and above the fish ponds. It now, after leaving Great Kimble Church, bears away down hill to the left of Little Kimble Church, turning then to the right towards Ellesborough; Cymbeline's Mount, with the entrenched camp, would have thus been on the right of the ancient road, and the Roman town on its left, within a few yards.

Whilst speaking of Cymbeline's Mount and the entrenched camp there, I must mention that a cutting was made through about half the centre of the square camp, but nothing peculiar was found except pieces of very coarse brown and black pottery, a boar's tusk, and quantities of oyster shells, and some bones, apparently those of animals. A small barrow on the summit of the hill over Velvet Lawn was also opened by cutting from the circumference to the centre, at the level of the ground outside: some few fragments of bones, a horse's tooth, a few pieces of charcoal, and pieces of pottery of the same kind as that found in the camp, were alone discovered; there were imbedded in the chalk in the centre, a few fossil shells, and several pieces of iron pyrites. There are abundant traces of Roman occupation below the Chilterns in this part of Buckinghamshire. In a cutting, in a spur of the hills called Soldier's Mount, above Princes Risborough, several fragments of Samian ware, pottery of different kinds, glass beads, portion of the neck of a glass bottle of a sea-green color, a small bronze clasp, boars' tusks, and coins—one a remarkably beautiful one of Constantine—have been found. Some suppose that the cross on White Cliff Hill, is a symbol of the faith of Constantine, and the work of Roman antiquaries, whilst the Roman remains, found at Little Kimble in such quantities, speak for themselves.

In the chalk pits in the immediate neighbourhood of these remains, have been found many traces of very early interments. About five years ago, in the small cist in the chalk, were found human bones, charred, immediately under the remains of a horse; and a bronze bulla was found in a field adjoining, which has been unfortunately lost.

HILLESDEN CHURCH.

Many of our readers will look back with much pleasure to the interesting visit paid by our Society to the beautiful and dilapidated Church of Hillesden. The interest then expressed has by no means subsided, although the present time has not been considered favourable on some accounts for commencing its restoration. We hope, however, ere long to record that a survey and estimate for this purpose has been made by our eminent Honorary Member, George Gilbert Scott, Esq., who has so handsomely offered his gratuitous services; and, further, that his Report has been favourably responded to by the authorities of Christ Church, and other persons most nearly interested in that Parish.

Since Mr. Scott's notice of Hillesden Church was printed in the account of the annual Meeting at Buckingham, the Rev. W. T. Eyre has published a letter upon the subject in the "Aylesbury News," and "Oxford Chronicle," from which we extract the following:—

"Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was attainted, 1461, (1st Edward IV.,) when that King gave Hillesden Manor to Sir Walter Devereux, Knight. Sir Walter Devereux being slain in the battle of Bosworth, 1485, the Courtenays, being reinstated in blood, repossessed the Manor till their second attainder by Henry VIII. (1539,) on which it coming to the crown, Edward VI., by letter patent dated August 1547, in the first year of his reign granted it to Thomas Denton, Esq., and the estate did not again revert to the Courtenays. If the Church was rebuilt in 1493, and the Courtenays possessed the Manor from 1485 to 1539, it is clear that Hillesden Church was rebuilt *in their time*, but not so clear that it was rebuilt by *them*. Browne Willis says—'The Church being ruinous, a complaint was exhibited at the Visitation,

against the Abbot and Convent of Nutley Abbey, [near Thame, Oxon.] 1493, 8th Henry VII., that Hillesden Chancel and other parts of the Church were very ruinous, and that the Churchyard lay open, and the whole was in great dilapidation, and that the Abbot of Nutley ought to amend it. Which had so good effect as occasioned it to be new built in the handsome manner it now is.'

"The conclusion that I come to is this, that the present Church was rebuilt by the Abbot and Convent of Nutley Abbey 46 years before the Reformation, when their revenues were plundered, and the society broken up and dispersed. At the same time, I think Mr. Scott was very accurate in stating in his lecture at the Church that the chapel adjoining the chancel on the north side was built by the Courtenays as a thankoffering."

In explanation of the statement that Christ Church had granted £2 a year for doing duty in the Church, Mr. Eyre cites Browne Willis's statement, that—

"The tithes of the Church, both rectorial and vicarial, were engrossed by the Monks of Nutley, who got it appropriated before the year 1200. On the dissolution of Nutley Abbey, 1539, when the tithe, glebe, &c., were transferred by King Henry VIII. to Christ Church, that College only paid about £4 to a curate, as the impropropriators of Nutley had done."

He continues:—

"Here we find that Christ Church received the tithes, &c., subject to one usual charge, and in estimating that charge we ought to consider the difference of the times and of the value of money. The priest, before the Reformation, was no doubt wholly provided for by Nutley Abbey; he had, too, what we should now call the run of the Manor House and £4 in his pocket. In 1680, after the Reformation, the Churchwardens of this parish certified at the Visitation that 'there is no Parsonage-house, or glebe, or endowment, saving £2, which Alexander Denton, Esq., *who provides a Minister*, pays to the Churchwardens,' [query for which purpose?] Here, then, in 1539, the chantry priest was provided for. So in 1680 the officiating priest was the domestic chaplain of Alexander Denton, Esq., and had probably as little reason as his Roman Catholic predecessor to complain that he had fallen on evil times. Since that time, however, up to the year 1853, the officiating priest, or perpetual curate, was only entitled through the lessee to £30 a year, without the auxiliary resource of Nutley Abbey or the hospitable residence of Alexander Denton, Esq., or taking into consideration the difference of the value of money. In justice to Christ Church, let me observe that in the year 1815 they made a small augmentation to the Curate's salary, and a further augmentation in the year 1835, so as to make their stipend amount to £65 a-year, and this out of *other* funds than those of *Hillesden*. Their predecessors, who might plead precedent, had followed that injurious, (and I might add) iniquitous system of forestalling the income which was appropriated to religious purposes, and for God's honour and service, by taking in advance the presumed value of the property for the term of three lives, taking a large sum or fine prospectively, and divesting themselves of all responsibility and care for the spiritual interests of the parishioners.

"In the year 1853, the survivor of the three lives during whose existence the lease held good expired, and the valuable Church property of Hillesden at once reverted for re-disposal to the Dean and Chapter of

Christ Church. And what did they do? Instead of leasing their property away again for other three lives to the owner of the estate, they exchanged the mode of tenure from lives to 21 years. They covenanted with their lessee to increase the stipend of the Perpetual Curate to £130 a-year, gross sum, with a proviso that he should have a further increase at the end of each seven years, and they reserved out of the lease a plot of land, whereon, in due time, to erect a parsonage-house. I cannot but think then that this noble College comes into Court with clean hands, and may very safely be relied on that it will come forth to render important assistance in this interesting work of the restoration of the Church of Hillesden."

The whole of the inscriptions in the very interesting east window of the south transept of this Church, which were only partially deciphered at the time of our visit, have since been communicated to us. It will be remembered, that the window is, like the rest of the Church, of late third-pointed or perpendicular style, and consists of eight lights, each of which was stated by Mr. Scott to represent some incident in the legendary life of St. Nicholas. The miracle of restoring the freight of corn to its first amount, after taking sufficient to satisfy the famine of Bari, is the only act given in the more sober lives of this Saint. That may be the subject represented in the third light.

The inscriptions are as follows, commencing from the left hand in the upper lights:—

1. Cadit puerulus quem mox salvat Nicholaus.
2. Tunc offert cyphum grates pro munere reddens.
3. Multiplicat frugem præsul quem nave recepit.
4. Quæ tulerat bona cogit reddere.
5. Auro furato baculo flagellat amicum.
6. Restituit rursus labor quod sustulit aurum.
7. Strangulat dæmon puerum [fru]menta ferentem.
8. Mortuus ad vitam redit precibus Nicholai.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES.

NORTH MARSTON CHURCH.

Her Majesty has been pleased to restore the Chancel of this Church in memory of the late J. C. Neild, Esq., who dying three years ago, bequeathed to her the vast property which he had amassed. The Church is one of mixed styles, and unusually rich in features of interest.

The Chancel is a remarkably fine specimen of perpendicular work, and the whole of the details of excellent character. It remained, however, in a dilapidated and neglected condition until last year, when Digby Wyatt, Esq., was appointed by Her Majesty to carry out its thorough repair. A view of the new East Window was published in the "Illustrated London News," of September 29th, 1855, with the following account:—

"Often a quarter of the money spent upon the marble urns, over which allegorical figures swaddled in drapery mourn the virtues of the departed squire, would have sufficed to repair the simple old chancel for which such costly memorials are a world too fine, or would have added whatever feature of use or beauty the structure might most have demanded. From such, as we deem it, culpable extravagance—in lavishing on the dead sums which would have been better bestowed in ministering to the necessities or spiritual gratification of the living—the Royal lady, by whom the monument we engrave has been erected, must be regarded as entirely free; since not only has it been so devised as to add a graceful feature to the noble old Church of the parish in which Mr. Neild's property was principally situated, but its cost has been less than a third of the whole sum spent by her Majesty in restoring simply, but most thoroughly and substantially, the chancel, which at North Marston forms an unusually large and important feature of the Church.

"The subject which has been selected for the window is the Ascension. High up in the centre compartment appears our Saviour, and at his feet are grouped the Apostles, whom he is supposed to have just left—some of whom are attentively examining the prints upon the earth left by his ascending feet. This mode of symbolising the duty of the Church is of not unfrequent ancient occurrence, being to be met with in various mediæval sculptures, as at Ely, and in some of the early block books. In the four other principal bays stand the four Evangelists, under canopies, whilst in the minor openings above are angels and the Holy Dove descending as it were to meet the ascending Saviour. Along the bottom of the whole runs the text, 'Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.' The window has been executed with the greatest care, and a very happy result, by Miss Harriet Clarke, assisted in the ornamental portion of the work by Messrs. Ward and Nixon. Beneath the window is a reredos sculptured in Caen stone by Mr. Cundy, of Pimlico. Upon its frieze is carved the commemorative inscription, which states that—

'This Reredos and the Stained-glass Window above it were erected by her Majesty Victoria (D.G.B.R.F.D.), in the eighteenth year of her reign, in memory of JOHN CAMDEN NEILD, Esq., of this parish, who died August 30th, 1852, aged 72.'

"In the compartments of the reredos, as well as in the backs of two niches, one on each side of the Communion-table, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c., have been emblazoned; and these portions of the work, as well as whatever coloured decorations have been introduced, have been carried out by Mr. Miller, of Brewer-street, Golden-square."

There is a biography of James Neild, the father of James Camden Neild, Esq., with a portrait in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxiv. i. 206, lxxxiv. ii.

58, lxxxvii. i. 305. He was left an orphan at an early age, and made his fortune by diligence in the business of a goldsmith. He was born at Knutsford, in Cheshire, in 1744, and obtained the lease of the great tithes of North Marston from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, in 1798. He was Sheriff of this county in 1804, but was more distinguished for his benevolent and philanthropic exertions to ameliorate the state of the prisons. The son is commonly reported to have been a miser, and on one occasion to have made an attempt on his own life. Lipscomb, however, commends his kindness to the poor in providing allotment gardens, &c.

An Account of North Marston, with a south view of the Church, was published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xc. ii. 490, 580. The same view is engraved in Lipscomb, with others of two Piscinæ, and the brass of Richard Saunders.

1st Query. Is there any other Church in this county, in which polychrome has been used in modern times? Most of our old Churches attest its use from the date of their erection till the 17th century, or later. It would be interesting to preserve a record, and, if possible, a sketch of all such perishable work as mural paintings.

John Schorne, Rector of North Marston in 1290, was believed on one occasion to have *conjured the Devil into a boot*. Dr. Lipscomb states, apparently on the authority of Browne Willis's MSS., that a representation of this extraordinary scene was set up in the east window of the Church.

2nd. Query. How was it represented? Did any fragments of the glass exist at the time of the recent restoration? and where are they now?

3rd Query. [F. G. L.] In an account of the Church of North Marston in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1820, p. 581, is the notice of a pulpit hanging of blue, embroidered with silver. Can any of your readers tell me if it is still in use, and if any other altar or pulpit vestments of the same color exist in the county?

The restoration of CHEDDINGTON Church, under the direction of Mr. Street, is not yet completed. The Chancel has been newly roofed, and the East wall rebuilt, with a three light window of the transition style from

Early English to Decorated. The remaining walls and windows throughout the Church are being thoroughly restored. The fragments of stained glass are preserved. All the pews have been removed, and with them a few of the original oak seats, which were plain, and in no way remarkable. Uniform open seats of stained deal are to be laid down, and the floor of the Nave to be paved with Minton's black and red tiles. The old pulpit is retained. The South Porch has been rebuilt, and a Vestry has been erected on the North side of the Chancel, far enough Eastward not to interfere with the East window of the North aisle, and rather improving than detracting from the external appearance of the Church. It will be recollected that the position first proposed, between the North aisle and Chancel, was discussed and objections stated, when the plans were laid before this Society by the kindness of the Rev. A. P. Cust, last April. Several pieces of Norman and other sculptured stonework were found built into the walls: these have been placed in the walls of the Porch, where they may be seen and preserved. Parts of the canopy (apparently) of a tomb, and other perpendicular canopy work were also discovered. The remains of frescoes and colour, of ages before and after the Reformation, were visible on the walls: to the later date must be assigned the texts above the pulpit.

HORSENDEN CHURCH was re-opened by the Bishop of Oxford on the 29th of September, 1855, after restoration of the fittings of the interior. The old and unsightly high pews have been removed, and seats of a simple design in English oak substituted. The prayer desk and lectern are of the same material, carved by Margetts, of Oxford, and the baptismal font, of Caen stone, is executed by the same artist. These have been provided at the cost, and mainly from the designs of the Rev. W. E. Partridge, Rector and Patron, Mr. Humphrey Bull being clerk of the works.

The Old Parish Church, dedicated to St. Michael, was pulled down with the exception of the Chancel, (which is Perpendicular,) in 1765, being then represented to be "decayed, having been erected more than five hundred years." John Grubb, Esq., the Patron, then rebuilt

the tower at the West end of the Chancel, which has from that time served as the Parish Church. It is engraved in Lipscomb.

Query. Are there any traces of Horsenden having been much more populous than it now is, to require so large a Church as this must originally have been?

AKELY.—The New Church of St. James having been consecrated on the first day of our meeting at Buckingham, the ceremony was attended by a large body of members, and a brief notice of the Church was given by the author of the account of our meeting.* The Tower standing on the South side of the Nave, and forming the principal entrance, is a striking feature well worthy of notice; we do not recollect to have seen another example of this arrangement. In our pleasure in recording so good a work, we gladly overlook considerable inaccuracy of detail: less, however, than is usually found in the works of those who have not had long experience, and devoted their talent almost exclusively to *Church Architecture*. Lithographs of the building may be obtained.

AYLESBURY CHURCH.—About six years ago those substantial repairs of the Nave were being carried out, which Mr. G. G. Scott had previously stated to be necessary. (See his Report p. 30, *supra*). The galleries and pews having then been swept away, chairs and benches were employed as a temporary substitute until 1854, when low open seats of substantial oak were erected. The contractors for the necessary repairs were Messrs. Cooper, of Derby,—for the seats, screens, pulpit, &c., Messrs. Yonge, of Oxford. The stonework of the chancel and pulpit is by Mr. W. W. Thompson, an honorary member of our Society. Two windows in the North Chapel have been painted by Mr. Waller, and an East window by Mr. Willement is now being erected. The whole of this restoration, since the fabric was made secure, has been effected without any interruption of the Sunday—and but little of the Daily Services. The restoration of the Nave was completed early in this year, but the Chancel is still partitioned off with canvas, to enable

* See Account of the Society's Annual Meeting at Buckingham (1855), p. 1.

the masons to finish their work without interruption of Divine Service. It is hoped that this will be re-opened by the Bishop very shortly, after which a full account of the Church and its restoration will be looked for. Suffice it to say at present, that there are few Parish Churches that surpass the one, and that the other has been carried out, as far as it is completed, in a manner not unworthy of the Vicar, our Vice-President, nor of the Architect, Mr. Scott.

POOR QUARRENDON! The past year has made sad ravages with this ruined Church. In that time the South Porch has been levelled with the ground, and much of the South wall of the nave has fallen. Last year Lady Frankland Russell pointed out to us how the East wall of the Nave had been excavated: now the Chancel Arch has been completely picked away, leaving the wall above it unsupported; and an ominous crack makes the beholder dread what may be the consequence of the first high wind.

Two years ago a door and a little pointing with Roman cement might have rescued the Church from further ruin and desecration: even now it may be enclosed, and much of the building preserved; but if the present treatment is to be continued, in a few years there will be nothing left even to mark the consecrated spot, except a few overgrown foundation stones, and the grass springing luxuriantly from the remains of those who have been buried under the shadow of its walls. Even the stones which were placed a few years ago to mark the boundary of the Churchyard, are almost lost sight of and forgotten. Is it not a reproach to ourselves in our Architectural and Archæological capacity (to take the lowest ground,) as well as to the Guardians of that Church property, that such a state of things should be allowed? What steps can be taken to prevent further sacrilege?

The state of Quarrendon Church in July, 1817, was accurately described by "Viator," in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of that date. One of three monuments then standing in the Chancel was to the memory of SIR HENRY LEE, K.G., who died 1611. He was the greatest member of the Lee family, and was Champion to Queen Elizabeth, Master of the Ordnance to James I., &c.

A correspondent (who asks for extracts from registers or documents relating to this family) writes:—

“There are some very interesting MSS. of his [Sir Henry Lee’s] at Ditchley, besides his portrait with his dog Bevis. He is the prototype of Sir Walter Scott’s Sir Henry Lee, in his Woodstock. In some very ancient Court Rolls still existing, at Ditchley, I can trace the Lees from their first coming to Quarrendon, about the end of Richard II., when they were first Woodwards, and afterwards Constables, until they became Lords of the Manor of Quarrendon, and many other places in its vicinity. One Court Roll was during the time that the famous Duke of Clarence, of Malmsey notoriety, was Lord of the Manor.”

The Lady of this Sir Henry Lee was buried at Aylesbury, in 1584; her monument is at the end of the North Transept.

Query. It has been stated that a lead coffin from this Church was used as a watering trough in the neighbourhood. Is anything known of this? Is the font, or any portion of the monuments, &c., from the Church still in existence?

A Parsonage-house is about to be built at FLEET MARSTON. It is hoped that some arrangement may be made, by which the adjoining Parish of Quarrendon, as well as his own, may benefit by the residence of a Clergyman at this place. Fleet Marston comprises 910 acres, three farm-houses and three cottages; all of the latter will most probably have to be pulled down, to make room for the erection of the Parsonage, much to the regret of the Incumbent. Already the population has gradually decreased from 46 in 1811 to 32.

At MENTMORE, the magnificent residence of Baron Rothschild has just been completed. This brings a new style, as well as example, of domestic architecture into the county. It is said to be the first attempt of Sir Joseph Paxton in that science, since neither Crystal nor Horticultural palaces—however perfect and unique in their way—can come under that denomination.

WESTON TURVILLE. One of the red Samian pateræ, found here among the remains of Roman interment, in

May last, contained ashes, leaves, silver, and bronze ornaments, and with these a white substance, which emitted when pressed, an aromatic scent.* This was shown by Rev. A. Isham to an eminent analytical chemist in London, who thus reports upon it:—

“The aromatic substance you left with me, I find to be the gum resin ‘*Olibanum*,’ the ancient *Thus* or *Frankincense*. I believe the common Latin name is derived from the Hebrew *Lebonah*, thence the Greek *libanos*. It was extensively used by the ancients; and a very long account of it is given in *Pliny Lib. xii., Cap. 14.*

It is used as incense in Catholic churches (mixed with other resins) to this day. If you heat a small quantity of it on a piece of iron you will readily recognise the odour.”

A Member of the B. A. A. S., who is collecting an account of the Legends, Superstitions, and Curious Customs of the County, will feel obliged for any notices of ghost stories, dreams, charms, omens, conjurors, witches, holy trees, superstitious remedies and customs, or other curious stories connected with any place in Buckinghamshire. Address, C. C., care of Mr. Pickburn, Aylesbury.

QUARTERLY MEETING, OCTOBER 22nd, 1855.

The chair was taken by T. T. Bernard, Esq., Vice President, at the National School-room, Aylesbury, at half-past two o'clock. The following papers† were then read:—

1. On the Entrenchment in Bray's Wood, Lee, Bucks.
2. On the Desecrated Churches in the Deanery of Burnham.
3. On the Shepherd's Grave, Aston Clinton.
4. On Drayton Beauchamp (first portion.)

Several communications of interest had been received

* See Account of the Society's Annual Meeting at Buckingham (1855), p. 11.

† Some of these are now published. We hope to give others in our next Number. [ED.]

respecting the site of places bearing the name of COLD-HARBOUR, near Wavendon, Brill, Aylesbury, Chalfont St. Peter's, and Marlow; the letter from Admiral Smyth (page 104, *supra*) having given rise to much enquiry. The Rev. F. W. Cartwright suggested the derivation of the name from the Saxon *Cauld*, cold, *Heord*, a flock, *Beork*, a refuge, as meaning *the shelter of the flock in cold weather*.

Mr. Fowler laid before the Meeting plans and estimates for the formation of a COUNTY MUSEUM in Aylesbury. The plan proposed at the Annual Meeting of establishing a central Museum at Aylesbury, with a branch dépôt at Buckingham, having met with general approbation, a Committee was formed to enquire into the best mode of carrying out this desirable object, consisting of the following gentlemen:—

Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, Revs. W. M. Beresford, A. Newdigate, H. Roundell, E. R. Baynes, Esq., Boughey Burgess, Esq., H. Hearn, Esq., R. Rose, Esq., Mr. Field and Mr. Fowler, with power to add to the number.

[*Query.* Cannot this be effected in combination with other plans, such as a Public Lecture Room, Library, Club and Reading Room? The want of these is generally admitted for the town of Aylesbury and for the County generally.]

Eight Candidates previously proposed were elected, and one proposed for election at the next Quarterly Meeting.

The Rev. H. Roundell then brought forward the motion for relaxing the conditions of Membership in RULE II., of which due notice had been given at the preceding meeting, and also by circular.

The Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, Vice President, stated that, though he should feel bound to protest against any abandonment of the fundamental principles of the Society, he should not oppose the present motion.

R. Rose, Esq., said that the restriction might have been necessary at the first commencement, but that he considered that the Society was now too firmly established to require its retention.

The motion was carried without opposition.

Several presents were exhibited, a list of which, with others recently received, will be published hereafter.

R U L E S
OF THE
Architectural and Archeological Society

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

Established Nov. 16th, 1847.

I. OBJECT.—That the object of this Society shall be, to promote the study of Architecture and Antiquities, by the collection of books, drawings, models, casts, brass-rubbings, notes, and local information, and by mutual instruction at Meetings of the Society in the way of conversation and by reading original papers on subjects connected with its designs.

II. CONSTITUTION.—That the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, two Auditors, Honorary and Ordinary Members; of whom, the Bishop of the Diocese for the time being shall be requested to accept the office of President; the Archdeacon of the County, being a Subscriber, shall be considered *ex officio* one of the Vice-Presidents; and that the remaining Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the Committee, and with the other Officers be elected by a Majority of the Members present at an Annual Meeting of the Society; and that every candidate for admission to the Society shall be proposed and seconded at a General Meeting or at a Committee Meeting, and balloted for at the next General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude; and that on the election of a Member, one of the Secretaries shall send him notice of it and a copy of the Rules.

III. GOVERNMENT.—That the affairs of the Society be transacted by a Committee consisting of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Twelve Ordinary Members, elected annually at a General Meeting of the Subscribers; and that three do constitute a quorum; further, that all Deans Rural in the County, being Subscribers, be considered *ex officio* Members of the Committee, exclusive of the twelve elected; and that Members of the Committee in any neighbourhood may associate other Members of the Society with themselves for local purposes in communication with the Central Committee.

IV. FINANCES.—That each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of not less than Five Shillings, to be due on the first of January for the current year, or shall compound for the same for five years by one payment of a Guinea, or for life by one payment of Five Pounds. And that if any Member's Subscription be in arrear for one year, he may be removed from the Society after three month's notice to him from the Treasurer, at the discretion of the Committee. Excepting that all persons holding the office of Churchwarden in any Parish of the County be placed, on the recommendation of the Clergyman of their respective Parish, and with the sanction of the Committee, on the list of Members, without payment; and also that when extraordinary talent in Architectural or Archaeological pursuits is shown by any person, it shall be competent for a majority of the Committee to elect such person an Honorary Member without Subscription.

V. MEETINGS.—That the General Meetings of the Society be held once a quarter, or at such times in each year as the Committee shall fix, of which due notice shall be given; and that each member may be allowed to introduce Visitors at all General Meetings, except during the transaction of private business.

VI. PROPERTY.—That all Books, Drawings, Papers, and other property of the Society, be kept by the Secretaries for the use of Members, subject to the regulations of the Committee.

VII. RULES.—That no new Rule shall be passed, and no alteration made in any existing Rule, unless notice of the proposed new Rule or alteration shall have been given at the preceding General Meeting.

Aylesbury, November, 1855.

President.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

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Ex-officio—The above named Officers.

The Rural Deans, viz.:—

REV. S. T. ADAMS
REV. H. BULL
REV. F. W. CARTWRIGHT

REV. T. EVETTS
REV. C. LLOYD

Elected:—

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MR. FIELD
MR. FOWLER
REV. W. HASTINGS KELKE
HENRY HEARN, Esq.

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COX, Rev. F. H., Tasmania
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REPTON, J. A., Esq. (*d*)
SCOTT, G. G., Esq., 20, Spring Gar-
dens (*e*)
SLATER, W., Esq., Carlton Chambers,
Regent Street (*f*)
THOMPSON, Mr. W. W., Aylesbury

(*a*) Architect.

(*b*) Designed Chapel of Ease at Frieth near Hambleden, 1848, St. George's Church, Oxford, Bussage, &c.

(*c*) Architect, built Church, Schools, and Parsonage at Prestwood, 1848, Aston Clinton Rectory, 1851, Judge's Lodgings at Aylesbury, 1850, Lodges, Schools, &c., at Chequers, 1837 to 1855; restored, altered, or added to, Wendover Church, 1838, Little Hampden Church, 1855, Great and Little Kimble Churches, and Chequer's Court, 1837 to 1855, Great Brickhill Manor House, 1854-5. Also Churches at West Hartlepool, Thirkleby, Aldwork, Bluberhouse, Leiston, &c.

(*d*) Architect.

(*e*) Architect. Restored Aylesbury Church, 1848 to 1855. Ely and Peterborough Cathedrals, Westminster Abbey, Oxford Martyrs' Memorial, Churches at Doncaster, Camberwell, &c.

(*f*) Architect, restoring All Saint's Church at Marsworth; also Churches at Stanwick, Bridworth, Corby, Weldon, Islip, &c., and Architect to Chichester Cathedral, new Cathedral, at Inverness, Lancing College, &c.

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** Denotes Life Member, (V.P.) Vice President, † Elected since the Publication of the List for 1854.*

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Cambridge Ecclesiological Society—[Rev. W. Webb, 78, New Bond Street]
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Archæological Institute, (by subscription)—[A. Vulliamy, Esq., 26, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall]

(g) Treasurer to Soc. Antiq.

(h) Architect of Thornborough Church restoration, 1855.

CATALOGUE
OF
THE MUSEUM OF ARTICLES,
EXHIBITED IN THE
Town Hall, Buckingham,
UPON
TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY,
31st of JULY, and 1st of AUGUST,
1855,
DURING THE MEETING OF THE
ARCHITECTURAL & ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY,
FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

The Articles, marked with an Asterisk, are for Sale ; and the
price may be known upon application to one of
the Secretaries.

BUCKINGHAM : PRINTED BY RICHARD CHANDLER.

CATALOGUE.

Roman, Etruscan, and other Antiquities.

- 1 Hebrew Coin of Glass, found at Gaza.
Rev. G. H. Palmer, of Mixbury.
- 2 Greek Coins, gold, silver, and brass.
Rev. H. Roundell, of Buckingham.
- 3*Greek and Roman Coins. *Mr. Wells, of Oxford.*
- 4 Greek Gem, set in gold ring, found in the Parthenon at Athens.
Rev. G. H. Palmer.
- 5 Gems modelled from the antique. *P. Box, Esq. Radcliffe.*
- 6 Trajan's Column and Cleopatra's Needle, in red porphyry.
Rev. G. H. Palmer.
- 7 Wolf of the Capitol, and models of Tomb of Cecilia Metella, Modern Bronze, and Temple of Vesta.
Rev. G. H. Palmer.
- 8 Roman Vessel, found at Radcliffe.
Rev. John Coker, of Radcliffe.
- 9*Roman Soldier, ancient bronze. *Mr. Miller, of Oxford.*
- 10 Mercury, a Roman bronze. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 11 Achilles, bronze found at Bologna. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 12 Pan and Syrinx, Roman clay figure, found by the workmen in digging the foundations of the New Gaol at Oxford, in 1841.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 13 A bronze Roman Lamp with two burners, found at King's Holme, near Gloucester.
C. Faulkner, Esq. F.G.S. of Deddington.

- 14 Portion of Patera of Samian ware, potter's mark "VIRTVTIS,"
found at Blacking Grove. *C. Faulkner, Esq.*
- 15 Fragments of Roman and Romano British Vessels, dug up
at Hempton, Blacking Grove, Wigginton and Somerton.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 16 Roman Balances. One a Bronze Head, probably of Venus,
dug up with a Coin of Constantinus, at Adderbury.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 17 A bronze-socketed Celt, found at Dane Hill.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 18 Roman Remains, from an Entrenchment in Bray's Wood,
near Lee. *B. Burgess, Esq. of S. Leonards.*
- 19 Roman Urn, found at Stony Stratford Bridge.
Mr. J. Harrison jun. Buckingham.
- 20 Piece of Slag, from large mound 80 yards in diameter, near
Lee. *B. Burgess, Esq.*
- 21 Roman Relics, consisting of Articles in Glass, in red Sa-
mian Ware, in coarse light Pottery, in drab-coloured
Ware, Fibulæ and Bronze Ornaments, found at Weston
Turville Rectory, on 19th May, and engraved in the
Illustrated London News of July 21, 1855.
Rev. A. Isham, of Weston Turville.
- 22 Tiles from the Balneum, Bone Spoon, Pin, part of a Bone
Pipe, bronze Locket, fragments of Glass and Pottery,
piece of Oak Pile, found at the Roman Villa at Foscott.
Rev. W. Lloyd, of Lillingstone.
- 23 Specimens of Variegated Green and Cut Glass, (pattern
vine leaves and grapes), found at Roman Villa, at
Foscott. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 24 Roman Tile, from Foscott. *W. Stowe, Esq., Buckingham.*
- 25 Tessellated Pavement, and Flue Tiles, also from Foscott.
Mr. J. Harrison, jun.
- 26 Glass, Roman, from Barrow, at Thornborough.
W. Stowe, Esq.
- 27 Roman Coins, found at Thornborough. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 28 Roman Remains, Buckles, Rings, Tiles, Tessaræ, fragments
of Painted Stucco, dug up at Little Kimble, Bucks.
Lady Frankland Russell.
- 29 Roman Lamp. *Mr. Chandler, Buckingham.*
- 30 Etruscan Lamp and Lacrymatory.
W. Stowe, Esq. Buckingham.

- 31 Silver and Copper Roman Coins found near Aylesbury.
J. K. Fowler, Esq. of Aylesbury.
- 32* Roman and Etruscan Lamps, from the Museum at Colby Hall, Linconshire.
Mr. Miller.
- 33 Other Ware, from the same collection.
Mr. Miller.
- 34 Group of Six Etruscan Vases, from the Collection of the Prince of Canino, and excavated by him at Veii and Cortona.
Rev. G. H. Palmer.
- 35 Early Etruscan Pottery.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 36 Roman Vase of Pottery, found at Evenly near Brackley, Nov. 3, 1853, containing more than 3000 Coins of Gallienus, Salonina, Victorinus, Tetricus Father and Son, Claudius, Quintillus, Aurelianus, Tacitus, Probus, Diocletianus, Maximinianus, and Constantinus, exhibited with the Coins by the finder,
Mr. Boughton, of Evenly.
- 37 Roman Consular and Imperial Coins, gold, silver and brass.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 38 Silver and copper Roman Coins, and Rings.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 39 Roman Coins, found at Soldier's Mount, near Prince's Risborough.
Mr. Charge.
- 40 Celts, found in a Field near Lodge Hill, Waddesdon, 1855.
Mr. Edw. Stone, of Wotton.
- 41 Celt, from Brackley Fields.
W. Stowe, Esq.
- 42 Brass Celt, found at Lillingstone.
Mr. J. Harrison, jun.
- 43* Axe Heads found in Ireland, two Fibulæ, and pair of Roman Shears.
Mr. Wells.
- 44 Models of ancient British Vessels found in a barrow in Wiltshire, by Sir R. Colt Hoare.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 45 British Gold Coins, found at Whaddon.
The Society.
- 46 British gold Coin, rare type, from the hoard found at Whaddon.
D. P. King, Esq. of Buckingham.
- 47 British and Saxon Coins.
Mr. Wells.
- 48 British and Saxon Coins.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 49 Penny of Harold, found at Shotover.
Mr. Wells.
-

Egyptian Antiquities.

- 50 The Body of a Cat wrapped in mummy cloth, and Figures of Egyptian Gods from the Mummy Pits.
Rev. G. H. Palmer.
- 51 Similar Figures, and blue Necklace from a Mummy, and specimens of Cloth.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 52 Bronze Figures, Scarabæi, and smaller Figures of Idols.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 53 Bronze Figure.
Mr. Chandler.
- 54 Egyptian Figure.
- 55
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Early English and Mediæval Antiquities.

- 56 Mediæval Seals. One made on the reverse of a large brass of Antoninus Pius. Inscription, s. COSTATINI, s. MARTINI. Another s. IOHIS BLAKET. with arms, and another with arms of Mauntell.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 57 Sacring Bell, found built in the wall which blocked up a circular-headed window over the south entrance of Deddington Church.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 58 Processional Cross, circa A.D. 1400, with figure of Christ and the four Evangelistic symbols.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 59 Small Crucifix, dug up in a field near Deddington.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 60 Carved oak Boss, representing the five wounds, &c. from a pannelled roof of the 15th century.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 61 Cross Flory, bronze, dug up in Wigginton churchyard.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 62 Stand for the Hour-glass formerly placed on the pulpit in Deddington Church, agreeably to a custom introduced before 12th Eliz. (1569) for regulating Sermons.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 63 Pair of Spurs, temp. Charles I.
C. Faulkner, Esq.
- 64 Highland Firelock-tack, stated to have been used in the Rebellion of 1745.
C. Faulkner, Esq.

- 65 Coat of Chain Mail. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 66 Spear Head, and Sword Handle, found on Bosworth Field.
John Thorpe, Esq.
- 67 Arrow Head, found at Evenly. *Mr. J. Boughton.*
- 68 Ancient Bit, Spur, Horse Shoe, and Weapon found at
Lillingstone, two feet below the surface of the ground.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 69 Ancient Spur, found at Wood's Garden, Chetwode.
Sir John N. L. Chetwode, Bart. Ansley Hall, Warwickshire.
- 70 Spur, of time of Henry V., found seventeen feet below the
bed of the River Ouze, at Stony Stratford.
Rev. L. Loraine-Smith, of Passenham.
- 71 Jaw of the Wild Boar of Chetwode, killed by an Ancestor
of the Chetwode family. *Sir J. Chetwode, Bart.*
- 72 Silver-mounted Hunting Dagger, and Spur, found at Leek-
hampstead. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 73 Misericorde, found near Deddington. *C. Faulkner, Esq.*
- 74 Bridle-bit, of time of Charles I., found in a Garden in
Buckingham. *Mr. Tibbetts, of Buckingham.*
- 75 Ancient Leathern Jug. (Black Jack).
S. M. Allen, Esq. of Buckingham.
- 76 Small Bell, found with silver Coins of Edward I. or II.
eighteen inches below the surface in the Churchyard at
Lillingstone Lovell. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 77* Ancient silver Ring, discovered at Oseney Abbey.
Mr. Miller, of Oxford.
- 78* Another Ring with turquoise, a brass Ring found near
Oxford, and Early Brass Spoons. *Mr. Miller.*
- 79* Gold Ring found at Cropredy, Oxon, supposed to be
about 1640. *Mr. Wells.*
- 80 Gold Ring, from Cuddington. *Mr. Field.*
- 81 Ring, supposed to have belonged to Colonel Blood, temp.
Charles. *H. Humphreys, Esq. of Buckingham.*
- 82 Sword, found concealed in the roof of a house at Farring-
don, Berks. *Mr. Miller.*
- 83 Swords of Commonwealth, various patterns. *Mr. Miller.*
- 84 Pewter Dish, of the time of Charles I., and Button from
the Coat of Charles I. *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 85 Brass circular Dish, Dutch inscription, of the 17th century,
with English and other Coins. *Mr. James Govier.*

- 86 Silver Medallion, with raised Bust of Charles II., found at Lillingstone. *Mr. James Harrison, jun.*
- 87 Box of Wood of the Royal Oak, with Portrait of Charles II. *F. E. Bartlett, Esq., of Buckingham*
- 88 Italian Inkstand of the 17th Century. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 89 Bronze of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell. *Mr. Wells.*
- 90 In-laid Box, early work. *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 91 A 12lb. Cannon Ball, found at Edge Hill. *Mr. Chandler.*
- 92 Ancient Hatchet. *Rev. L. Loraine-Smith, Passenham.*
- 93 Quern, or Household Mill (Pudding Stone), found at Thornborough. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 94 Lace manufactured at Buckingham for the Princess Elizabeth. *Rev. E. A. Uthwatt, Buckingham.*
- 95 Venetian Drinking Glass of 16th Century. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 96 Twisted-stem Glasses. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 97 English Coins, from Conquest to end of 18th Century. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 98*Sixty and Twenty-shilling Pieces of Charles I., Twenty-shilling of Cromwell, Guinea of James, Forty-franc Napoleon, Half-rouble James, in gold. *Mr. Wells.*
- 99*Silver Coins, Siege Pieces of Charles I. & others. *Mr. Wells.*
- 100 Coins found at Thornton Hall. *Hon. R. Cavendish, of Thornton Hall.*
- 101 Copper Coin, found in stone work at Lillingstone Lovell. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 102 Coins, found chiefly at Leckhampstead. *Rev. H. Drummond.*
- 103 Silver Coins. *J. Thorpe, Esq.*
- 104 Silver and Copper Coins. *Rev. E. L. Smith, Chetwode.*
- 105 Silver Coin, found at Hartwell, and presented by Dr. Lee to the Literary and Scientific Institution at Buckingham. *The Secretary to the Society.*
- 106 Silver Coins, found at Chetwode. *Sir J. Chetwode, Bart.*
- 107 Coins and Tokens, found in Buckingham and the Neighbourhood. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 108 Buckingham Tradesmen's Tokens, 1650 to 1668, and other Coins, including a Double Sovereign of George IV. *The Misses Silvester, Buckingham.*

109 English copper Coins, and local Tokens, found in Aylesbury Churchyard. *Rev. J. C. Wharton.*

110 Gold Coin, used at the King's Healing Touch. *Mr. Field, of Aylesbury.*

111* Ancient Lock, found in Oxford. *Mr. Wells.*

112 Leaden Seal of a Bull of Pope Innocent VI. (temp. 1360), found at Chetwode, and in all probability once attached to a document in that Priory. *Rev. E. L. Smith.*

113 Seals:—

1. Great and Counter Seal of John Baliol, 1292.
2. Great and Counter Seal of Robert Bruce, 1317.
3. Seal of the Monastery of St. Giles, Edinburgh, 1496.
4. Seal of the Chapter of Buckingham.
5. Joan Beaufort, wife of James the First, A.D. 1430.
6. Thomas, Prior of St. James, Exeter, 1419.
7. Counter Seal of the Abbey of Tuchaflery.
8. Great Seal of the Abbey of Tuchaflery.
9. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, 1425.
10. Mary of Guilder, Queen of James II, 1459.
11. Seal of Sir Walter Raleigh.
12. P. Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrew's.
13. Cardinal Beaton, of St. Andrew's, 1545.
14. Seal of the Monastery of Holyrood.
15. Seal of the Monastery of Scone, 1596.
16. Seal of ditto.
17. Seal of Ashby Grammar School.
18. William Earl of Douglas and Mar.
19. Burgh Seal of Stirling.
20. Counter Seal of ditto.
21. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar.
22. George, Earl of Angus, 1459.
23. John of Grant.
24. Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, 1536.
25. Seal of Dunfermline.
26. Counter Seal of ditto, 1617.
27. William Xith, Earl of Angus.
28. Lord of the Isles, 1440.
29. Richard Duke of Gloucester, Richard III, 1483.

114 Carving, in Alabaster, representing the Resurrection, which has formed part of a Reredos. It is supposed to have been brought from one of the Northamptonshire Churches. The Costumes are of the 14th Century.

Rev. H. Roundell.

115 Ancient Ivory Carving, eight subjects—

THE ANNUNCIATION,
THE NATIVITY,
THE EPIPHANY,
THE CRUCIFIXION,

THE RESURRECTION,
THE ASCENSION.
PENTECOST,
THE LORD AND HIS CHURCH.

Rev. W. B. Kennaway.

- 116 Chalice belonging to the Church of Hillesden. This vessel had been for many years alienated, and was found among the plate of Lord Leicester, in whose family the patronage of this church was once vested. It was restored in 1853. *Rev. W. T. Eyre, of Padbury.*
- 117* Paten and Chalice of 1663, and pair of ancient Patens.
- 118* A silver-gilt Paten. *Mr. Wells.*
- 119 Ancient Pewter Sacramental Plate, from Lillingstone Lovell. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 120* Three silver Basins, found in River Isis. *Mr. Wells.*
- 121* Filagree Basket. *Mr. Wells.*
- 122 Apostle Spoons. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 123* Apostle Spoon. *Mr. Wells.*
- 124 Apostle Spoons, formerly belonging to Bishop White, last Roman Catholic Bishop of Winchester. *J. K. Fowler, Esq. of Aylesbury.*
- 125 Apostle Spoons. *Mr. Fowler, of Banbury.*
- 126* Salt Cellars, of 1597. *Mr. Wells.*
- 127* Antique Spoons, and Table Spoons of 1600. *Mr. Wells.*
- 128* Forks of the 18th Century. *Mr. Wells.*
- 129 Silver Harps and Medal: prizes given at Welch Eistedfodds. *H. Humphreys, Esq.*
- 130* Pair of silver-mounted Pistols, temp. Queen Anne. *Mr. Miller.*
- 131 Portion of a Rapier, temp. George I. found in a field of T. Hearn, Esq. Buckingham. *T. Hearn, Esq.*
- 132 Dutch Tobacco Box. *Mr. Wilson, of Buckingham.*
- 133 Silver Stirrup-Cup. *G. King, Esq. of Buckingham.*
- 134 China. *F. E. Bartlett, Esq.*
- 135 China. *J. E. Bartlett, Esq. of Buckingham.*
- 136 China. *Mr. Wilson.*
- 137 Raffaele Ware. *George King, Esq.*
- 138 Dresden Ware Figures. *Mrs. Rogers, of Buckingham.*
- 139 Oval Pictures on Delph China, designed and drawn by the celebrated Berghem, 1640. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 140 Specimens of Old China. *D. P. King, Esq.*
- 141 Four China Images, *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 142 Pair of old China Figures, 2ft. high. *Mrs. Rogers.*

- 143 Cup and Saucer of John Howard, bearing the family arms.
H. Lawson, Esq. of Buckingham.
- 144 Enamelled Watch. *Mr. J. Boughton.*
- 145 Ancient Gold Watch. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 146 Mediæval Earthen Bottle, found in the Grave-yard of
Buckingham Old Church. *The Sexton.*
- 147*Limoges Enamels. *Mr. Miller.*
- 148*Enamels. *Mr. Wells.*
- 149*Enamel, "The Holy Family." *Mr. Wells.*
- 150 Pieces of the Mosaic Work from the dome of S. Sophia at
Constantinople. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 151*Coloured Glass of 12th Century. *Mr. Wells.*
- 152 Glass Chrismatory, circa 1530, found in a field near Akely,
Bucks. *Mrs. Hearn.*
- 153 Early Glass, from the Old Church at Chetwode.
Rev. E. L. Smith.
- 154 Fragments of ancient encaustic Tiles from Chetwode.
Rev. E. L. Smith.
- 155 Specimens of modern encaustic Tiles, from *Minton & Son.*
- 156 Mediæval encaustic Tiles, of 15th century. *Rev. E. Owen.*
- 157 Framed Engravings upon Mother of Pearl.
Rev. W. B. Kennaway.
- 158*Brooch, in case, engraved by Cellini. *Mr. Wells.*
- 159*Pair of in-laid Tablets and Oak Carvings. *Mr. Wells.*
- 160 Model of the Font in Tackley Church, Essex, one fourth
the size of the original. *H. Lawson, Esq.*
- 161 The ancient Sign of "The Ship" Public House at Grendon
Underwood; the half-way house used by Shakspeare in
his journeys between Stratford on Avon and London.
J. Harrison, sen. Esq.
- 162 Figures from Chetwode Manor House. *D. P. King, Esq.*
- 163 Old Wood Carving, from a cottage in Buckingham.
Mr. J. Harrison, jun.
- 164 Coloured Print of Stowe Gardens, 1737. *Mr. Chandler.*
- 165 Tally from the Exchequer Office when the House of Lords
was burnt. *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 166 Standard Measures and Weight, formerly belonging to the
Corporation of Buckingham,—Gallon Measure, temp.
Henry VII.—Quart and Pint, temp. Elizabeth, 1601,
4lb. avoirdupois, temp. Eliz. 1588. *Mr. W. H. French.*

- 167 Town Seal and Arms of Buckingham, 1574.
D. P. King, Esq.
- 168 Manuscript Election Book, for the Mercers' Company of Buckingham, from 1660.
D. P. King, Esq.
- 169 Marriage Settlement, 28th Nov. 1617. *D. P. King, Esq.*
- 170 Parchment Deed of 1553. *D. P. King, Esq.*
- 171 Lord Chatham's Appointment of a Deputy Steward, 1751.
D. P. King, Esq.
- 172 Specimens of Early Printing—Books.
T. Fitzgerald, Esq., of Shalstone.
- 173 Les Heures, Illuminated. Fine specimen of early printing upon vellum. *R. H. Codrington, Esq. of Oxford.*
- 174 Document, purporting to be a Privilege from Arrest, from a Member of Parliament to his Servant, date 1686.
D. P. King, Esq.
- 175 Manuscript Collection of Mathematical Treatises, 1688,
Mr. J. H. Cross, of Gawcott.
- 176 Exorcism: written in Latin, and English, on both sides of a narrow roll of vellum, 7 feet long, by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and illuminated. To be of virtue in seven cases enumerated; with directions, showing its efficacy, and the manner of using it.
Sir J. Chetwode, Bart.
- 177 The Manuscript Latin Bible, given to the Chancel of Buckingham Church, by John Rudyng, Archdeacon of Buckingham, in 1471. This book is mentioned by Browne Willis, as being in his possession. See History of Buckingham, page . In the book are the Arms of Rudyng, and the inscription following:—
“Hunc Librum dedit Magist. Johes Rudyng: Archies Lincoln
“Cath. curand in principali disco infra Cancellii Eccls. suæ
“prebendal de Buckingham. ad usû Capellonorm et alior ibi
“in eodem studere volentû quam diu duraverit.”
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 178 Latin Bible, of the same version with the above, printed at Venice A.D. 1494. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 179 English Bible of 1599, and Prayer-book of 1601.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 180 Black-letter Bible of 1600, and book of Common Prayer, 1710. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 181 Bible, with Genealogical Charts, Old Version of Psalms with Music, 1615--1616. *Mr. T. Percy, Buckingham.*
- 182 Tyndall's Bible. *Mrs. Dayrell, Padbury Lodge.*
- 183 Black-letter Bible. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*

- 184 Black-letter Bible, Church Service, and Psalter, 1630.
Mr. W. H. French, of Buckingham.
- 185 Eikon Basilike. *G. Nelson, Esq., of Tingewick.*
- 186 Prayer-book, containing the Form of Prayer for the Healing.
Mr. J. Harrison.
- 187 Trial of Charles I.—Tractus Roffensis, and Hearne's Antiquities of Oxford.—Plot's Oxfordshire.—Lyson's Buckinghamshire, and Account of White Leaf Cross, Bucks; and Book of Engravings. *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 188 Portraits in frames, Holy Child Jesus, and Sanctus Maximus Martyr,—Bible in Miniature,—“Creams of Comfort,”—Convivium Virginium,—Bible Illustrated, with Notes in English, French and German. *Rev. and Mrs. Uthwatt.*
- 189 Browne Willis's History of Buckingham, 1755.
J. Harrison, sen., Esq.
- 189a, Smith's Virginia, 1627.—Description of Stowe, 1759.—Album of old Engravings. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 190 Book, containing specimens of Wood-Cuts and Copperplate Engraving, principally early German Masters.
Rev. C. H. Travers, of Maidsmoreton.
- 191 Book of Architectural Designs. *Mr. Town, Buckingham.*
- 192 Doomsday Book, and Fac-simile of Magna Charta.
T. Hearn, Esq.,
- 193 Collection of Newspapers of 1652--1659. *G. Nelson, Esq.*
- 194 Plans of S. James's Church, at Akely. *Rev. J. H. Risley.*
- 195 Adopted Designs for the Chapels of the New Burial Ground at Buckingham. *The Board of Management.*
- 196 Cartoons for the principal lights of the East Window of S. Michael's Church, Fringford, Oxon, designed and painted by Messrs. M. and A. O'Connor, London.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 197 Cartoons of Figures on grisaille grounds of S. John Baptist, and S. Stephen Martyr, portion of a series for the New Church of S. John Baptist, Bedminster, Bristol, designed and painted by the exhibitors.
Messrs. M. and A. O'Connor, Berner's St. London.
- 198 Cartoon of “The Crucifixion.” *Mr. A. O'Connor.*
- 199 Study from Ancient Glass of Angel with Thurnible, date of early part of 13th Century. *Mr. A. O'Connor.*
- 200 Portfolio of Photographs of Foreign Cathedrals, and Specimens of Architecture.
G. Gilbert Scott, of Spring Gardens.

- 201 Photography of the ancient and modern Painted Windows in the Nave, Cologne Cathedral, and of the subjects painted by John Hemling, on the Shrine of the Holy Ursula at Bruges. *Messrs. M. and A. O'Connor.*
- 202 Engraving of the Old Parish Church of Buckingham. *T. Hearn, Esq.*
- 203 View of the Old Church at Buckingham. *D. P. King, Esq.*
- 204 Copper Engraved Plate of the old Church of Buckingham. *The Misses Silvester.*
- 205 Pictures, Sacred Subjects, cut in paper, *Mr. Miller,*
- 206 Sketches in Italy, *G. Fripp, Esq.*
- 207 Engravings.—Painting by Henskirck, 1550. *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 208 Rubbings of Brasses, lent by
Oxford Architectural Society,
Bucks Architectural Society,
Rev. W. Lloyd,
Hon. R. Cavendish,
Rev. T. J. Laugharne.
Z. D. Hunt, Esq.
W. Walker, Esq.
C. Faulkner, Esq. of Deddington.
- 209 Cabinet, old Oak Panels. *Mr. Holton, of Buckingham.*
- 210 Carved Arm Chair, of 16th century. *Mr. Town.*
- 211 Oak Chair, of 17th century. *Mr. Town.*
- 212 Carved Woodwork, from Shalstone, circa 1603. *Mr. Town.*
- 213 Ebony Chairs. *Rev. H. Roundell.*

Natural History, and Curiosities.

- 214 Bones, Coal, Pyrites, found at Buckingham, thirty feet below the surface. *Rev. E. A. Uthwatt.*
- 215 Fossil found in a gravel pit. *H. Humphreys, Esq.*
- 216 Box of Crystals, and Mammoth Teeth. *Sir J. Chetwode, Bart.*
- 217 Model of Meteoric Stone which fell at Launton, Oxon. *W. Stowe, Esq.*
- 218 Specimens of Sulphur from Mount *Ætna*, formerly in Mr. Bullock's collection. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 219 Blocks of Iron from Africa, Pearl Shell from Ceylon, and Log of Sandal Wood from Sincapore. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 220 Skulls of Bengal Tiger, Indian Boar, Bear, Antelope, Badger, Leopard, and Horns of the Red Deer, Indian Stag, and Buffalo. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*

- 221 Stuffed Head of Gazelle, and Manis. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 222 Australian Wild Cat, and platypus ornithorhyncus.
G. H. Haslop, Esq. of Buckingham.
- 223 Heads of the Albatross. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 224 Cases of rare British Birds, all the specimens taken in England.
- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|---|
| Montagu's Harrier, | Partridge, (White) | } From these birds Mr. Yarell's
plates are drawn, v. 2, p. 387.
and p. 408. |
| Nutcracker, | Barbary Partridge, | |
| Shore Lark, | Hemipode, | |
| Pine Grosbeck, | Spoonbill, | |
| Hoopoe, | Temminck Stint. | |
- 225 Case of Stuffed Birds. *Mr. Smith, of Buckingham.*
- 226 Eggs of British Birds. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 227 Nest of the Tree Sparrow, from Oxfordshire.
Rev. H. Roundell.
- 228 Nest of the Pensile Weaver Bird. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 229 Head of Spoonbill, Crocodile, and Sawfish. *Rev. W. Lloyd,*
- 230 Skull of a large Pike taken at Oxford. *Rev. W. Lloyd,*
- 231 Queen Termite Ants, Indian and Cape Insects.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 232 Skin of Boa Constrictor, bottles containing Serpents,
and Scorpions. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 233 Larch Leaves from Loch Tay rolled into a ball by the
action of the water. *H. Humphreys, Esq.*
- 234 Paraffine Candle, the product from Irish Peat.
E. Parrott, Esq. of Buckingham.
- 235 Cabinet, made by French Prisoners in England, 1815.
D. P. King, Esq.
- 236 Pistol-shaped Case, Spoon and Swivel cut from one piece
of Wood. *Sir J. Chetwode, Bart.*
- 237 Indian Wood carving, Walking-stick, Figures upon Talc,
Bow and Arrows, and Indian Letters. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 238 Burmese Idols, (Gaudamah) Burmese Boxes, Cups, Dhahs.
T. Hearn, Esq.
- 239 Indian Palanquin, Tonjon, Elephant's Teeth, Chinese
Teapots. *T. Hearn, Esq.*
- 240 Burmese Letters, Incense Pot, Passport, Model of a War
Canoe, and other articles. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 241 Box from Cashmere, and Indian Scissors and Dagger.
Mrs. Thomas Bartlett, of Buckingham.
- 242 Panoramic View of a Chinese Procession, printed in
colours. *Mr. Cross.*

- 243 Chinese Curiosities. *Mr. H. Pittam, of Buckingham.*
- 244 Chinese Junk Compass, two Chinese Gods, little Bottle,
and Persian Slippers. *Rev. E. A. Uthwatt.*
- 245 Chinese Umbrella, Compass and Chopsticks, carved Ivory
box, two books of Paintings, Padlock. *Rev. W. Lloyd.*
- 246 Chinese Manuscript. *Rev. G. H. Palmer.*
- 247 Chinese Figures. *Rev. H. Roundell.*
- 248 Cingalese Fan, and Indian Slippers.
H. Small, Esq. of Buckingham.
- 249 Dutch China. *H. Small, Esq.*
- 250 Oriental China, *H. Small, Esq.*
- 251 China Punch Bowl. *Mrs. Thomas, Buckingham.*
- 252 Malay Creese or Dagger. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*
- 253 An exquisitely-carved Paddle, from New Zealand.
Mr. Chandler.
- 254 Model of a Marquesan House.
Mr. Stallworthy, of Buckingham.
- 255 Stone Pestle, Tatooing Instruments, Fans, Head and Ear
Ornaments, Wooden Vessels, and Weapons from the
Marquesas. *Mr. Stallworthy.*
- 256 Spears, Bags, Plaited Hair, Mats and Curtains of native
cloth, from the Western Islands and Samoa.
Mr. Stallworthy.
- 257 Turkish Pistol from Eupatoria; Russian Bayonets, Minie
Rifle and Balls from Inkerman; Cannon Ball, and
fragments of Shell, from the Trenches before Sebastopol;
Russian Soldier's Leathern Water Bottle.
Rev. W. Lloyd.
- 258 A Nautilus, embellished by Natives of New Zealand,
Mr. Chandler.
- 259 Necklace of Shells, from New Zealand. *Mr. Chandler*
- 260 Fish-hook, formed of Bone, from New Zealand.
Mr. Chandler.
- 261 Piece of Cloth, made from the bark of a tree; from the
South Sea Islands. *Mr. Chandler.*
- 262 Esquimaux Bows and Arrows, and ornamented Indian Bow.
Mr. Chandler.
- 263 Mason Bee, in glass tube. *Mr. J. Harrison, jun.*

ST. ALBANS

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Some Account of Relics preserved in a Church at Cologne, considered to be part of the body of St. Alban, Protomartyr of Britain. Read at a General Meeting of the St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society, 23rd October, 1850, by HENRY J. B. NICHOLSON, D.D., Rector of St. Albans.

THE interesting work of Messrs. Buckler, published in 1847, on The Abbey Church of St. Alban, closes with a notice that relics of the martyr exist in a church at Cologne.

The statement raised in me a desire to pursue some inquiry into the subject; and the library of the British Museum offering the advantage of a very fine collection of Foreign Church Annals and Histories, I resorted to it in the first instance. From consulting so many ponderous folios, compiled out of a variety of ancient documents, there arises a confidence in the general outline of the history we are tracing, when we observe that it is common to them all. By comparing the statements which differ, we can sometimes reconcile them, or at least can form some opinion which is the most worthy of acceptance, while out of each work may be gleaned some minor details to be found only in the collection of the individual historian.

The martyrdom of St. Alban, as we have often heard and read, took place, probably, on the very spot where the Abbey Church now stands, about the year 303, the period of the Diocletian persecution, the last of the ten to which the church was subjected; after which comparative peace and security resulted to it, from the conversion of the Emperor Constantine.

About the year 429, Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre, was invited into Britain by the bishops of our church, that he might assist in combating the Pelagian heresy. When about to

return from his mission, he visited the church which had been built on the spot of the martyrdom of St. Alban; and which, in those early times, must have been an object of peculiar interest and veneration. The tomb was opened on the occasion, and he deposited therein certain relics, which he had brought with him into Britain, and received in return some memorial* of our martyr, taken from his earthly remains, in testimony of gratitude for the benefit he had conferred on the British Church.

The heresy, which had been in a great measure subdued by Germanus, again gained strength; and he returned, not long after, to renew his labours in the same field of controversy.

At length he quitted Britain for the last time; and foreign history records, that the relics obtained here were carried by him to Ravenna, where he was received with great honour by the Emperor Valentinian and the Empress-mother Placidia. On the death of Germanus, not long after, the empress carried the relics of St. Alban with her to Rome.

History is entirely silent regarding them for a period of about 550 years; and thus we pass on at once to some point of time, between the years 980 and 989, (for historians vary to this extent,) when Theophania the wife of Otho II., and mother of the reigning Emperor Otho III., came into Italy, and obtained these remains as a sacred gift from Pope Gregory V.

When the empress was on her way back to Germany, and had arrived near Octodurus in Alpius, the present Martigny, the horse, which carried the relics, stumbled and fell down a precipice. The reliquary, or case containing them, was found not to have been broken by the fall, and its contents were recovered uninjured. A tract, printed at Cologne in 1502, to which we shall presently more particularly refer, records this circumstance, and adds, that a church was then existent on the spot where the accident occurred, and the festival of the saint annually celebrated with becoming honour.

The empress purposed depositing the relics at Cologne.

On the way she stopped at Moguntium, the modern Mayence; where another St. Alban, originally from the island of Naxos in the Mediterranean, and who had been sent by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, into Gaul to combat the Arian heresy, suffered martyrdom about the year 404, and was accounted the patron saint of the diocese. A monastery was built in his honour by Charlemagne, on a mount at Mayence, which still bears his name, and was probably the place of his martyrdom. There is also a small church at Cologne dedicated to him.

The Archbishop Willegisus received the empress and her sacred treasure (to use the historian's expression) with great

* See page 206.

respect and honour. But he earnestly requested that the name of the British martyr should be changed into Albinus; fearing lest the histories of the two becoming in course of time confounded, the honour of their patron saint might be diminished. The favour sought was conceded.

Notwithstanding this precaution his anticipation seems to have been in some degree verified; for Nicolaus Serarius, in his "*Moguntiarum Rerum libri quinque*, 1604," undertakes to unravel the perplexity, and gives the distinct histories of the two martyrs.

When the empress arrived at Cologne, she deposited the relics in the church of the monastery of St. Pantaleon; being determined, probably, by the circumstance that Bruno, the archbishop of Cologne at that time, was brother to the late emperor her husband; and had built the church of St. Pantaleon, some years before, with the stones of a bridge over the Rhine which he had lately destroyed, in order to prevent the Eastern Franks from penetrating into Gaul. The empress, when consigning the remains to the care of the monastery, left her own circlet on the head of the martyr.

Hermannus Crombach, in his *Ursula Vindicata*, published at Cologne in 1647, writes, on the authority of an ancient MS., that the fame of miracles wrought by the Relics reached England, and produced a denial on the part of the English that the body of the martyr had been taken from his own country.* Hereupon Henry, the Abbot of St. Pantaleon, examined the contents of the Reliquary; and the manuscript testifies the remarkable state of preservation of the Relics, on the authority of an eye-witness; adding, that all the lower parts of the body were wanting, and were believed to be existent in England. The manuscript concludes, "*Acta sunt hæc A.D. 1186 sub Philippo Coloniensi Archiepis, et Abbate nostro Henrico;*" which brings down the chain of history two hundred years subsequent to the time of Theophania. And this is the first mention made of the particulars comprehended under the general term *Relics*, or *some Relics*, which the early foreign historians had recorded to have been taken out of England by Germanus.

Ægidius Galenius, who published a work in 1645, *De Colonia Agrippinæ Magnitudine*, gives a transcript of a document entitled *Diploma Elevationis Sancti Albani*, issued by the Abbot Theodorus in the year 1330, and dated in *Vigilia Pentecostes*. This brings us down about 140 years lower. The instrument recites the possession of the Relics by Germanus—their being carried to Rome, and subsequently removed to Cologne, in the manner

* I have not been able to find any trace of this in the English Ecclesiastical Histories.

above narrated—and that they had remained in comparative obscurity in the chapel of the monastery, until they had been exhibited from the Feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, three years before, up to the date of the Instrument—and that miracles of healing were wrought by them on the faithful. The Relics are stated to consist of the head, neck, arms, and ribs, enveloped in the cloth which had covered them for 350 years—alluding to the time when they were deposited in the monastery by Theophania. It concludes in the form of an encyclical letter to the clergy, urging them to excite the devotional feelings of the people towards the Saint.

This account is confirmed by Crombach on the authority of an old manuscript which he had found.

A fraternity was instituted in the Abbey of St. Pantaleon bearing the name of *Albinus*; and the chronicles of the Abbey state that John von Casia, who presided over the Abbey from 1419 to 1425, gave suitable statutes to the brotherhood.

Laurentius Surius, about the year 1550, in his work, *De Probatis Sanctorum Historia*, writes to nearly the same effect with those who had preceded him—that the Relics had long lain in a receptacle ill befitting such a treasure; but that the frequent miracles wrought by them, indicating the presence and the efficacy of a martyr, brought them into public notice; and that, under the abbacy of Theodorus, they were deposited in a more fitting receptacle, ornamented with gold and precious stones, in which they were preserved in his day, and exhibited to the people; many miracles of healing being wrought by them.

In the year 1502, a Tract was printed at Cologne entitled *De Incliti et Gloriosi Proto-Martyris Anglie Albani, quem in Germaniâ et Galliâ Albinum vocant, Conversione Passione Translatione et Miraculorum Coruscatione*. This very rare book was written in the monastery of St. Pantaleon, and dedicated by the abbot and monks to Henry VII., king of England. I have been unable to meet with a copy. It is not in the British Museum nor Bodleian Library, nor in those of Cologne or Heidelberg. I can therefore only give such extracts as survive in the pages of later historians who quote it. The preface states, that since the proto-martyr of Britain had been for many ages honoured at Cologne, and his shrine much resorted to, as well through devotional feeling as for the benefits of healing imparted by the Relics, as many of the English nation could attest, it seemed good to them to collect whatever they could of the true account of his life, and miracles, and translation; that through the influence of the King's Highness, the same might become known in England—"ut quemadmodum una in cœlis anima martyris gloriosa corporis sui Reliquias disjungi passa est, é diverso una iterum historia in animos hominum totam

ejus, quantum per nos ipsius zelatores licet, laudem gloriamque connectat."

An English martyrology published in 1608, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, introduces the name of our martyr three times into the calendar. Under date of 16 April is entered *Translatio Albani Proto-Martyris*; and then follows a short history, agreeing in the general with what has preceded, and stating that the anniversary was appointed in memory of the removal of part of the venerable body of St. Alban from Rome to Cologne by Theophania.

Hermannus Crombach, who lived at Cologne about the year 1640, and from whose works I have made quotations, speaks of his having been favoured with a sight of the Relics, and that they consisted of the parts of the body which have been before described.

Godefridus Henschius, one of the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, published at Antwerp, a friend and cotemporary of Crombach, accompanied him on the occasion of a second inspection in the year 1660, and confirms his account.

Lastly, the Breviary of Cologne, printed in 1780, gives the same description of the Remains.

With the view of learning the subsequent history of these relics, I lately remained a day at Cologne, when passing up the Rhine, having the advantage of a letter of introduction from Professor Donaldson to Mr. Zwyrner, the architect to whom the distinguished honour has been assigned of completing the magnificent Cathedral, begun in 1248. This gentleman, being previously aware of the interest with which I was prosecuting the inquiry, had most obligingly caused the drawings to be taken for me which are now lying on the table, and which I will presently describe.

He further assisted me by introducing me to Mr. Schaffrath, the curé of the parish of St. Mary, in Schnurgasse; from whom I learned that, in the year 1820, the Church of St. Pantaleon was appropriated as a garrison church, and the Lutheran service established in it; on which occasion, the Reliquary of our martyr was transferred to the neighbouring church of St. Mary, and deposited behind the grating on the Gospel side of the altar.

On the 24th March, 1843, the shrine was placed upon what was formerly the altar of St. Anne, against the east wall of the south aisle, inclosed in a wooden case made for its reception, and surmounted by a figure of the martyr, holding in one hand a small cross and a branch of palm; in the other a sword, indicating the manner of his death.

The wooden case bears the inscription — RELIQUIARIUM
S. ALBINI M.

Five separate locks of the case were opened, and the reliquary, constructed in the time of Abbot Theodorus, in 1330, lay open for my inspection. (*See drawing annexed.*)

Much costly and curious workmanship still remains; but it experienced very ill treatment, and not a little spoliation, at the hands of the French, towards the close of the last century. It is of the usual shape of the larger reliquaries—that of a house with a high pitched roof: the form being probably adopted as resembling the nave of a church, and measures four feet eleven inches in length, one foot five inches and a half in breadth, and two feet to the top of the ridge.

The pilasters, against what may be termed the walls of the structure, are of metal enamelled. The eight compartments, into which the roof is divided, are of silver gilt, the figures standing out in high relief. The twelve compartments of the walls and the three of the chief gable, which are left blank in the drawings, were once occupied by figures of the same workmanship; the names of each being still preserved in the inscriptions on the arches above. The fraternity of Saint Mary, when the reliquary found refuge in their church, supplied the place of the lost originals by designs sufficiently well executed.

The inscriptions, as given in the drawings, are not all of them decipherable, partly from their being written in a contracted style, but still more from the evident want of acquaintance with the Latin language in the artist who copied them. Some two or three difficulties I was able to clear up when inspecting the original; but shortness of time, and a reluctance to draw too largely on the courtesy of the priest, would not admit of examining all.

The four compartments of the roof on one side, represent the four principal events in the history of our Lord, when he was “manifest in the flesh;” each having an appropriate legend.

THE NATIVITY.

*Quem sine matre pater genuit nunc et patre mater,
Nascendi jura . . . * antur in hac genitura.*

THE CRUCIFIXION.

*Dempta restaurantur dol . . hostis . . . antur,
Mors Salvatoris res est cause potioris.*

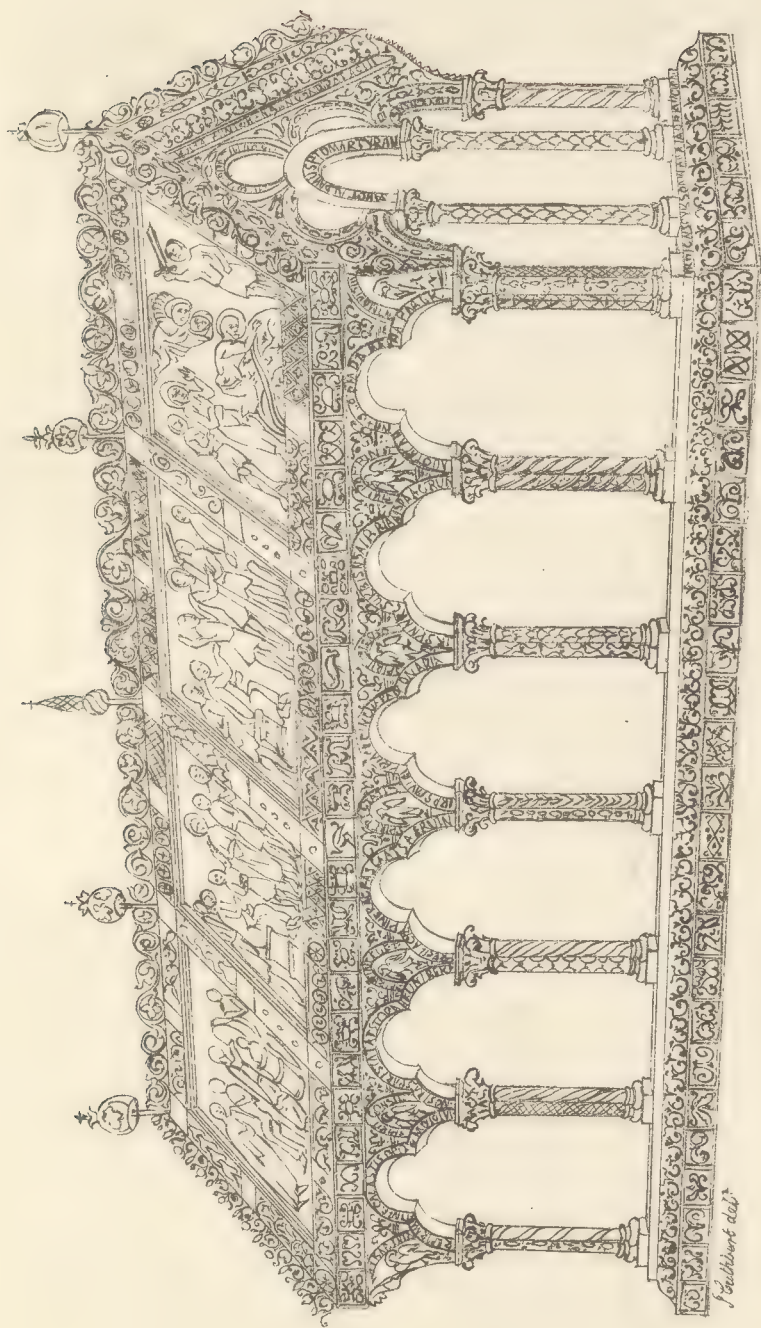
THE RESURRECTION.

*Nil corruptele referens sed signa medele,
Vim reprimeus mortis XPC surgit Leo fortis.*

THE ASCENSION.

*Inde reversurus hominumque repensa daturus
Astra Deus scandit suaque magnalia pandit.*

* Perhaps *quassantur*.



RELIQUARIUM S. ALBINI M.

*in the Church of Saint Mary in the Schnungasse Cologne
Length 4f* 11½ in, Breadth 1f* 5½ in, Height 2f* 2 in, (Engl Measure.*

The compartments on the other side of the roof refer to four principal circumstances in the History of Alban.

In the first, Amphibalus appears in the garb of a priest instructing him out of a book, and then administering to him the sacrament of baptism by immersion:

*Hic informatur Cristi et fide solidatur.
Quenam sectetur, qualis sit et unde futetur:*

In the second, Alban is represented as being brought before the judge, under accusation of being a Christian:

*Et baptizatus fit agendo justa beatus.
Martyr discussus et nomen dicere jussus.*

In the third, he is scourged in presence of the judge. A figure standing by, with his hands apparently manacled, may be the executioner—a soldier—whom history records to have been converted by the behaviour of Alban, and to have suffered with him. Authors give him the name of Heraclius. He is mentioned in the Roman martyrology:

*Letatur cesus fit ei protectio Jhesus.
Fert plagas mitis illatas a parasitis.*

The fourth represents the martyrdom. Alban appears on a hill, which is thick set with flowers, kneeling to receive the stroke of death. Beneath him a rill of water is flowing, in accordance with the tradition that it gushed out miraculously, in answer to his prayer for the relief of his thirst.

The figure standing by with uplifted hands, and having the head encircled by a nimbus, is no doubt the appointed executioner before mentioned, awaiting his own death:

*Impius sontem precepit scandere montem.
Ense cruentatur et in etheris arce locatur.*

Of the two gables, one is occupied only by tracery, the other exhibits an arcade of three compartments, in which are the figures of St. Germanus, St. Alban, and the Empress Theophania. This last has the title *nutritrix* added to her name, in allusion, probably, to the veneration and care she had exhibited for the relics of the martyr.

Above the arch of the central niche is the legend,

Hunc cui se donat dilectio vera coronat.

Over all—

*Primi Martirio florentis in orbe Britanno
Nobilis Albani quem sanguis candidat Agni
Iste decens locus claudit venerabile corpus
Anglia quod Romæ quod Roma remisit Agrippæ.*

The arches on the walls bear the following inscription over the respective figures:—

*Pastor ovile rege Petre XPO produce rege.
 Te . . . bat Andrea doctrina crucis et trophea.
 Hanc Gereon serva quæ dat tibi vota Caterna.
 Contere Maurici* dux bella potens inimici.
 Victricis palme flos es Pantaleon† Alme.
 Prestet Riemori‡ tua mors pretiosa
 Refer Martine§ celestis opem medecine.
 Nostra pater Kuniberte. ||
 Presul Agrippine¶ rege pasce gregem Severine.**
 Præsta vergo pia lucem cum prole Maria.
 Ursula†† flos urbis es subveniens prece turbis.
 Audiat ante Cæcilia‡‡ dræm decor.*

The seven spandrils of the arches on one side exhibit the sacred emblem, (the Dove,) bearing the several inscriptions, *Spiritus Sapientie, Sp. Consilii, Sp. Intellectus, Sp. Pietatis, Sp. Scientie, Sp. Fortitudinis, Sp. Timoris Dei*. Those on the other side are occupied by demi-figures, having their hands in the

* *Maurice* was the commander of a Roman legion, in the time of the Emperor Maximian, about the year 290. It was named the Theban Legion, from the Thebais in Egypt, where it was raised; and many Christians were enrolled in it. These soldiers formed part of an expedition against the Gauls. When passing the Alps the army was halted at Octodurus in Alpibus (the present Martigny); and orders were issued to sacrifice to the gods for a successful issue to the campaign. The Theban Legion refused, and withdrew to Agaunum, where they suffered martyrdom with Maurice at their head. Charlemagne afterwards founded a monastery there in memory of the circumstance, and the name of the place was changed to St. Maurice.

Gereon was an inferior officer of the legion, who escaped with the men under his command as far as Cologne; where they were overpowered and put to death. There is a church in that city dedicated to their memory.

† *Pantaleon*. This is the saint in whose monastery at Cologne the relics were preserved for so many centuries. He was physician to the Emperor Maximianus, and was martyred at Nicomedia, in the time of the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 303; and therefore contemporaneously with our proto-martyr. Physicians honour him as their chief patron after St. Luke.

‡ *Riemori*. These letters are accurately given from the drawing; but I have not been able to trace the name in the martyrologies.

§ *Martine*. The well-known bishop of Tours, who died in 396; celebrated in the Roman church for his many miracles of healing. He built the cathedral, and dedicated it to St. Maurice, of whom we have just made mention.

|| *Kunibert* lived in the time of Dagobert king of the Franks, about 643. He became bishop of Cologne. The presence of his body is said to have stopped a fire raging in the church of St. Peter in 1097. The martyrologist, who records the circumstance, adds, nor is this to be wondered at; since, when living, he had subdued the fiercer flames of human passions.

¶ *Agrippine*. Agrippina, daughter of Germanus, was born in Oppidum Ubiorum, and Claudius Cæsar, who married her, established a colony there at her request, and gave it the name of Colonia Agrippina.

** *Severinus* was the third archbishop of Cologne, elected *circ.* 349. He greatly subdued the Arian heresy by his exertions and vigilance; and he built the church in that city which now bears his name. It is said that he heard the choir of angels as they were bearing away the spirit of St. Martin.

†† *St. Ursula*. A British princess, the leader of 11,000 virgins martyred by the Huns at Cologne, about the year 453. She is regarded as the patroness of schools and other establishments, which bear reference to the support, moral and physical, of the young.

‡‡ *St. Cæcilia*, the well-known patroness of music.

attitude of prayer or benediction, and over them respectively *Pax. Patientia. Castitas. Largitas. Continentia. Humilitas. Bonitas.*

The custom, which commenced under Abbot Theodorus in the fourteenth century, of opening the shrine and exhibiting the remains is observed at the present day; and appears to have been maintained in unbroken continuity.

On the first Sunday after the 22nd June,* the head is reverently taken out before early mass, and placed under a glass case upon the altar of St. Joseph. In the course of the day, the priest takes from the head of the saint the circlet which has supplied the place of the original gift of the Empress Theophania, and places it upon the heads of the faithful, as they successively present themselves, with this prayer. *Per intercessionem Sancti Albani martyris liberet te Deus ab omni malo capitis, et quovis alio* ✠ *Pater et Filius et Sp. Sanctus. Amen.* At the close of the evening service the relic is carried in solemn procession through the nave of the church with singing, and then replaced in the shrine.

The Reliquary could not of course be opened for my inspection. But the account given to me in answer to my inquiries, regarding the parts of the body which it contains, agrees with the descriptions of them given in the works which I have cited.

The subject proposed, according to the heading of the paper, may now be considered as exhausted.

But a question arises, to which a word or two of answer should be given. How are these accounts to be reconciled with those of the English historians—Matthew Paris especially, a monk of our Abbey—who have recorded several occasions at long intervals of time, when the remains of the martyr were exposed to view, and were always found complete or nearly so? They must be pronounced irreconcilable.

The variation between the English and foreign historians commences as far back as the time when Germanus, leaving England, took with him *something* out of the grave of the martyr. The foreign writers are all but unanimous in applying to it the term *relics*, or *some relics*. The English, with the same general agreement, say that it was a *lump of earth saturated with the martyr's blood*. The subsequent accounts on each side are consistent with this original difference; and are therefore inconsistent with each other.

Alford, an Englishman, but a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit,

* This is the ancient and true day of the anniversary of St. Alban our proto-martyr, as it used to be observed in England; and it would seem, as if the attaching this name to the 17th of June, in our present calendar, was a mere inadvertency, when writing the fasts and festivals against their respective days; so entirely is it without authority.

living abroad, wrote *Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, published at Liege, in 1669. In his account of the monastery of St. Pantaleon, he uses the doubting expression, "*ubi Albani corpus requiescat.*"

And Godefridus Henschiuss, one of the compilers of a Martyrology, to which I have several times referred, states that he has been very full and particular in collecting and arranging the accounts of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of England, and those of St. Albin, whose relics are deposited at St. Pantaleon, that the reader may have before him all the information which now exists, enabling him to draw a conclusion as to whether they regard the same saint.

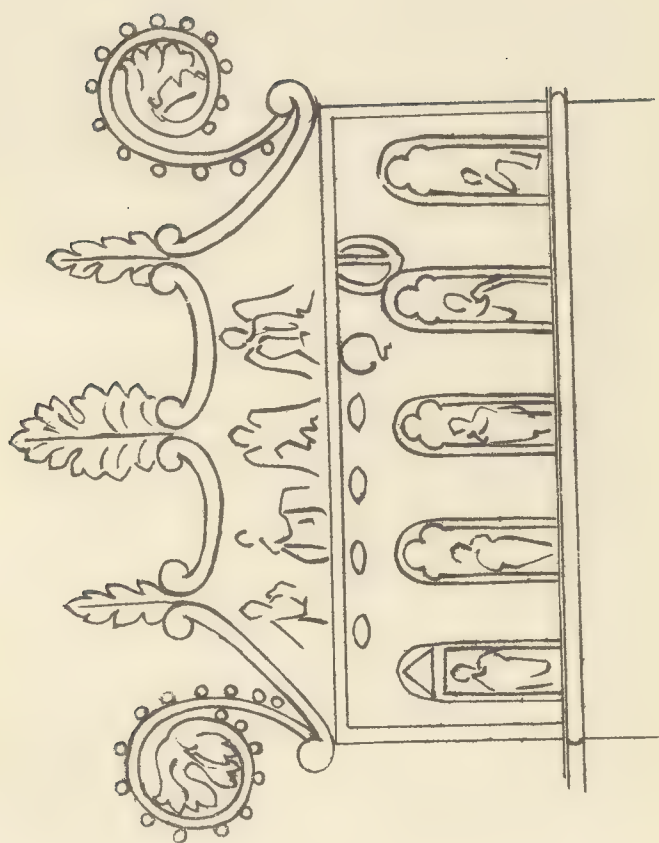
His own opinion is, that Germanus left the body of Saint Alban at Verulam; taking with him the memorial which the English historians assign to him, and which was deposited in some unknown asylum in Rome; that in the long course of more than 500 years immediately following, during which, as we have remarked, history is altogether silent on the subject, error crept in, and the identity became lost; that the Empress Theophania did not receive what had been taken from England by Germanus, and that, consequently, *the relics at Cologne are not those of Saint Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain.*

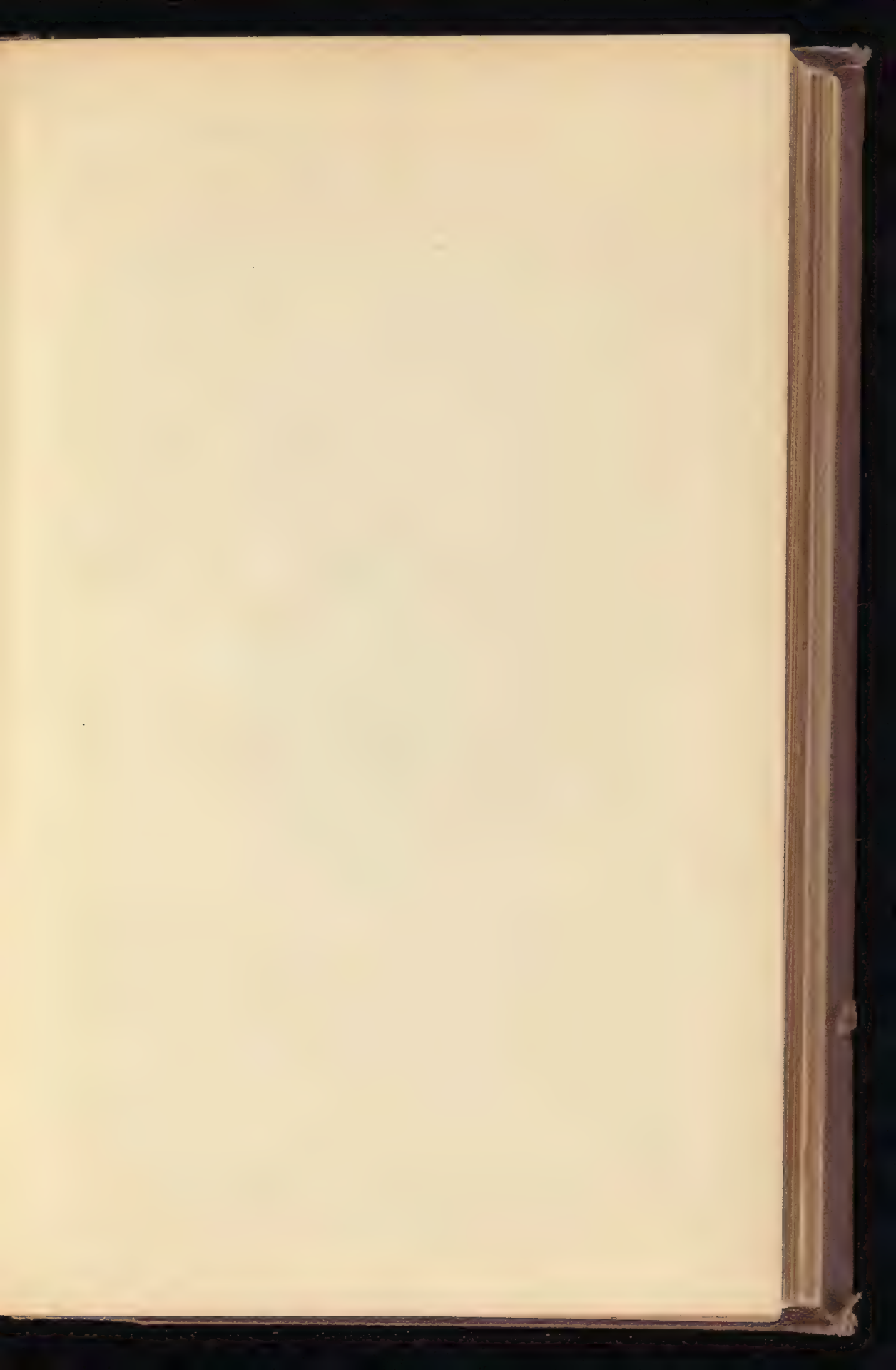
Among many interesting MSS. in the British Museum, is one which formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Alban, "The Histories of Offa, 1 and 2," by Matthew Paris, a monk of the Abbey, who wrote about the year 1240. A memorandum in red ink states that Brother Matthew gave the book to God and the Church of St. Alban. Wats, who published the works of M. Paris, does not consider this note to be the autograph of the author, but he infers from it that the book certainly belonged to him.

Each of the pages is embellished with an illustration of the subject in pen-drawing; and, where the finding of the body of the Saint by Offa, and its solemn removal to the church which had been built on the spot of the martyrdom within ten or twelve years after the occurrence, is related, the procession is depicted, and the annexed engraving is a copy of the reliquary or coffin containing the remains.

It is just possible that some traditional account might have been then existent of the form and ornaments of that made by Offa for the occasion. But if we reject such a supposition, at least we may with some confidence infer that we have here (*see drawing annexed*) a general representation of the reliquary made under the direction of Geoffrey of Gorham, who ruled the Abbey between the years 1119 and 1146, inasmuch as it was the object of chief reverence and interest which came every day under the artist's notice.

H. I. B. N.







Out. 1117 del. 6. 11.

Notice of a Seal formed of Bone, discovered in the Abbey Church, St. Albans, and now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, Rector of St. Albans. By ALBERT WAY, Esq.

THE remarkable seal, of which a representation accompanies these observations, was found in the year 1849, in the Abbey Church at St. Albans. The discovery occurred in removing the pavement of the chapel of St. Alban, behind the high altar; immediately beneath this pavement, formed of blocks of hard stone, almost cubical, the seal was found, a few feet north of the site once occupied by the shrine. It is highly deserving of attention on account of its early date and the material of which it is formed, rarely used in the fabrication of matrices of medieval seals. It supplies also a very curious example of the military equipment of a period, which has left few authorities except the designs in illuminated MSS., and of which we have scarcely any vestiges amongst productions of the sculptor's art.

This singular relic is of very rude execution, and the design is ungraceful; but it presents that truthfulness in the representation of peculiar details, with a close conformity to conventional usage in design at the period, which entitle it to be regarded by the antiquary as an interesting addition to the collection of ancient seals, illustrative of costume.

The date to which it may be assigned seems to have been fixed on sufficient authority as the earlier part of the twelfth century. Amongst the examples which may be cited for comparison, none appear to be more characteristic of their age than the seal of Alexander I., King of Scotland, who succeeded to the throne in 1107, and died in 1123, and that of Milo de Gloucester, created Earl of Hereford in 1140. The date of the last, a silver matrix found some years since at Ludgershall, in Wiltshire, may probably be rather earlier than the period when Milo was raised to the Earldom by King Stephen. Several other seals of the same period might be mentioned, but this example has been selected as bearing a very close resemblance to that found at St. Albans. A representation of it is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv., plate 47. The chief variation in design consists in the gesture of the mounted warrior: Milo appears carrying a lance, with the three tailed pennon; the lower extremity of the lance resting apparently in less hostile bearing upon his foot; whilst the figure upon the seal under consideration presents the broad-bladed sword upraised, with a menacing attitude. In other respects the details of costume, and even of general design, are very similar, some allowance

being made for the material, upon which the engraver's skill was bestowed, silver being that best suited to elaborate perfection in execution, whilst bone or ivory was much less adapted for the purpose required. In both figures may be noticed the conical head-piece, with its apex slightly turned forward,* and furnished with the nasal. The body armour is seen, as yet not covered by any armorial surcoat: the nature of the defence being of the kind to which the late Sir Samuel Meyrick gave the distinctive name of "trellised." The mode of representing the construction of this armour is by lines crossing each other diagonally, forming a fretty or latticed work, which may, possibly, have been intended to denote the cross-stitching of gambouised or quilted defences. It must, however, be remarked, that this has been regarded as only one of numerous modes conventionally used by artists of medieval times, to elude the almost insurmountable difficulty of representing the interlaced rings of mail, especially upon objects of so small a dimension as a seal. Milo, as well as the warrior on the relic before us, bears on the left arm his kite-shaped shield, rounded at the top, and supported by two straps, through one of which (not here seen) the arm passed, whilst the hand tightly grasped both the second uppermost strap and the bridle-reins. The extremities of these last may be perceived, projecting slightly above the margin of the shield towards the nasal, and terminating in small tassels or knots, more distinctly shown in other examples. In the body armour, whether it be hauberk or gambouison, a peculiarity appears, namely that it is of very unusual length, reaching below the knee; whereas, on the seal of Alexander I., King of Scots, and other examples, it falls only to the bend of the leg. The accuracy of this curious detail in the St. Albans' seal is confirmed by comparison with that of Milo, whose armour reaches in like manner almost to mid-calf, appearing more like the termination of a garment in the form of wide *chausses*, or trousers, than the skirt of a coat of defence. It may deserve consideration that armour so fashioned, whether of mail or quilted work, consisting of a garment fitting the body and arms like a shirt, but formed below the hips with wide coverings for the legs, like loose trousers, would be far more convenient for the mounted warrior than a long skirt, and the protection more effectual. I am not aware of any evidence of the use in England of such defensive garment in the twelfth century; but, considering the oriental origin of mailed armour, the inquiry may claim attention, whether any fashion of the description referred to can be traced in the armour of mail used in the countries of the East.

* See this form of head-piece well shown on the seals of Godfrey I. (used in 1106) and Godfrey II. (1143) Dukes of Lorraine. Butkens, *Trophées de Brabant*, Supp. vol. i. Preuves, pp. 31, 38, 40.

The strange, and almost grotesque, mode in which the leg and foot (with the straight-necked goad-spur) are represented on both these seals, is a point of resemblance not undeserving of attention, as indicating apparently that the leg had, at that period, no defensive armour, but was clothed only in some thin close-fitting kind of stocking, or *chausses*. This is distinctly shown in a drawing of the close of the eleventh century, in a MS. preserved in the Public Library at Rouen, copied by Langlois in his treatise "sur la Calligraphie," and well deserving in many respects of careful comparison with the curious figures upon the seals under consideration.

The *poitrail*, or breast band of the horse, with its pendant ornaments like a fringe, appears on both seals, as also on that of Alexander I., and other examples. The high *arçon* of the saddle is distinctly marked behind the rider; the customary projection of the cantle in front is not seen in the figure on the St. Albans' seal, a portion of the centre of the seal being lost; and, when found, the matrix presented a large perforation in the middle, in which doubtless a handle of bone had been fixed. The defect thus caused has been supplied in the wood-cut.

It is curious to remark the conformity of design, rude as it may be, shown on a comparison of the St. Alban's seal with that of Milo of Gloucester, in regard to the movement of the horse. One might almost entertain the notion that they had been portrayed by the same hand.

The form of this curious seal is remarkable. It is obvious that the intention of the designer was to give to his work the pointed-oval form, which may be traced both on the obverse and reverse. The difficulty of adapting the central subject to such a shape has caused the legs of the charger to encroach upon the elliptic outline, which may, however, be distinctly traced in the arrangement of the legend; and on the reverse of the seal, the peculiar form in question is marked by lines engraved upon the bone. This shape was adopted, as it has been supposed, almost exclusively for the seals of religious foundations, of ecclesiastics, or of females. The rule was certainly not invariable, at least on the Continent, but I am not aware that any example of this form of seal, used by a knight or layman, has hitherto been noticed in England. The curious seal of Woldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg, in the fourteenth century, is of the pointed-oval form, which in that instance is well suited to the design, the figure being erect, on foot, not mounted as more usually seen on such seals.* Other foreign examples might be cited; and, as apparently

* Heineccius, de Sigillis, tab. xvii., no. 6.

some conventional usage was observed in this country, in regard to this particular form, the peculiarity presented by the St. Albans' seal may merit further investigation.

Seals of bone, the horn of the walrus, or of ivory, are of rare occurrence. It is remarkable, that the ancient seal of St. Albans Abbey, preserved in the British Museum, is of the like unusual material. Another highly curious example, is the seal of Lundores Abbey, in Fifeshire, founded in 1178, by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William, King of Scotland. It may be regarded as coeval with the foundation, and is a relic of singular interest.* It is described as formed "of the bone of some animal." In the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, a small matrix, formed of ivory, is preserved, being the seal of the Archdeaconry of Merioneth. Its date may be as late as the sixteenth century.

I regret that all research into ancient evidences has hitherto proved fruitless, in the endeavour to ascertain any particulars relative to the history of the warlike personage so quaintly portrayed upon this seal, or to trace any connexion which he may have had with St. Albans. The precise reading of the name in the legend has even appeared questionable. I have been inclined to decipher it thus: + SIGILLVM . RICARDI . DE VIERLL. The two last letters are much damaged, and with difficulty to be discerned. It is due to a gentleman who communicated to the St. Albans Society an interesting memoir on medieval seals, and especially on this remarkable example, to state that he has entertained a different opinion. I allude to the discourse read by Mr. W. L. Donaldson, at the fifth anniversary, held at St. Albans, June 17, 1850; and by his courteous permission I subjoin the following statement of his interpretation of the legend:—

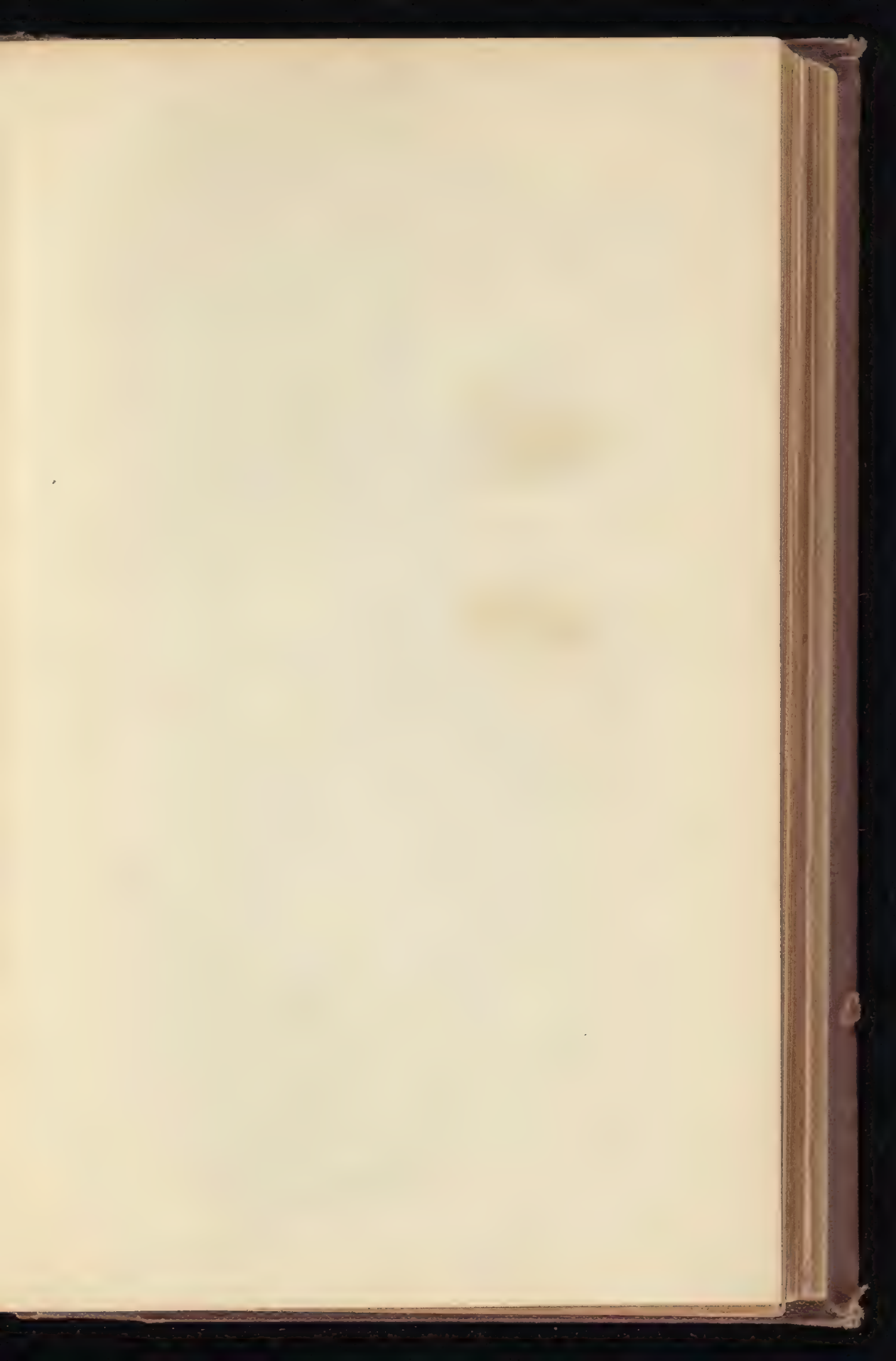
"The inscription is,—SIGILLVM RICARDI DE VIER . . , and then occurs a defacement which creates a doubt; but I think there were two more letters. If the defaced part was only occupied by the letter s, we have the name VIERS, and we find on the roll of the warriors who came over with the Conqueror, the name of Avenil de Viers. The owner of the seal might have been the son or other relative of that person. But I think the indication is of *two* more letters, and that the name might have been VIERNY; and I find that name also on the roll. I was at first inclined to think that the name was VIERIS, and that the knight was one of the family, afterwards renowned in this country as the De Veres, Earls of Oxford. In a MS. in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to St. Alban's Abbey, containing a list of benefactors, occur the names

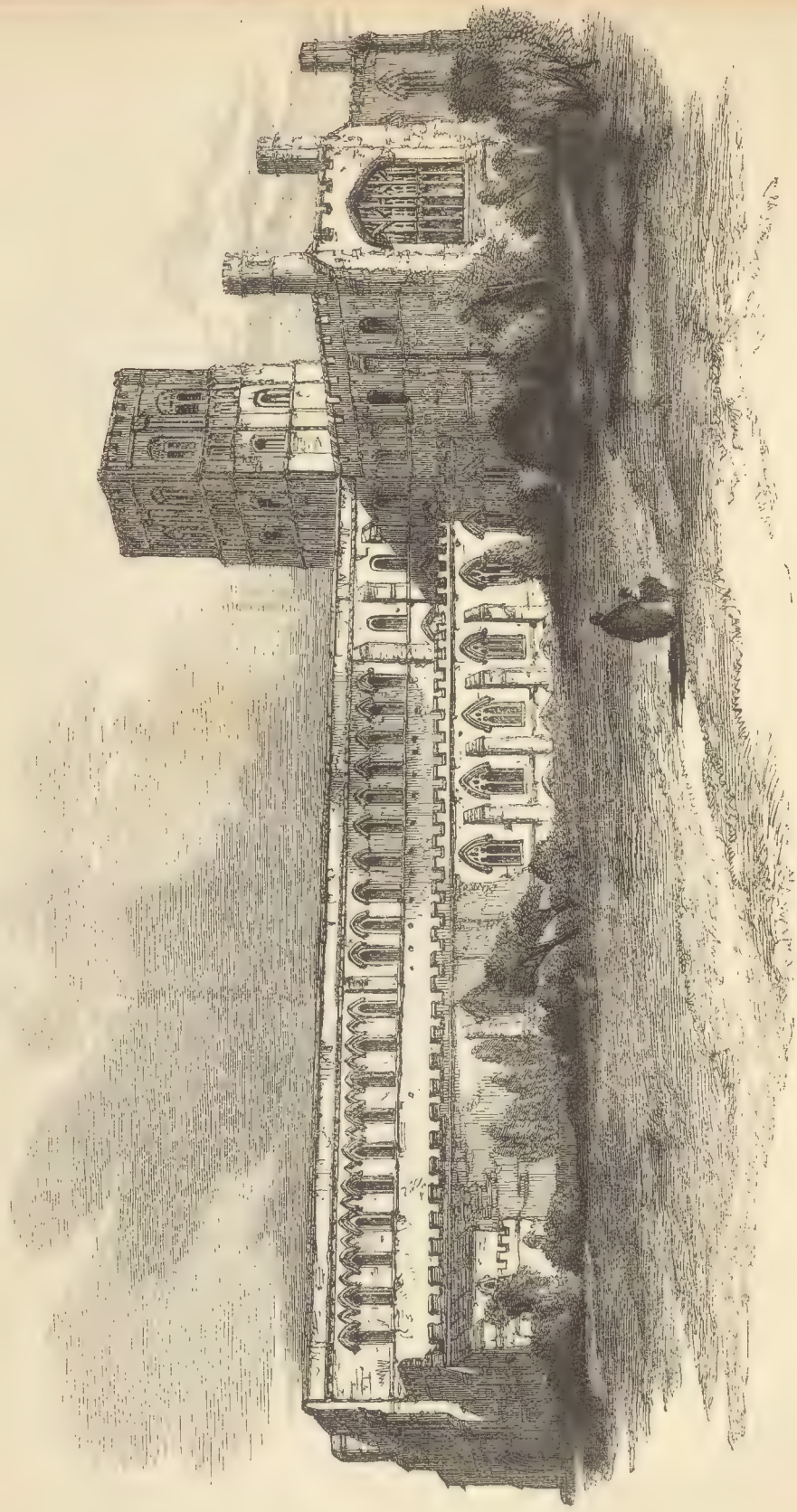
* It is represented in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. pl. 13, p. 196.

of "Alfonsus de Veer, miles, et Domina Johanna, uxor ejus, progenitores Comit'is Oxonie:" it might be inferred that the family had some connexion with the Abbey, and that Ricardus might have been buried there, and his seal deposited with him. If the name were spelt *Veris*, I should have no difficulty, but I do not find the name written with an *i*, although it occurs spelt in various ways, as *VER*, *VEER*, and *VERE*. I find that in the Norman Rolls, preserved in the Tower, there is a document of the second year of King John, addressed to the inhabitants of *Vieriis*, granting to Guido, son of the *Vicecomes* Thoarcus, *Vieras* with its appurtenances; and they were to render to him such services as were before rendered to the Crown."

I must leave this question to the decision of the antiquaries of Verulam, and at the same time state my own persuasion, that the true reading of the name is *VIERLI*. I anticipate that further inquiry may show the connexion of the person who appears upon this seal with the Robert de Virley, recorded in Domesday Book, as holding lands both in Norfolk and Suffolk; or with Roger De Virley, who held lands in Berkshire and Norfolk, in the reign of John. The name occurs also in connexion with Yorkshire and other parts of England, in early times. Whether the locality, from which the surname of *De Vierli* originated, was a place so called in the Honor of Lithaire in Normandy, I am unable to determine. The name may, very probably, have been connected with the parish of Virley, in Essex, to the south of Colchester.







EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE ABBEY-CHURCH OF ST. ALBAN.

✠

The
Abbey of Saint Alban.

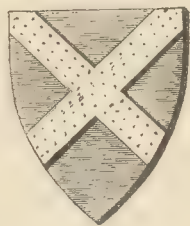
SOME EXTRACTS FROM ITS EARLY HISTORY
AND A DESCRIPTION OF ITS
CONVENTUAL CHURCH.

BY THE LATE REV. H. J. B. NICHOLSON, D.D., F.S.A.

HONORARY CANON OF ROCHESTER.



INTENDED CHIEFLY FOR THE USE OF VISITORS.



THE ARMS OF THE ABBEY.

Third Edition.

LONDON:
BELL AND DALDY, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

SAINT ALBANS, WILLIAM LANGLEY.

1870.

✠

CHISWICK PRESS :--PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS,
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.



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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.



THE following *Extracts from the History of the Abbey of St. Alban* and a very cursory *Description of its Church* have been compiled to serve as a Guide to the Visitor, at the time he is making his tour of the Building.

But, in order that the Book may be accounted worthy to survive such ephemeral use, the matter is put together in a connected series; an appended list of authorities authenticates what is adduced, and directs the enquirer to sources of information where he may prosecute further research.

Special reference is occasionally made to authors, when a doubtful or disputed point is advanced, or when fairness claims that the result of close investigation and cautious inference should not be thrown into the common stock unacknowledged. This latter remark applies especially to the *History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church*, by Messrs. Buckler, from which many extracts have been made when describing the Building; and not unfrequently for lines together in the very words of the original.

H. J. B. N.

Rectory, St. Albans,
1851.



PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.



N this Edition some corrections of errors in the former have been made ; and illustrations, together with much additional matter introduced.

The Compiler has to acknowledge the liberality of the Editor of the *Illustrated London News*, in furnishing him with the Plate of the Exterior View of the Abbey Church, which had served as one of the Illustrations of a series of Articles in that Paper, setting forth its claims to the dignity of a Cathedral ; and which has arisen out of an effort making by the County of Hertford for the formation of a new Diocese, having this Abbey Church for its See.

Rectory, St. Albans,
1856.

H. J. B. N.

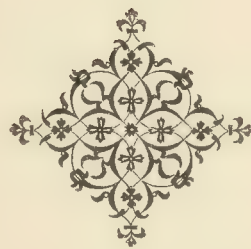


PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

IN presenting this considerably enlarged Edition to the Public, little need be said, beyond remarking, that, with but trifling exceptions, the whole of the additional matter was left ready for the Press by the late Dr. Nicholson at the time of his lamented decease. To prepare these Notes on the History and Antiquities of the venerable Abbey Church had been to him a labour of love, and had occupied a great part of his leisure hours for many years. In their present form they evince more fully than ever his affection for the Church of which he was for upwards of thirty years the Rector, and they will by many be welcomed, not only for their intrinsic merit, but as memorials of a valuèd friend.

JOHN EVANS.

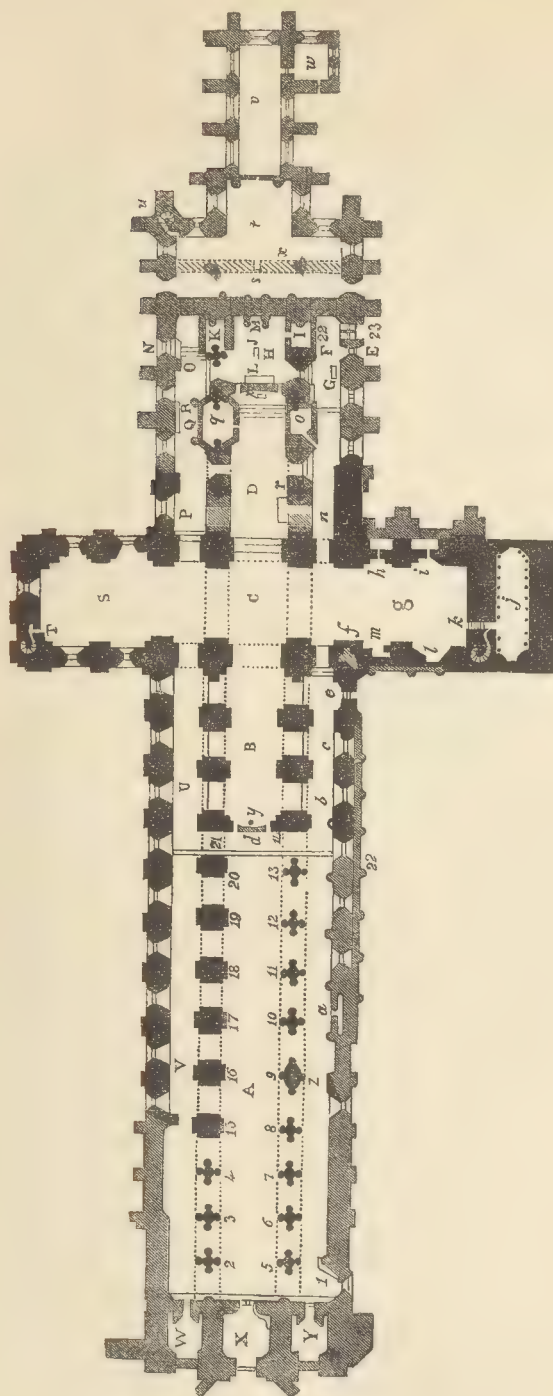
*Nash Mills,
Hemel Hempsted.
1869.*





GROUND-PLAN OF THE ABBEY-CHURCH OF ST. ALBAN.

In this Plan the Anglo-Norman portions of the Church are distinguished by a darker shade from those of later date.



REFERENCES TO PLAN.

- A. Nave.
- B. Ante-choir, or baptistery.
- C. Central tower.
- D. Retro-choir.
- E. South-door.
- F. South-aisle of the Saint's chapel.
- G. An Altar stone.
- H. The Saints' chapel.
- I. Sepulchral chapel and vault of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.
- J. Site of the Saint's shrine.
- K. Watch-gallery.
- L. Balustrade, with votive inscription.
- M. Arches leading eastward, closed subsequently to the dissolution.
- N. North door.
- O. North aisle of the Saint's chapel.
- P. North aisle of Retro-choir.
- Q. Back of abbat Ramryge's chantry.
- R. Early pointed arcade.
- S. North transept, supposed site of the martyrdom.
- T. Tower-stairs; early arch, and masonry.
- U. North aisle of ante-choir, or baptistery.
- V. North aisle of nave.
- W. North-western porch, now closed externally.
- X. Central-western porch, shewing original level of floor, and basement mouldings.
- Y. South-western porch, now closed externally.
- Z. South aisle of nave.
- a. Recess in main wall, originally open to the cloisters.
- b. South aisle of ante-choir, or baptistery.
- c. Sepulchral heptafoil arch, a piscina within.
- d. St. Guthbert's screen, with position of two altars.
- e. Abbat's entrance.
- f. Recess in main wall.
- g. South transept.
- h. Chapel of St. Mary.
- i. Chapel of St. Simeon.
- j. Passage between the Church and the Chapter House.
- k. Stairs to triforia.
- l. Arch to Chapel of abbat Delamare.
- m. Entrance from the cloisters.
- n. South Aisle of retro-choir.
- o. Chantry, or sepulchral chapel of abbat Wheathampsted, now containing brass of abbat Delamare.
- p. Screen between retro-choir and shrine of St. Alban.
- q. Chantry, or sepulchral chapel of abbat Ramryge.
- r. Ancient doorway and structure.
- s. Now a public thoroughfare, but formerly forming, with the ambulatory, an ante-chapel to lady-chapel.
- u. Turret with stairs.
- v. Lady-chapel, now a school-room.
- w. Vestry.
- x. Modern partition-wall.
1. Excavation, shewing basement and original floor.
- 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Early pointed compartments of nave.
- 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Decorated or middle pointed compartments of nave.
- 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. Anglo-Norman compartments of nave.
22. Remains of cloisters.
23. Windows between Church and destroyed chapel. These windows had been built up in the main wall, but have recently been discovered.



EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ABBEY.

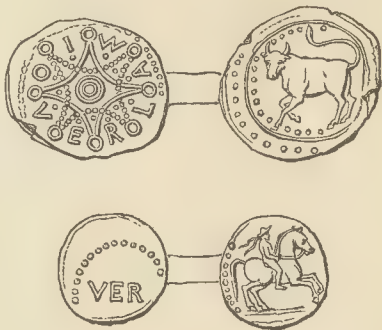


OME mention of the Town of Verulam, out of whose gates the Martyr Alban passed to his death on the rising ground where the Abbey Church now stands, will properly precede an account of the monastery founded in his honour.

It is generally agreed that the name of the town was of British origin, and originated in that of the river Ver or Verlam¹ which flowed beneath its walls. It rises in the parish of Flamstead—which is probably a contraction of Verlamstead (Camden)—and at one time formed a great pool at what is now the lower part of St. Albans; which still preserves the memory of its origin in the name of *Fishpool Street*.

The name of the town is given as Οὔρολανιον by Ptolemy—Verolanium in the Itinerary of Antoninus—while it appears in the form of Verlamio on its coins.

By the term town (Oppidum) as applied by the ancient inhabitants of our island, we are to understand a collection of rude huts and stabling or sheds protected by pallisadoes and a ditch, and further assisted by the natural advantages of entangled woods and morasses to which the occupants retired to defend themselves against an invading enemy (Cæsar and Strabo).



COINS OF ANCIENT VERULAM.

¹ Ver or Verlam, now called the Mure. Camden (Britannia, edit. 1^a, 1586.) Verlumus or Murus, now called Moore. Lambarde (Dict. Ang.: Top. and Hist.; London, 1730). Ver; hence the name of the place Gwerllan. or the Temple on the Ver. Humphrey Llwyd (Commentariolum. London, 1731.) Ver or Meure. Brayley (Beauties of England and Wales, 1808).

After the Romans had brought the people under subjection they conferred upon this place the term of dignity—Municipium.

It is said to have been the residence or capital of Cassivellaunus, the Prince of the Cassii, from whom he derived his name.¹ The territory of these people subsequently became part of the early possessions of the monastery of St. Albans, under the name of Albaneston;² the Normans changed it into Caisho, which has remained to the present time.

On the second invasion of Britain by Cæsar, B.C. 54, the forces of Cassivellaunus were defeated, and the Britons, it is supposed, retreated into Verulam.

It is probable—from the circumstance that the name of Verulam appears on coins which were struck within a short period of Cæsar's landing—that it was at that time a place of importance. Certainly it was the capital of Tasciovanus, the Father of Cunobeline, some of whose coins, besides those bearing merely the name of the town upon them, have been found here.³

When Aulus Plautius first commanded in Britain (A.D. 42), Verulam had the pre-eminence of a Municipium conferred upon it; the native inhabitants enjoying the rights and privileges of office

¹ Ita dictus est quasi Cassiorum princeps. Id ni esset, cur hinc Cassivellaunum Dio vocat Suellan pro Vellan? Camden.

² In Domesday Book, land belonging to the monastery is said to be in Albaneston Hundred.

³ An account of Coins found upon and near the site of Ancient Verulam; by John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., Num. Chron. xx, 101. The author of the paper here cited closes his catalogue with the following remarks, exemplifying very forcibly the valuable service which such collections render to the historian of any age or country. "These coins convey to the mind more forcibly than any historical evidence the reality of such a city having existed, of which so few visible traces now remain, and give some idea of the extent of its population. We may picture it, as we glance over the list of coins, first as the capital of one of the chief tribes of the Britons, becoming a military colony under Claudius, and burned to the ground by Boadicea soon after it had attained the rank of a Municipium under Nero. We may see signs of its restoration under Vespasian and Domitian, when Agricola had carried the scene of the war with the Britons far away into the north, and of its peaceful occupation during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus; while the scarcity of the coins of Aurelius and Commodus points to the disturbed state of Britain, which led to the arrival of Severus, whose presence is abundantly testified by his coins. We may then imagine a period of comparative inaction till the days when Postumus, Victorinus and Tetricus successively held dominion in Britain, and find evidence that Verulam was a town of importance under the British Emperors Carausius and Allectus. We may trace the prosperity it enjoyed under the able rule of Constantine; a prosperity which lasted during the reign of his sons; while the increasing barbarism and approaching dissolution of the Roman power in Britain becomes evident on the coins of their successors, and the series terminates with what can hardly be termed a coinage, the evident result of sheer anarchy and barbarism."

and government of law and property equally with the Romans themselves.

The fidelity of the inhabitants of Verulam to the service and interests of the Romans brought upon them the anger of Boadicea,¹ Queen of the Iceni, who, A.D. 61, avenged the bitter wrongs of herself and her people by the slaughter of many thousands—Romans and Britons—indiscriminately (Tacitus' Annals, 14, 33). Dion Cassius writes that 70,000 were hanged, crucified or cut in pieces without mercy.

Suetonius Paulinus was at this time occupied in the conquest of Mona (the Isle of Anglesey). He came quickly upon the victors and retook the city, with great slaughter of the Britons.

"In the meantime the true sun—not that in the firmament, but the Sun in the Highest Heavens—first shed its bright beams upon this island frozen by winter cold and long distance from the visible sun, *i.e.*, Christ sent his messengers to preach the Gospel." (Gildas.) The context shows that by *the mean time* the writer intended the interval between Plautius' government and the revolt of Boadicea.

After Agricola had entirely subdued the island, A.D. 79, he prudently taught the people the arts of civilization; and the Britons lived in much ease and quiet. It is also matter of accepted history that the Christian faith continued to gain ground until the time when its maintainers throughout the empire suffered dreadful persecution under the edict of Diocletian, at Nicomedia, A.D. 303; which was carried out in Britain by Maximianus Herculus (whom he had associated with himself in the Empire) and Asclepiodotus² (Leland's Collectanea). "In the days of Asclepiodotus was gret persecution of Cristen pepell by the tyrant Diocletian. In this same time Saint Alban was martered." (The Saint Albans Chronicle, a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library in Lambeth Palace.)

Alban stands recorded in history as the proto-martyr of Britain. He had given shelter and hospitality to Amphibalus,³ a Christian and Deacon of the Church; receiving through intercourse with him an abundant return in his own conversion to the Faith.

¹ According to some MSS. *Boadicia* or *Bonduca*.

² Asclepiodotus commanded in Britain, under Constantius Chlorus, in the year 296, and recovered Britain to the Roman Emperors after ten years of revolt under Carausius and Allectus. He is mentioned by Eutropius, Bede, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. "It is probable that he is the Asclepiodotus who wrote the life of Diocletian cited twice by Vopiscus in the life of Aurelian." (Collier's Hist. Dict.) St. Alban the Briton suffered in the time of Asclepiodotus. (Acta Sanct.)

³ The name is of Greek formation, and signifies a cloak or mantle. Fuller (Ch. Hist.) suggests that it may be a Greek translation of the name in his own language, he observes that "Samuel was marked by such a mantle. So Robert Curthose had his surname from going in such a garment."

When search was made for Amphibalus, Alban enabled him to escape, and thus brought upon himself the death from which he had for a time rescued his friend. Amphibalus was subsequently captured in Wales. The intention of his persecutors seems to have been that he also should suffer at Verulam; but he was put to death about four miles short of the city, where the village of Redbourn now stands, the church of which is dedicated to his memory.¹

In an old Agonal or History of the passion of St. Alban, we are told that the citizens of Verulam caused an account of his sufferings to be recorded on a marble tablet, which they placed in their town wall, as a public opprobrium to him, and a terror to all Christians. But afterwards, when the blood of martyrs had overcome the cruelty of tyrants, the Christians built a church in his memory (Camden).

Gildas, who wrote *De Excidio Britanniae* in 564—Bede the Historian in 731—the writer of an ancient MS. of the Monastery of Rochester, to which the date 794 is assigned (see Leland's *Collectanea*) and Matthew of Westminster under A.D. 313 concur in the fact that a Church was founded in honour of Alban on the spot where he suffered, within a very few years after the martyrdom.

Alford cites Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived about A.D. 1300, as testifying that sacred edifices were erected in honour of St. Alban and other martyrs of whom he was writing, in the time of the Britons and before the Saxon invasion.

Among them was the Church of St. Alban, Wood Street, London, founded by Offa, contiguous to his palace; and the feeling has especially revived in our own times of dedicating churches to the memory of our martyr.

"Verulam carried with it so great an opinion of religion, that therein was holden a Synode or Council in the year of the World's Redemption, 429; when as the pelagian Heresie by means of Agricola, sonne to the Bishop Severianus had budded forth afresh into this Island, and polluted the British Churches so as that, to averre and maintain the truth, they sent for Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troies, out of France; who by refuting this heresie gained unto themselves a reverend account among the Britons."—(Camden's *Britannia*.)

It is worthy of remark that Matthew of Westminster and other ancient English writers represent this mission as having arisen out of a request on the part of the British Church acceded to by a council of the ancient Gallicans, without any mention of papal intervention.

Germanus, when about to return home on the successful termi-

¹ Several churches formerly bore his name—chief of them was the first foundation of the noble cathedral of Winchester.

nation of his mission, caused the tomb and coffin of Alban to be opened, and deposited therein certain relics of apostles and martyrs, (see pp. 6 and 12) receiving some similar memorial of our martyr (see p. 59) taken out of the coffin, and presented to him in gratitude for the benefit he had conferred on Britain.

Not long after the visit of Germanus, Verulam fell into the hands of the Saxons. But Uther Pendragon, after a very tedious siege, recovered it (Brompton). Upon his death it fell again into their hands, for Gildas plainly intimates that the Saxons, in his day (circ. A.D. 564) were in possession of the city. They are supposed to have destroyed the population and reduced the buildings to a mass of ruin. It is said that through the two succeeding centuries its name does not occur in history. But there are various events of later date which render the opinion probable that it was not wholly deserted until after the rise of the modern St. Albans.

The Saxons, on gaining ascendancy over the Britons, changed the name from Verulam to Werlamceaster, or Watlingceaster, or Waetlingaceaster,¹ according to the readings of different MSS.; the name of the city being taken from that of the Roman road, Watling Street, which passed through it; and is described by Florentius (circ. A.D. 1117), cited by Ingram in his edition of the Saxon Chronicle as *Strata quam filii Watli Regis ab orientali mare usque ad occidentale per Angliam straverunt*.

Sumner assigns another etymology and calls it *mendicorum via*—the road of mendicants, from *Weatla egenus*. Dr. Guest² observes that the Waetlings were the wild men who lived in the weald as contradistinguished from the husbandmen who cultivated the plain, and that the woodlands through which the Watling Street ran for some 30 or 40 miles after leaving London, were notorious during the middle ages for the banditti which infested them. Matthew Paris tells us that Leofstan, abbat of St. Albans in the 11th century, cut down all the trees within a certain distance of the highway to enable travellers the better to provide against the robbers that lay in wait for them.

Stukeley (Itiner. Cur. Iter 5, in a paper dated 10 October, 1722) writes, "Three years ago good part of the wall of Verulam was standing . . . but ever since, out of wretched ignorance . . . they have been pulling it up all round to the very foundation to mend the ways . . . there are round holes quite through the wall, at about eight yards distance, in that corner still left by St. German's Chapel."

The place of martyrdom—the hill on which the church now stands—received from the Saxons the name of Holmehurst; after-

¹ Cod. Diplom. No. 696.

² Arch. Journ. xiv. 114.

wards it was called Derswold¹ (Stow's Annals, London, 1631,) who puts the name of John Capgrave in the margin as his authority.

Bede states in his History, that the original Church was existent in his day. "Ecclesia est mirandi operis, atque ejus martyrio "condigna, extracta."—i. 7.

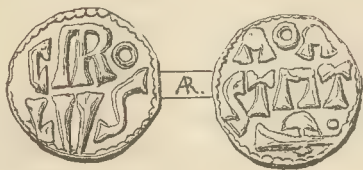
About the year 793, Offa II.² King of the Mercians, having murdered Ethelbert King of the East Angles, and being desirous of re-establishing his character in the world and appeasing his troubled conscience, determined on founding a monastery in honour of Alban at the place of his martyrdom. William of Malmesbury says (lib. i. cap. 4) that the King was animated to this work by Charlemagne, with whom he held a friendly correspondence. He first made search for the Coffin, which had long lain hidden under the green sod (*sub cespite diu absconditum*, Matt. Par.) having been removed from the Church, that it might escape the desecrating hands of the Saxons, who subsequently reduced the sacred Structure almost to a ruin.—(Roger of Wendover.)

The denier of Charlemagne, of which an engraving is here given, was lately found near the west entrance of the Abbey Church. A similar coin is described in Longpérier's *Monnaies Françaises composant la Collection de M. J. Rousseau*. The penny

of Offa was not found here, but is given for the purpose of illustration and comparison. It is taken from Hawkins' Silver Coins of England, No. 62.

When the Coffin was found, it contained the remains of Alban, and also the Relics which had been added by Germanus. The King placed on the head a golden circlet, inscribed *hoc est caput Sⁿⁱ Albani*; and having deposited the Remains in a Reliquary,³ adorned with gold and silver, and precious Stones, he conveyed them back in solemn

procession to the little Church (*Ecclesiola*) which he had repaired



CHARLEMAGNE.



OFFA.

¹ *Derswold*. Sir Walter at Le was commissioned by the King (Ric. II.) to meet the townspeople of St. Albans in the *Derfold* wood. (Thos. Walsingham, Hist. Ang. see p. 33.)

² *Henry of Huntingdon*, one of the earliest of our historians, *Ralph de Diceto*, and *Brompton*, apud Twysden, have each recorded the genealogy of Offa, varying a little in the orthography of the names, and making him 15th in descent from Wodin, the God of War of the Teutons, worshipped under the name of Odin by the Scandinavians.

³ See a representation of this Reliquary, p. 14.

as an Asylum, until a more worthy Edifice should be built. (See Matthew Paris, Vit. Offæ II. and the ancient Rochester MS. in Leland's Collectanea.)

Offa journeyed to Rome to obtain consent of Pope Adrian to the building and endowing the Monastery. This was granted; together with the Canonization of the Martyr, and especial privileges to the contemplated Establishment.

Ina, King of the West Saxons, had originally appointed the levy of Peter pence, A. D. 727, for the maintenance of a Saxon College at Rome, and a penny was collected from each family holding lands producing thirty pence in the annual rent. Subsequently Offa obtained from the Pontiff that the pence collected throughout his dominions should be appropriated to the Abbey of St. Alban. (Hist. Aur. of John of Tynemouth in the Bodleian Lib. Oxford, cited in Harleian MS. 258, fo. 36. See also Annotatio de Romescot, sive de denario S. Petri solvendo, Saxonice. Nero, A 1, fo. 5).

This payment obtained the name of *Peter Pence*, because it was paid upon the first of August, dedicated to *St. Peter ad vincula*, being the day on which the King discovered the bones of the martyr. The Romanist writers, Polydore Vergil and Cardinal Baronius have misstated the fact; and have represented it as a sort of submission to the Pope, and that Offa thereby made his kingdom, as it were, a fee of the Roman See.

In the year 1113 the payment of this tax was withheld (p. 12); but in process of time it was claimed as a right, which clearly appears in the Bull of Adrian, A. D. 1154, authorizing Henry II. to invade Ireland. (Rymer's Fœdera, i. 15.)

On the return of Offa from Rome, he forthwith carried his intention into effect, endowing the Monastery with the Royal Manor of Winslow, where he was residing, when a miraculous light from Heaven, while he was praying for information to enable him to complete his vow of founding a monastery, seemed to betoken God's favour and assistance.

He placed the Monastery under the Rule of Saint Benedict—the Order which had been introduced by Augustin in 596. The vow of the Order was, to live in the observance of the most rigid chastity, to have no possessions of their own, and to pay obedience to their superior or Abbat. They abstained from flesh except when sick, and their dress was a long black Tunic, or close gown ungirded, a white close waistcoat of woollen beneath, and a shirt of hair. A cowl covered the head, or hung back on the shoulders. The hair was shaven off the greater part of the crown, the feet and legs were covered with boots.

It is the prevalent opinion among Antiquaries—as Dugdale and Whitaker—that Offa did not complete his original purpose of con-

structing a larger and nobler Church. "The Chapel noticed by "Bede, which had been built by the early Converts to Christianity, "appears to have been appropriated by Offa as the Church of his "new Monastery; the officinal buildings in addition being completed by him within four or five years." (Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 179.)

And this is not irreconcilable with the account of these transactions as given by Mathew Paris. But there is some confusion in this part of his History.

The King offered his Charter of Donation (a copy of which is given in the Auct. Addit. of Matt. Par.) upon the High Altar of the Church, A. D. 795; soon after which he retired to his palace at Offey, and there died.

A confirmation of this Charter, given by Æthelred in 990 with several other grants by kings and other benefactors in Saxon times, will be found in the Codex Diplomaticus, published by John M. Kemble, London, 1839.

Egfrid, his son and successor, rejected the solicitation of the first Abbat that the King's remains should rest in the sanctuary of his own foundation.

By this time about twenty great Monasteries had been founded; and about the same number of Episcopal Sees established.

A List of the Abbats will be found in A Table of Comparative Chronology, p. 88. The following claim particular notice:

WILLIGOD was related to the King; and had been appointed by him the first Abbat. The refusal of Egfrid to permit his Father's body to rest in his own Monastery is supposed to have caused the premature death of the Abbat, who survived the King only two months.

EADRIC, the 2nd Abbat, was of the blood royal, and chosen from the body of the Monks, as charged by the Founder.

VULSIG, the 3rd Abbat, was descended from the royal family.

ÆDFRID, was the 5th Abbat. In his time Ulpho the Prior built a chapel in honour of Germanus, on the spot where the rude dwelling which he had occupied (p. 4) lay in ruin. (Matt. Paris, Vit. Abb.) "It is sixty one years since they," (the ruins of this chapel of which Stukeley gave a view) "have been finally destroyed." (Hist. of Ver. and S. Alb. by F. L. Williams, 1821.)

ULSINUS or ULSIC, the 6th Abbat, built the three adjacent Churches, dedicated respectively to St. Peter, St. Michael, and St. Stephen, and established a market. (Cott. Lib. Nero D 7.) The illuminator of the MS. has represented him holding a model of a Church in each hand. Before this time the town consisted only of a few houses built near the Monastery. He also built a small Chapel or Oratory to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen at a short distance from Germanus Chapel.

ÆLFRIC was the 7th Abbat. He purchased of King Edgar the

large and deep fishpool already mentioned, and drained the waters, and made it dry ground (Nero, D 7.) He translated into Saxon some of the Historical Books of the Old Testament, together with a fragment of Judith, printed at Oxford by Thwaites in 1698. Newcome observes of him, that it is remarkable that in his Epistles and in one of his Sermons for Easter Day, his doctrine concerning the Eucharist is wholly such as was restored by the Reformers. “‘Certainly,’ he says, ‘this Housel, [Host] which we “do now hallow at God’s Altar, is a remembrance of Christ’s “Body, which He offered for us, and of His Blood, which He “shed for us. Once suffered Christ by Himself; yet His suffering is daily renewed at the Mass, through mystery of the Holy “Housel.’”

“And in his Epistle to Wulfstan, Bishop of Sherburn, are these “words, as may be seen in the original, still preserved in Exeter “Cathedral. ‘And yet that Living Bread is not so bodily; not the “self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is the holy Wine “the Saviour’s Blood, which was shed for us, in Bodily Reality, “but in Ghostly understanding.’”

A very curious and ancient MS. of a Latin and Saxon Glossary by this Abbat, enlarged by Ælfric Bata, his pupil, is preserved in the inner Library of St. John’s Coll. Oxford. The work was printed at the end of Somner’s Saxon Dictionary.

He became Archbishop of Canterbury, according to Dugdale, in 995; and the same author, in the Appendix to the account of Abingdon Monastery, of which Ælfric had been a monk, gives a copy of his Will in the original Saxon, which enumerates legacies to the Abbey of St. Albans.

EALDRED the 8th Abbat and

EADMER his successor collected materials for rebuilding the Church. The contemplation of a new Structure within the period of two centuries from Offa’s death is strongly corroborative of the opinion, that a Church had not been built by him. Matthew Paris relates that in the time of this Abbat a volume was found in the ruins of Verulam, written in the language of the ancient Britons, being a History of the Life and Martyrdom of Saint Alban. This Treatise, translated into Latin, continued to be read in the Monastery in the time of Matthew Paris. (See Claudius, E 4, fo. 34.)

It has been suggested that the extensive removal of materials also brought to light many of the valuable gems enumerated in the inventories, (Nero D 1 and Claudius E 4.) One, at least, of these gems was an ancient cameo; a drawing of which was made by Matt. Paris, and a description given of the virtues attributed to it. Engraved gems appear among the ornaments in the Treasury of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London in the year 1295. (Dugdale’s Monast.)

LEOFRIC, 10th Abbat, son of the Earl of Kent, and surnamed Plumstane according to Willis, strenuously defended the possessions of the Church. He was in consequence raised to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, and resigned the Abbacy. With reference to this promotion, he is represented by the Illuminator of Cotton MS. Nero, D 7, as having laid down the pastoral staff of an Abbat and holding a crosier in his hand.

ÆLFRIC, 11th Abbat, second of the name, was half-brother of Leofric. He was at first Chancellor of King Ethelred, and when holding that office bought the royal palace of Kingsbury, with its ancient demesnes (*regale municipium*), of which he obtained confirmation, upon his election to the Abbacy, for the use of the monastery. He caused the palace to be levelled with the ground, excepting a small tower (*parvum propugnaculum*) near the Monastery, which the King (Canute) would not permit to be destroyed, that some vestige might remain of the royal residence together with the name, which still survives.

The manor of Westwick was granted to the Monastery by K. Ethelred in the time of this Abbat, A. D. 990.

While Chanter of the Monastery he composed a History of Saint Alban, and set it to music. It was in use in the Choir in the year 1380. (Cotton MS. Nero, D 7.)

LEOFSTAN, 12th Abbat, was Confessor to Edward the Confessor,¹ who confirmed the grant of Abbots Langley to the Abbats of Saint Albans by Egelwine the black and Winifred his wife; whence it has the adjunct of "Abbots" (see Codex Diplomat. No. 945). In the same page is the admission of Oswald and Æðeliða into the fraternity by agreement with the Abbat and monks. He died in 1066.

FREDERIC, 13th Abbat, was elected in the short reign of Harold. He was of the royal blood of the Saxons, and also next heir to Canute. (Willis's Mit. Parl. Abbeys.)

He was a principal instrument in extorting an oath from William the Conqueror, which was administered by himself, that he would keep inviolate all the laws of the Realm, which his predecessors, and particularly King Edward, had established. But the Conqueror subsequently disregarded the engagement he had made, and the Abbat was forced to retire to Ely, where he died in great vexation of heart. (Cotton MS. Nero, D 7.) The Illuminator has represented him on horseback, wearing a cloak and hat, and turning in his saddle to look upon a Church behind him, while he holds up his hand in benediction.

Speed in his History of Great Britain records that Abbat

¹ In the illuminated MS. Cott. Lib. Nero, D 7, he is represented as receiving the King's confessions.

Frederic conspired with two stout Earls, Edwin and Morcar, to set up Edgar Atheling their general once again. He describes somewhat at large the boldness of Frederic in presence of the Conqueror.

PAUL of Caen, the 14th Abbat, kinsman of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed in 1077 to preside over this Monastery. He constructed the Church entirely anew of Stones and Tiles from the ancient City of Verulam, and of the Timber which he found collected and reserved by his predecessors. Eleven years were occupied in building. The present Tower and Transepts, and eastern part of the Nave, are the remains of this Structure.

Petrus de Valons (Valoignes) a Norman Baron gave the cell of Bynham to the Monastery in the time of this Abbat. (Nero, D vii.)

Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, founded the magnificent Priory of Tynemouth and gave it to Abbat Paul and the monks of St. Albans. He had been detained prisoner in Windsor Castle by William Rufus and his successor, Henry I., for many years, and subsequently became a monk of this Abbey. He died in 1106, and over his grave Abbat Symeon afterward built a Chapel of St. Symeon; so that the Body was enclosed, and lay near the Altar. Weever (Funeral Monuments) records the Epitaph engraven on his Tomb.

He obtained by exchange with the Abbat of Westminster what had been the Chapel of Offa's Palace¹ (now the Church of St. Albans, Wood Street, Cheapside).

Returning from Tynemouth, he died on the way, and was magnificently buried in the Abbey.

The Monastery remained in the hands of the King—William Rufus—four years.

RICHARD DE ALBENEIO or d'Albeneio, Albini or D'Aubeney succeeded. There is a remarkable difference in the MSS. regarding his surname. Matthew Paris attaches no surname to the Abbats in his Vit. Abbat. He is called in the Hist. of Roger de Wendover, and in Harleian MS. 3775, Ricardus de Exaquio. In Cox's edition of Roger de Wendover the editor calls him Richard of Lessay or Essay in Normandy.

The Coffin of St. Cuthbert was opened in 1104. A memoir exists by an eye-witness, in all probability Simeon the Durham historian. It took place on the occasion of the body being transferred from the old to the new Cathedral of Durham. Richard, Abbat of St. Albans, Radulphus, Abbat of Seez, in Normandy, and Alexander brother to the King of the Scots, had arrived to honour it

¹ It had also been the Royal Palace of Athelstan; and hence was derived the name of the adjacent *Addle* Street.

with their presence. (Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church, by John Lingard, D.D., vol. ii. p. 79.)

The Church was dedicated in his Abbacy, at the time of Christmas, on Innocents Day, A. D. 1115-16; King Henry the First and his Queen Matilda, with the principal Nobles and Prelates of the realm being present, from the 27th of December to the 6th of January. (The Saxon Chronicle in the Bodl. Lib.—Roger de Wendover—Chronicle of John Wallingford and John de Oxenead.) It is remarkable that there is no mention of this important solemnity in the Codex, the St. Albans Chronicle, in the Lambeth Library.

Ralph De Diceto (apud Twysden) records the names of the Prelates present, viz. Geoffrey Archbishop of Rouen, Richard de Beaumeis Bishop of London, Robert Blohet of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury,¹ and Randal of Durham. The Bishop of Lincoln (being the Diocesan) took the chief part in the ceremonials.

But the Chronicon of John Wallingford (Cotton Lib. Julius, D 7, of which Harl. MS. 688 is a copy) assigns this honour to the Archbishop of Rouen. See also Harl. MS. 5775-14, De Dedicatione Eccles. Sci. Alb.

This Abbat constructed a Feretry, in which he deposited the Relics of the twelve Apostles and Martyrs (Nero, D 7,) which St. Germanus had placed in the sepulchre of Saint Alban. He also built a Chapel to St. Cuthbert in the Conventual Church, upon his return from the Priory of Tynemouth, in thanksgiving for a miraculous cure obtained while assisting at the Translation of the Bones of that Confessor.

A Council was held at St. Albans, A. D. 1113; and the Royal prohibition received against paying Romescot for the present.

The priory of Wymondham was founded by William de Albeneio, Count of Arundel, cupbearer to Henry I., and conferred on the monastery of St. Alban during the Abbacy and by the procurement of this Abbat.

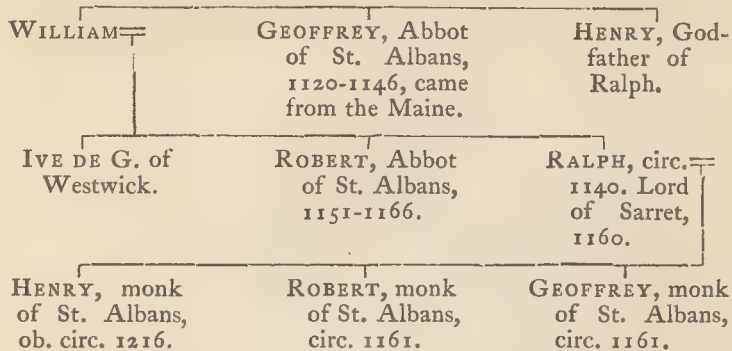
The Cell of Beaulieu in Bedfordshire, and the Chapel of St. Macutus were given to the Abbey by Robert de Albeneio. And the Hist. of Benefactors to the monastery (Nero, D 7,) records many gifts of Religious Houses and Manors by members of the family of d'Albeneio.

GEOFFREY DE GORHAM, 16th Abbat, was so called from the Castle of Gorram in Normandy, now called Gorrion. The earliest notice of it in the English Records occurs in 1202, when King John issued a Writ for seizing the Castle of Gorham (Pat. Rolls, 3 John, M 9.) We observe here the variation in the spelling the name.

¹ The tomb of Roger Bishop of Salisbury, is still to be seen in the Cathedral.

By a singular mistranslation of *Cœnomania*, Newcome has erroneously stated that this family came from Caen, instead of from the Maine (Nichols's Collect. Top. et Geneal.)

Pedigree of de Gorham of Westwick (Gorhambury), and of Sandford Great Hormede, Herts, taken from Nichols' Collectanea.



He built an Hospital for Lepers, and dedicated it to St. Julian. Julian and Bardissa his wife lived in Egypt, and applied their property and their time to the relief of the poor and sick, fitting up their house suitably for their comfort. They suffered martyrdom in 313. Hence Julian is accounted the patron of Travellers, Wanderers and Lepers. The *Statutes of the Hospital*, appointed by Michael, the 29th Abbat, exist in the Cottonian Library, in the British Museum (Nero, D 1, fo. 24), and are printed in the Works of Matthew Paris, by Wats.

Matthew Paris relates, that two women having entered on a re-cluse life in a hut which they had constructed near the river, the Abbat built a House for their better accommodation, placing therein thirteen sisters under the Rule of Saint Benedict. And because the two first women used to dip their dry bread in the water of a neighbouring spring, the place was called Sopwell (p. 86).

But Clutterbuck (Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Hertford) shews that these women must have lived before the time of Abbat Geoffrey, inasmuch as he was a witness to a gift of land to this cell by Robert de Albeny, which Roger the Hermit had rebuilt in the time of Henry de Albeny, the father of Robert.

The Customs and Rules of the Nuns of the Blessed Mary of Sopwell exist in MS. in the Cotton Library (Nero, D 1, fo. 26), and are printed by Wats.

This Abbat also founded Merkyate Cell in the parish of Cad-dington by the name of the Church of the Holy Trinity in the wood. It was consecrated by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln. See page 81. (Matt. Paris, V. Abb.)

In his time a costly shrine or feretory was constructed of silver gilt, and ornamented with gems, in which the Relics of the Martyr were deposited with great solemnity, after they had been removed from the ancient tomb, in the presence of the Bishop of London, several Abbats and other Dignitaries.

An illuminated MS. of the Histories of Offa I. and II. by Matt. Par., which was given to the Church by him, and is now in the Brit. Mus. (Nero, D 1), represents under the following form the



Reliquary, in which the Remains of St. Alban were conveyed from their place of concealment to the little Church which the King had repaired, that it might serve as a temporary asylum.

As regards the Reliquary prepared by Offa, this form is, of course, altogether imaginary; but as the bones of the Martyr were preserved in the Reliquary made by Abbat Geoffrey when the Illuminator of the manuscript executed his work, we may be allowed to suppose that he may have here transmitted to us some general resemblance of it.

It is remarkable that although this Abbat is mentioned in the Cotton MS. Nero, D 7, as a benefactor to the Abbey, having given many books and vestments and much ornamental furniture; no record is made therein of the Hospital of St. Julian or the Shrine of St. Albans.

The grant of *The Liberty of St. Albans* was now first made to

the Abbat by Henry I. It conferred the great civil power of holding pleas, and taking cognizance of all lesser crimes, and offences, which had been punishable in the leets, the hundred, and the county courts.

The original charter is among the Records in the Tower of London, and bears date at Westminster the 3rd day of November, 2nd of Edward IV., and is signed by the King himself. There is a printed copy of it in Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, vol. i. Appendix No. 1.

OF RALPH DE GOBION,¹ 17th Abbat, Matt. Par. records, as a circumstance discreditable to him, that he caused a rich chasuble to be burned for the sake of the gold with which it was embroidered, and the shrine to be stripped of all the plates of gold in order to purchase the vill of Brentfield;² he also sold the jewels, when he might have raised the sum required by the sale of gold and silver cups which were used at his table. The rent of the new purchase, he however adds, was appropriated by the Abbat in perpetuity to the restoration of the shrine and afterwards of the edifice; and Walsingham, who also records the spoliation (see extracts from the life of the next Abbat), assigns a justifying and even a creditable reason for it, though he does not clear the memory of the Abbat from the imputation of having spared the plate used at his own table. He died A. D. 1151; after resigning in favour of

ROBERT DE GORHAM, 18th Abbat, nephew of Geoffrey. He granted lands in the neighbourhood to one of his family and name, who settled there; and the place obtained the appellation of *Gorhambury*, i. e. the house and dwelling of Gorham. He built the Chapter House and the Locutory, now called the Abbat's Cloister. He repaired and adorned with gold and silver and precious stones the Feretry of the Martyr, which had been despoiled during the famine in the time of Abbat Ralph to supply the necessities of the poor. (Nero, D 7.)

King Stephen was honourably entertained by this Abbat, who profited by the occasion to obtain permission to demolish all that remained of the royal palace of Kingsbury (p. 10), because certain of the royal servants, who gave much annoyance to the Abbat, occupied a tower (*propugnaculum vel municipiolum*) towards the east, almost in the centre of the street, as a residence and refuge.

He was engaged in a dispute with the Earl of Arundel concerning the Cell of Wymondham in Norfolk, which his father, William de Albini, had founded as subordinate to the Abbey. The contest after a long discussion ended in the Earl's acknowledgment of the rights of the Abbat.—(Matt. Par. see pp. 12 and 17.)

¹ Gobion Higham in Bedfordshire.

² Newcome suggests that the vill received the name subsequently as signifying that it was purchased with burnt or *brent* goods.

It was probably in his time that Nicholas, son to a servant in the Abbey, Robert Brekespeare of Abbots Langley, a village near St. Albans, applied for admission into the monastery.

In the Catalogue of Benefactors and of those admitted into the fraternity of the monastery of St. Albans (Cotton MSS. Nero, D 7), record is made of John Ferrers and Agatha his wife, coheiress of Adrian Brekespere of Langley—and also Bernard Brekespere, clerk, her uncle. There is a farm in this parish which still preserves the name of Breakspear; and local tradition has always accounted it the place of the nativity of the only English Pope.

Nicholas was refused admission by the Abbat on the ground of insufficiency of learning, upon which he went abroad to study in foreign schools; and by means of great natural abilities combined with diligence, he acquired a high reputation for learning. Eventually he was raised to the chair of St. Peter in 1155, under the name of Adrian IV.; and is the only Englishman who has attained that high dignity. He was “the first that taught the Norwegians “the Christian faith; and repressed the citizens of Rome aspiring “to their ancient freedom—whose stirrup also, as he alighted from “his horse, Frederick, Emperor of the Romanes, held—and whose “breath was stopped in the end, with a flie that flew into his “mouth.”—(Camden’s Britan.) When the news of his advancement reached the monastery, the Abbat repaired to Rome, that he might obtain confirmation of the ancient privileges of this church. He was received kindly by the Pope, who granted all the favours he sought, together with some privileges allowed to no other Abbey in the kingdom.

About the year 1161 Geoffrey and Robert de Gorham, monks of St. Albans, were sent by their Uncle the Abbat (see Genealogy, p. 13), with a present to Pope Adrian of two Candelabra, exquisitely wrought in silver and gold (Matt. Par.); and in the “*Annales Eccles.*” of Baronius, is given a congratulatory letter from King Henry of England to the Pope on his accession. These annals recount particulars of the holding the stirrup of the Pope by the Emperor, and that the Pontiff then, for the first time, admitted this Sovereign to the Kiss of Peace. The death of this Pope by a fly is rejected by Baronius as false. Matthew Paris thinks that he was poisoned.

From this time the Abbat and his successors assumed the mitre (he is the first depicted with a mitre in the illuminated MS. Nero, D 7); and twice in a year afterwards, he assembled his clergy; forming a synod, and prescribing rules and laws for the convent and cells, habited in the mitre; but leaving to the bishop, as before, all ordinations to the priesthood, consecrations of oil, dedications of churches and altars, &c.

He died October 20, 1166. The contest for power between

the crosier and the sceptre was now in its zenith; and Henry II. was determined to exercise what he believed to be his right; and accordingly kept the Abbey vacant several months. During this interval the functions of the head were intrusted to the Prior, the Steward, and other brethren. At length the King appointed SYMON, or SYMEON, 19th Abbat; who completed the costly shrine, which had not attained the extent of Geoffrey's intentions for want of funds. Matthew Paris gives a detailed account of its structure. The Feretry of Abbat Geoffrey continued to be the depository of the bones of the Martyr, and was covered by that of Abbat Symon, which for that purpose was made of a great size. It was also raised to such a height as to be in view of the celebrant at the high altar.

The relics of Amphibalus (see p. 4) were discovered at Redbourn in his time, and brought to the Abbey. He procured the dedication by the Bishop of Durham of the chapel of St. Cuthbert, built by Richard de Albini. He caused a History of the Martyrdom of St. Alban and of Amphibalus, written in the vernacular language about the year 590, to be translated into Latin by William the Monk. (See Claudius, E 4, fo. 34.) This Abbat was sent by Archbishop Becket to Henry, the eldest son of King Henry II. to try to negotiate a reconciliation between them. Matt. Par. has given an account of the conference between the Archbishop and the Abbat. A translation of this interesting conversation will be found in Historical Memorials of Canterbury, by Arthur P. Stanley, M.A., Canon of Cant. 1856. The King had caused his son to be crowned during his own lifetime, and the Archbishop accordingly gives him the title of Rex Junior.



In the illustrated MS. Cott. Lib. Nero, D 7, Adam the Cellarer is introduced between this Abbat and his successor, probably for the same cause that it is there recorded of him, that he was buried

in the Chapter House among the Abbats on account of his great merits. No date is attached to his name. Another member of the monastery has the same distinction given to his memory.



ADAM THE CELLARER.
Nero, D 7, Cotton MSS.¹



ALAN MIDDLETON.
Nero, D 7, Wright, 136.¹

Alan Middleton, who was Collector of Rents of the obedientiaries of the monastery, and especially of those of the bursar. This is also without date.

WARREN DE CAMBRIDGE, 20th Abbat, elected by the fraternity, founded the hospital of St. Mary de Pratis for the reception of leprous women, as the hospital of St. Julian had been built by Geoffrey de Gorham for men. This Hospital of St. Mary de Pratis was dissolved by Cardinal Wolsey; and was one of the forty small endowments for which he procured a grant from the Pope in 1526 for appropriating their revenues towards the founding his new College of Christ Church at Oxford. They all fell into the King's hands when Wolsey was attainted. The Rules of the Hospital, written in Norman French, exist in the Cotton Lib. MSS. Nero, D 1.

Among the institutes of this Abbat was a regulation relating to the mode of burial of the monks; it being directed that they should no longer be interred in a mere grave, but placed in a coffin of stone. He caused a feretory splendidly adorned with gold and silver to be made, in which the relics of St. Amphibalus were deposited.

¹ For these blocks, taken from Wright's "Domestic Manners," the compiler is indebted to the kindness of Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

(Nero, D 7.) In his time Richard Cœur de Lion was taken prisoner by Leopold, Duke of Austria, on his return from the Holy Land; and this Abbat sent to the King two hundred marks of silver, in contribution towards his ransom; or, as is recorded in Nero, D 7, King Richard had required the Chalice of England for his ransom, and our Abbat redeemed the sacred vessels by the payment of 200 marks. The transaction is represented by the illuminator.

JOHN DE CELLA, 21st Abbat, so called from the cell of Wallingford over which he presided before he was chosen Abbat, is also named DE STUDHAM from the place of his birth. This Abbat began the transformation of the west front of the Church from the Norman to its present style of architecture; but meeting with many impediments, he did not live to complete it. In his time the kingdom was under interdict from Pope Innocent III.; and there was a suspension of divine worship in this Monastery as elsewhere.¹

WILLIAM DE TRUMPINGTON, 22nd Abbat, was elected on the day of St. Edmund K. and Martyr—and solemnly and pontifically consecrated before the great altar in St. Alban's Church, by Eustace Bishop of Ely, on the day of St. Andrew the Apostle. (Roger de Wendover.)

He continued and completed the change at the west end, which his predecessor had begun, and raised a lofty lantern on the tower. He was present at the Council of Lateran,² summoned by Innocent III. A. D. 1215; and he held a great consistory at St. Albans of Abbats, Priors, Archdeacons, and others. During his rule, when the contest arose between King John and his Barons, the King, setting forth to raise forces, came to this Abbey with a numerous train of adherents and soldiers. The church of Redbourn was dedicated to the honour of the martyr Amphibalus and his companions; and the Feretry, with the Reliques of the Martyr and his companions in the Abbey, were removed from the place where they were first deposited, viz. behind the High Altar near

¹ The following is a note by Browne Willis in his own copy of his Survey of Cath. Churches; in which he had entered several corrections, additions and other notes in his own hand.

"I suspect the true and real name of Abbat John de Cella was John de Scelford; for in a curious old original Court Roll on Vellum in my possession, formerly belonging to the manor of Krokesley, in Rickmersworth—part of the possessions of this Abbey—at an Halimote, or Court Baron, held on All Souls Day, 53 of Henry III.; it is thus entered 1268: 'Juratores dicunt "super Sacrm. suum, Terra quam Isabella Stut tenet, solebat reddere annuatim "temp̃e Dni. J. de Scelford, &c.'" Possibly this Dominus, J. de Scelford, "might be Cellarer to the Abbey." (Coles Add. MSS. 5828, p. 172 et seqq.)

² MS. Nero, D 1, fo. 74, of the Cotton Lib. is a copy of a form appointed by this Council for the Institution of an exempt Abbat in England. It was used on the occasion of the succession of the next Abbat, John de Hertford.

the Feretry of St. Alban, and solemnly transferred to the place enclosed in the middle of the church with an iron grating, and provided with an altar suitably ornamented. (Mat. Par. Lives of the Abbats).

About this time also, Thomas, Bishop of Norwich, dedicated a cemetery for the Church of St. Alban, in which many persons had been buried during the interdict, which arose out of the same disastrous contests.

In the time of this Abbat, in the year 1217, Matthew of Paris, the celebrated historian, took upon him the religious habit in this Abbey, as appears from a memorandum by himself in the MS. Nero, D 1, fo. 165, in the Cottonian Library.

JOHN DE HERTFORD, 23rd Abbat, had been Sacristan, and afterward Prior of the cell at Hertford.

At the coronation of Henry III. the mitred Abbats being placed next to the Bishops, John of Saint Albans was the first of them. For as St. Alban was the first martyr of England, so this Abbat possessed the first place in rank and dignity (Lambeth Libr. Cod. 589, p. 30), until deprived of the same by the Abbat of Westminster. (Harleian MS. No. 3775-12, p. 5.) And yet this priority seems to have been subsequently recovered; for in the list of signatures attached to The Articles of Faith drawn up by Convocation, 28 Henry VIII. in 1536, that of Robert Catton, Abbat of Saint Albans (p. 40), stands first of the Abbats; and next to him, that of William Benson, or Boston, Abbat of Westminster. The original MS. of these Articles exists in the Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, E 5.

In 1239 the Legate Otho excommunicated the Emperor with great solemnity in this Abbey.

In the year 1247 two Friars Minors, sent by the Pope with authority to collect money in England, demanded of the Abbat of St. Albans, 400 marks to be paid to them for the Pope's use. Being refused, they demanded it the second time in the same year. (Hist. of England, by Robert Brady.)

About the same time a pestilence raged in the town, and nine or ten corpses were interred daily in the Churchyard of St. Peter's.

The King—Henry III.—made eight visits to the monastery during the rule of this Abbat, and presented many costly vestments. (Matt. Par.)

Matt. Paris records an earthquake in 1250 which greatly affected St. Albans, and the neighbourhood which is called Ciltria.¹

In the year 1256 Letters were sent from the Pope to the Abbat of St. Alban and his Monastery, that within fifteen days of Easter

¹ Ciltria Ager sive regiuncula non procul a Sancto Albano quæ in antiquâ Saxonum notitiâ Anglice Eiltepn.

they should pay to the Collectors (*Usurarii*) of the Pope 500 marks to which they were bound. If they should not pay, the Monastery would be forthwith suspended from divine offices, and the Abbat excommunicated by name (*Chronica Joh. de Oxenedes*).

In the same year (1256) *Matt. Paris* records (*Hist. Major*) that the Church of St. Alban was placed under interdict, assigning as the reason the vexatious exactions of the Papal Collectors (*Proter-vientibus Papalibus exactoribus*).

At this time it was found necessary to repair or rebuild the east end of the Church; and in 1259 Matthew Paris died. Codex 643 in the Lambeth Lib. contains many papal Bulls; at page 7 is a Bull of Alex. IV. who held the papacy from 1244 to 1261, exempting the Monastery of St. Albans and all its cells, enumerated in order, from Episcopal authority.



The seal of this Abbat is attached to a charter in the British Museum conveying a grant for the support of a Mass in the Church of St. Mary, Hertford, A.D. 1258.

The Lives of the Abbats, by Matthew Paris, end with John of Hertford. We are chiefly indebted to Thomas Walsingham for those that follow, to Abbat De la Mare inclusive. (*Cotton MSS. Claudius, E 4.*)

ROGER DE NORTON (near Baldock in Hertfordshire) succeeded. In Prinn's Col. tom. 3, p. 1302, apud Browne Willis, Mitred Abbeyes, Ralph Banburgh occurs Abbat of St. Albans, A.D. 1280. This is not noticed in Dug. Mon. Ang.

There is a copy of the confirmation of Roger de Norton to the Abbey of St. Albans by Pope Urban, in Rymer's Fœdera, A.D. 1263.

It is stated by modern writers that in his time St. Albans was put in a fortified state, and all its avenues strongly barricadoed to prevent the ravages occasioned by the baronial wars.

In the year 1291—the last of this Abbat's rule—Edward I. King of England held his court at St. Albans, and soon after hastened to Scotland.

JOHN OF BERKHAMSTED, 25th Abbat, was installed on Saint Alban's day, 1291. In his time the body of Eleanor, Queen of Edward I. rested at St. Albans, in progress from Herdeby,¹ near Lincoln, where she died, to Westminster; and shortly after a commemorative cross was erected in the High Street. It was destroyed a little before the year 1702, as appears by the following entry in a book belonging to the Corporation cited by Clutterbuck:—"3 Feb. 1702. Ordered that a Market House² be built "and set up where the Old Cross lately stood." Waltham Cross, erected on the same occasion, having fallen into decay, was restored a few years ago.

In the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. 1796, there is an interesting description and plates of the Eleanor crosses then existent.

An attempt being made to force the clergy to pay an eleventh part as well as a tenth in support of the war, a Royal letter was issued to the collectors protecting the Clergy from the additional tax. The document ends thus: "Teste meipso apud Sanctum Albanum anno nost. reg. xxiii. (Edw. I., A.D. 1295.) Another Royal letter in support of the war was written at St. Albans, A.D. 1297.

This Abbat was chiefly engaged during his Abbacy in disputes and compromises with the King respecting the claims and privileges of the Church. Eventually he obtained from the Sovereign a confirmation of all grants made by his predecessors.

This was in A.D. 1302, the year of the Abbat's death; who was buried in front of the high altar, in presence of the Abbats of Westminster and Woburn. (Thos. of Walsingham, Claud. E 4.)

¹ There can be no doubt that this place is, as Mr. Gough states, a little village called Hardby, on the Lincolnshire side of the Trent, but in the County of Nottingham, five miles West of Lincoln, which by this event, and this event only, has been brought into notice. (*Archæologia*, vol. xxix. p. 167.)

² This was probably the octagonal covering supported by wooden pillars, which was removed in the year 1810.

JOHN DE MARINIS, 26th Abbat—Cellarer¹ from the 9th to the 15th of Edw. I. (Coles Add. MSS. 5828, p. 172), had officiated as Prior for the last fourteen years. In his time when King Edward II. visited the Abbey this Abbat "caused the tomb and feretry of St. Alban to be removed from the place where it stood, and the "marble tomb, which we now see, to be constructed, at a cost of "820 marks." (Nero, D 7. A MS. compiled by Thomas Walsingham in 1380.) It may be considered as a temporary removal, caused by the repairs which were then in progress in the eastern part of the Church; or it may have arisen out of the discovery of the ancient tomb of St. Alban in 1257. See p. 61.

He was buried in the Abbey by Richard de Hertford, the Abbat of Holy Cross, Waltham.

HUGH DE EVERSSEN, so called from a village in the county of Cambridge, was the 27th Abbat. He had been Cellarer for five years before his election (Coles Add. MSS. 5828). In his time some pillars of the south aisle of the Church gave way, the roof fell, and great part of the south wall over the cloister was thrown down. The Abbat commenced the work of restoration, and expended a large sum of money upon it. (Nero, D 7.) The same MS. also records the names of many who contributed to the rebuilding of the Cloisters.

This Abbat also finished the Lady Chapel, and its antechapel, where the shrine of Amphibalus was placed. They had been commenced long before, as appears from the arcade lately laid open by Mr. Scott, which is of the same date with that in the aisles of the Saints' Chapel and Retro-choir.

Here it may be well to insert an entry which is without date, in the Catalogue of Benefactors, &c., to the Monastery of St. Albans from the time of the Conquest, preserved in the Cottonian MSS. Nero D 7. "Magister Reginaldus de Sancto Albano, affectus penes "eundem Martirem specialiter et istud Monasterium, construxit "Capellam gloriose Virginis in orientali parte ecclesiæ; ubi cotidie Missa per notam, in honorem ejusdem Virginis, celebratur."

Walsingham gives a lengthened account of a second visit to the Monastery by King Edward II.; and of his proceeding from St. Albans to Ely, to settle a question regarding the relics of Saint Alban.

During the rule of this Abbat—Nov. 16, 1320—Reginald d'Asserio was consecrated to the See of Winton by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester in St. Albans Abbey. (Hist. Winton. Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 316.)

¹ A list of Cellarers of this Abbey is preserved in the Coles Add. MSS. 5828, fo. 188; among them J. de Scelford (probably John de Cella), John de Marynis, H. Eversden, Wm. Heyworth, Abbats, and Robert Blakeney, the last who acted in that capacity, and was also Chaplain to Abbat Ramryge.

The same circumstance is thus recorded by another Annalist. In the year 1320, the See of Winchester being vacant, the Pope reserved to himself the collation to that dignity. But the monks of Winchester, notwithstanding the reservation, elected a member of their own monastery by unanimous consent. The Pope hearing of this election annulled it, and conferred the See on Rigaud (vel Rigando. *Reginaldum autem appellat alii*, *Annals of Edward II.*, by John de Trokelowe. *Claud. D 6, 8*, published by Hearne, Oxford, 1729; who considers Trokelowe to have been a monk of St. Albans), who having obtained permission of the King, after much opposition, was consecrated, with leave of the Abbat and monastery, by the hands of the Bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester at the High Altar, Saint Albans. (*Annales Edward II.*, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans; *Claud. vi. 9.*)

Godwin (*De Præsulibus Angliæ*) records that William de Greenfield, Archbishop of York, who died Dec. 13, 1315, left all his books to the Library of St. Albans Abbey.

Hugh was twice besieged in his Abbey by the townsmen on questions of rights and privileges. They desired to be answerable to the King rather than to an inferior lord, and attempted to break off their allegiance to the Abbat; alleging in their petition to Edward II. that they held their town of him in capite; and had been accustomed in the times of Edward I. and his ancestors, to give their attendance in Parliament by two burgesses; but that the Sheriff had refused to summon the said burgesses. This matter resulted in an agreement, which was confirmed by King Edward III. in the first year of his reign; and the Abbat was obliged to submit to the King's writ, commanding the Abbat to place all the liberties, privileges, &c. on the same establishment as recorded in Domesday Book. A copy of this agreement is given by Clutterbuck, vol. i. Appendix No. iii.

RICHARD DE WALLINGFORD, 28th Abbat, obtained from the townspeople the surrender of all the privileges wrested from Hugh de Eversden, with all their charters and records of whatever kind. (*Walsingham's Hist. Ang.—Claud. E 4.*)

This is confirmed by the fact that an official memorandum, at foot of the agreement above mentioned, dated a few years later, records that a deputation of the townspeople on their own petition, surrendered this charter—renounced all the privileges set forth—and prayed that it might be cancelled. It will be found in the Report of the Committee of the House of Peers upon the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, 1826. It is also given in Clutterbuck's Appendix.

Sir Henry Chauncey (*Hist. of Hertfordshire*), also writes that from the 5th of Edward III. he did not find that this borough sent

any more burgesses to Parliament ; and supposes that the Abbat prevailed on the King to discharge them from this service.

This Abbat was son of a blacksmith and learned in geometry and astronomy. He constructed an astronomical clock with great skill, and at great cost. Leland (*De Script. Brit.*), librarian to King Henry VIII. speaks of the clock as going in his time, and noting the fixed stars, the course of the sun and moon, with the ebb and flow of the tide. In the illuminated MS. Nero, D 7, Cott. Lib. the effigy of the Abbat points to his clock. He invented also an astronomical instrument, to which he gave the name Albyon ; and copies of a treatise written by the Abbat, explanatory of its use, are in the Harl. MS. No. 80 ; the Bodleian Lib. Laud. F 55 ; and the Lib. of Corp. Christ. Coll. Oxon, MSS. 144. This last collection contains also a treatise, bearing date 1326, on another instrument invented by this Abbat.

On St. Andrew's Eve, 1334, the 8th year of his rule, a violent storm of thunder and lightning set the cloister on fire above the Abbat's chamber, between the chapel and the dormitory. It was soon extinguished, but the Abbat never recovered from the shock. He was buried on the Monday following by John, Abbat of Waltham. (Harl. MS. apud Gough Sep. Mon.)

MICHAEL DE MENTMORE, S. T. B., 29th Abbat, deriving his name from a village in the vale of Aylesbury, carried on to completion the repairs of the south Aisle, begun by Hugh de Eversden ; and added three altars, with the vaulting of the same aisle. He also repaired the Cloister from the Abbat's door to the door of the Church, and caused an eagle of silver gilt to be placed on the crest of the feretry of the martyr. (Nero, D 7.) The same MS. mentions the gift of two suns, to be similarly appropriated. New rules and ordinances for the Monastery, the Hospital of St. Julian, and the nuns of Sopwell, were framed by him.

The fifth son of Edward III., born at King's Langley, was afterwards baptized in the royal palace by Abbat Mentmore, receiving the name of Edmund, June 5th, 1341. (*Hist. Ang. by Thos. Walsingham.*) He was the ancestor of the House of York.

Philippa the Queen went over to St. Albans Abbey to be churched, and her offering was a cloth of gold.

This Prince was buried in the Conventual Church at King's Langley ; and when that building was destroyed, the monument was removed to the village Church, where it is still to be seen.

The Abbat died a victim to the dreadful pestilence which was then tracking its course with destruction over the greater part of the globe. The Prior, sub-Prior and many inmates of the monastery died at the same period of the same virulent disease. He was buried at foot of the High Altar, and his epitaph is recorded by Weever. (Fun. Mon.)

THOMAS DE LA MARE or MERE or MORE, 30th Abbat, was the son of Sir John de la Mare and Joanna, daughter of Sir John de la Harpsfield. His brother John took the vow at this Abbey, and his sister Dionysia became a sister and nun at the Hospital of St. Pré. He was probably a near relation of Sir Peter de la Mare, said to be the first Speaker of the House of Commons. (South's Life of Wickham.)

See Confirmation by Bull of Pope Clement VI. A. D. 1349, an. 23 Edward III. of the election of Abbat Thomas on the death of Abbat Michael, dated at Avignon, viii. ides of July, the 8th year of the Pontificate. (Rymer's Fœdera, vol. v. p. 662.)

He had been Prior of the cell of Tynemouth, in Northumberland; and in that situation entertained the Scottish Earl Douglas, after the latter had been made prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. A few days before, Douglas had sent a message bidding him prepare a breakfast for him and his men for two days, intending thereby to frighten him.

He was in high favour with Edward III., who constituted him President of the General Chapter of Benedictines throughout England; and when Edward the Black Prince won the battle of Poitiers in 1356, and had taken the French King John prisoner, the captive monarch was for a time resident in the Monastery of St. Albans in custody of the Abbat. (Monast. Ang. Dugdale.) He was treated by De la Mare with great consideration and respect; and on an occasion which offered itself to the King, after he had returned to his dominions upon payment of the appointed ransom, he released three men of the town of St. Albans, made prisoners in France, directing them on their return home to thank the Abbat for their freedom. (Newcome.)

In 1350, the 1st year of the rule of this Abbat, the following precept was issued at Westminster:—

“The King (Edward III.) to all and singular the Sheriffs,
“Mayors, Bailiffs, Officers and his other lieges, as well
“within liberties as without, to whom, &c., greeting.

“Know ye that we have appointed our beloved Hugh de St. Albans, master of the painters assigned for the works to be executed in our Chapel at our Palace at Westminster, to take and choose as many painters and other workmen as may be required for performing those works, in any places where it may seem expedient either within liberties or without, in the counties of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey and Sussex; and to cause those workmen to come to our Palace aforesaid, there to remain in our service at our wages as long as may be necessary. And therefore we command you to be counselling and assisting this Hugh in doing and completing what has been stated, as often

“and in such manner as the said Hugh may require.” (Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 670. London, 1708.)

The works of ornamental painting and glazing of St. Stephen’s Chapel were carried on for some years in succession after the date of the above precept; and the rolls of account relating to them contain several entries regarding the working of the said Hugh, and his designs for the painters working under his direction.

The Abbat having ruled the monastery for several years conceived the intention of resigning the Abbacy, and made known his secret wish to his guest the King of France, who applauded his resolution and promised to write with his own hand to the King to obtain permission. The Abbat’s letter of supplication to the Pope being afterwards communicated to the King at Calais, that Prince forbade any further steps being taken; declaring that such a man as Thomas de la Mare could not be spared. (Mon. Ang.)

It is remarkable that the compiler has not been able to trace the authorities from which Newcome and Dugdale have drawn the residence of the King of France in this Abbey, and the circumstances arising out of it. It is certain that the King resided some time at Hertford Castle.

King Edward III. issued a licence to the Abbat and Convent, dated Wodestoke, 17th of June, in the year of his reign 31, (A. D. 1357) empowering them to fortify the monastery with a stone wall crenellated.¹

In the year 1381, the 4th of Richard II., the insurgents under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, threatened destruction to the Abbey, and extorted charters from the Abbat, which are to be found in Dugdale, taken from Claud., E 4, fo. 312.



This may be accounted a suitable place for introducing from the illuminations of Cotton MSS. Nero, D 7, the representation of Walter de Hamuntesham (Amersham), attacked and seriously wounded by the rabble of St. Albans while standing up for the Rights and Liberties of the Church. Like most of the records of the Worthies preserved in that MS. it is without date; his name no where else

¹ Stevens’ Continuation, i. p. 261.

occurs in the history of the Abbey; but the circumstance here represented seems to point to this period of time.

After the insurrection the King came in person to St. Albans with his Chief Justice: by whom fifteen or eighteen of the leading rioters were condemned to death. The King resided in the Abbey on this occasion during eight days, and obliged all the Commons of the county to attend him in the great Court of the Abbey, and there to make oath to do suit and service to the Abbat and Convent in the customary manner. Many particulars of the insurrection and the visit of the King are recorded by Walsingham.

In the Cotton Lib. Nero, D 7, is a list of Monks living in the monastery in the year 1380 when it was compiled. The following names occur:—Dompnus THOS. DE LA MARE, Abbas; Dompnus MOOT, Prior; ADAM DE REDBURN, who in his day laboured diligently in the writing, noting and binding of books; WILLIELMUS DE WYLLUM, who wrote this book; ROBERTUS DE TRENCH, Guardian of the Feretry; THOMAS DE WALSINGHAM, Precentor, who compiled this book; JOHANNES DE HETHWITHE, Archdeacon; WILLIELMUS WENTERSHULL, eleemosynary; JOHANNES DE WATHAMPSTEDE; JOHANNES DE HETHWOURTHE, Junior.

The great gate with its chambers, prisons and vaults (until lately prison for the Liberty of St. Albans) was rebuilt under this Abbat's rule. He also paved the west floor, and expended £4000 on the fabric, and £1167 on the services of the Church. (Cotton MS. Nero, D 7.)

In an ancient and fair copy of the Sanctilogium Britanniae of Johannes Tinmuthensis, a monk of St. Albans, and preserved in the Cotton Library, is the following note of Thomas de la Mere: "Hunc Librum dedit Dominus Thomas de la Mere, Abbas Monasterii Sancti Albani Anglorum Protomartyris, Deo et Ecclesiae beati Amphibali de Redburn; ut fratres ibidem in cursu existentes per ejus lecturam poterint cœlestibus instrui, et per Sanctorum exempla virtutibus insigniri." (Bishop Nicolson's Historical Library, London, 1714.)

This is the MS. Tiberius, E 1, the remains of a folio volume now preserved in a glass case; having been burnt to a crust when a fire made sad ravage in the Collection in the year 1731; the house in Little Dean's Yard, where it was then deposited, being burned to the ground. It formerly consisted of three hundred and forty-one leaves, and contained one hundred and fifty-seven articles, enumerated in Smith's Catalogue, being all lives of British Saints; said to have been collected by John of Tynemouth in the year 1366.

Capgrave's *Legenda Nova Angliæ*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516, appears to be merely an abbreviated transcript of Tynemouth's Sanctilogium, changing the order in which the

Lives there occur into an alphabetical series. (Introd. to Mon. Hist. Brit.)

This Abbat died 15th September, 1396 (Lambeth MS. 585), having governed the Abbey forty-seven years; a duration much exceeding that of any other rule before or after him. He lies buried at foot of the high altar, and a plate of his brass is given by Clutterbuck.

JOHN DE LA MOOTE, 31st Abbat, was born at Syndlosham, in Berkshire. He had been appointed to various offices in the Monastery, and when holding that of Cellarer was put into the pillory in Luton Market, by Philip de Limbury (an ancient demesne and manor near the town), in hatred to the Abbat and utter contempt of religion. (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Ang.)

An English Chronicle, printed by the Camden Soc., London, 1855, under the year 1397 (2nd of Moote), at p. 156 of Notes, cites the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roi d'Engleterre*, a MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, as recording a conspiracy to dethrone Richard, which began at the dinner table of the Abbat of St. Albans, godfather to Gloucester,¹ in the early part of July, when Gloucester and the Prior of Westminster were dining with the Abbat. This was shortly after followed by a larger meeting at Arundel, when the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Derby, the Earl Marshal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbat of St. Albans, and the Prior of Westminster were present; and on the following day the perpetual imprisonment of the King was agreed upon.

The following is extracted from another Chronicle printed by the same society in 1856:—"Richard II., A.D. 1397. On the "morrow Ser Richard erl of Warwick was brought into the "Parlem^t into the said hale, and hadde the same jugement as the "erl of Arundel hadde; and as his counsel bade him, he confessed & saide that all he hadde do he dede be the counsel and "stirring of the duke of Gloucestre and of the erl of Arundelle; "trusting also in the holynes and wisdom of the Abbot of Saint "Albonez and of the Recluse of Westminster."

In the 3rd year of this Abbat's Rule the body of John Duke of Lancaster rested at this monastery on the way to London for interment; Henry Beaufort, the son of the deceased by Catherine Swinford, then Bishop of Lincoln, being admitted under certain restrictions, to perform the exequies in person (Newcome, p. 279); and in September of the same year King Richard and Henry, now Duke of Lancaster, lodged at St. Albans on their way to London. The day after arriving the King was had from Westminster to the Tower.

¹ Thomas of Woodstock, one of the younger sons of Edward III.

The two Houses forthwith met in Westminster, and the resignation of the King was read. Upon which the Bishop of Carlisle rose from his seat and stoutly defended the cause of the King; affirming that there was none among them worthy or meet to give judgment upon so noble a prince. Then the Duke of Lancaster commanded that they should lay hands on the Bishop and carry him to prison to St. Albans. He was placed in confinement in the Abbey, and brought before Parliament as a prisoner on the 28th of October. To gratify the pontiff the new king signed his pardon and eventually preferred him to the Rectory of Todenham. (Holinshed and Lingard.)

Shortly after the body of the King was brought, unattended by any of the nobility, to the Church of the Friars, at King's Langley, for interment; the Bishop of Chester with the Abbats of St. Albans and of Waltham performed the funeral obsequies. Fourteen years after, on the accession of Henry V., the body was transferred to Westminster.

The contest sustained by this Abbat against the Abbat of Westminster for priority of seat in Parliament is given in full by Newcome.

Harleian MS. 602, is a book of memoranda which seem to have been brought together by his order.

He died on the morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude, A.D. 1400, and was buried in the Abbey. But from an entry in the Patent Rolls (pat. 3 Henry IV., p. 1) his death appears not to have been announced to the king before Nov. 14, 1402.

On the 15th of December of the same year consent was given by the king for the election of a successor (Fun. Monuments, 561).

WILLIAM HEYWORTH, 32nd Abbat, succeeded in 1400 or 1401.

In the year 1413 Henry V. came to the throne, and the King in council determined to fetch the bones of King Richard II. from Langley to London, and to bury them at Westminster Abbey and "there was don a dirige ryally, and on the morwe the masse "was solempny songon" (Chronicle of London, Harleian MS. 565, and Cott. MS. Julius B 1.)

The Abbat resigned in 1420 on being promoted to the See of Lichfield by Papal Bull, dated November 20, 1419. He was consecrated in the chapel of the Bishop of London at Fulham, on Sunday, December 1, in that year; and died 1446 or 1447 and was buried in St. Albans Abbey. (Antiq. of the Cath. of Lichfield, by Thos. Abingdon, London, 1717.)

The Register Book of St. Albans Abbey—a MS. in the Library of C. C. C. Camb.—contains an interesting detail of the election of William Heyworth, at which John of Wheathampsted assisted; as he had before done when John Moot was appointed. The names are given of each of the society who voted, and of those in favour of whom the suffrages were given. John of

Wheathampsted, Prior of Tynemouth, by appointment of the Scrutators, declared the number of votes : those for William Heyworth being 40 in number, and for Wheathampsted himself, 4 ; and then he pronounced Heyworth to be duly elected. Wheathampsted had voted for him, and so also had John Stoke, Prior of Bynham, the successor of Wheathampsted.

There is much diversity of dates assigned to the several occurrences above referred to (see Coles Add. MSS. 5828—Fasti Eccles. Ang. by John Le Neve, and Gough's Sep. Mon.)

A Bulla or Papal seal was found in 1852 below the surface of the earth near the Chapel of the Virgin and close to several human skeletons lying side by side. It bears the traces of having been appended to a document by means of a slip of parchment. The heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are, as usual, on the one side and the name of John 23 on the other. This pope occupied the papal chair during the rule of Abbat Heyworth ; but nothing occurs during the existent history of his abbacy to which the issuing of a papal ordinance would attach. It has been suggested that this may have been the property of one of the persons who lay buried near ; and that it was attached to a certificate of his having made a pilgrimage to Rome, or to some similar credential.

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTED, S.T.P., 33rd Abbat, was the son of Hugo and Margaret Bostock, and surnamed from the place of his birth. Mr. Boutell in his Monumental Brasses and Slabs, p. 108, records the memorial of his parents in the church at Wheathampsted, and gives the Latin inscription at the foot of the two figures. By comparing it with a known composition of this Abbat in a MS. copy of Valerius Maximus, presented by him to the University of Oxford, he shows the great probability that the inscription was composed by the Abbat. He goes on to remark that, as the shield above the head of the lady is charged with the bearings of Heyworth,—arg. 3 bats, with wings extended, sa.—as exhibited on an adjacent brass, to the memory of John and Eliz. Heyworth, which John died 20 December, 1520 ; and as the predecessor of Wheathampsted in the abbacy was a William Heyworth, possibly this Abbat may have been nephew (sister's son) to his predecessor.

A third inscription, beneath the effigies, of a man and woman in marble with their two sons and one daughter, records the burial of John Heyworth, of Mackeyrend, and Joane his wife The saide John Heyworth deceased the 25th day of December, anno Dom. 1558.

This evidence to the maiden name of the Abbat's mother seems to be conclusive ; and it may also be inferred with some probability, that the family were in hereditary possession of the estate of Mackeyrend, or Makaryend. But The pedigree of John Bostock, Abbot of St. Albans (Harleian MSS. 139, fo. 97),

records that "his father was Hugh Bostok, or Bostock, of Wheathampsted, in the county of Hertford, and his mother Margaret, "daughter of Thomas Makery, Lord of Makeyrend, in the same county." So that this document, while it confirms the monumental records, as to the Christian name of the Abbat's mother, and the place of residence of her family, is at issue with them as to the surname. The evidence existent in the church will probably be accounted the more worthy of acceptance.

In order to recruit the funds of the monastery, this Abbat restored an old practice of admitting into the fraternity (Harl. MS. 3775, fo. 8) many gentlemen and ladies of high rank. It is recorded in Cotton MS. Nero, D 7, that Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Jaqueline, Duchess of Holland and Haynault, his wife, were admitted in 1423, and in a subsequent page is enrolled the admission, in full chapter, of Eleanor, wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, VII Kald. of July, 1431. This admission into the brotherhood imposed no monastic severities, nor gave any new civil privileges; but it was a token of esteem and honour of religion: and those admitted were allowed to vote in chapter.

We read in the same MS. that he erected in the Church, over against the shrine, a certain small Chapel—quandam Capellulam. This is perhaps the watching Tower mentioned in page 61.

He directed that a copy be made of the postilla (comments) of De Lyra on the whole Bible, to which the historian annexes the prayer, God grant that this may have a happy result for our people.

In the 18th year of his government, he procured Royal grants of land in various adjacent manors; and in order to secure himself from the accusation of any irregularity, he procured a pardon to be granted him, which from the many heinous offences it includes, seems rather to give a picture of the enormities habitually committed in those days than of the personal irregularities of the Abbat. It will be found in Cott. MS. Claud. D 1, fo. 147, and runs thus,

Henricus Dei gratia, &c. . . . perdonavimus eidem Abbati
 " . . . pro omnimodis prodicionibus—murdris—raptibus mulie-
 " rum—rebellionibus—insurrectionibus—feloniis—conspirationibus
 " . . . per ipsum perpetratis."

Wheathampsted, induced probably by the decline of his friend the Duke of Gloucester, and by foresight of evils coming upon the nation, after ruling twenty years, resigned in the presence of a certain clerk, Matthew Bepset, and other officers of the monastery,¹

¹ There is in the Bodl. Lib. a MS. on vellum, folio, in fine preservation, entitled, *Secunda pars Valerii Maximi per dominum De Burgo elucidata*. The first page is illuminated, and on the last is written, *Hunc librū ad usum scolarm studiencium Oxonie assignavit vener: pat dñs Johēs Whethmstede olim Abbas Monast. Sci. Alb.* From this it would appear that the work was given by him after his resignation of the Abbey, and before his re-election.

and was succeeded by John Stoke, 34th Abbat, in 1440. In this same year the Duchess of Gloucester, Alianor Cobham, was imprisoned in the Tower for witchcraft, and there is a detailed account of her doing penance through the streets of London on several successive days in a Chronicle of London, from 1080 to 1483. (Harl. MS. 565, and Cotton MS. Julius B 1.)

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who died at Bury, Feb. 28, 1447, was buried in this Abbey (p. 49); and we learn from Nero D 7 that this Abbat was the builder of his monument. A schedule of the charges for making the tomb, and for perpetual masses, &c., is preserved in Claudius A 8.

Historians differ as to the time of this Abbat's death; some assigning it to the year 1451, probably influenced by the resumption of the rule by Wheathampsted in that year—others accounting him to have vacated at that time, and died in 1462.

John of Wheathampsted was re-elected 1451, and in the *Hist. de Rebus Gestis*, &c., is printed the process of the re-election, from the MS. *Chronicon* of Wheathampsted, in the Herald's College. The transactions of this Abbot under his second rule, are chiefly taken from this MS.

About the time of his re-election he gave to this church a pair of organs, on which and their erection he expended fifty pounds. No organ in any monastery of England was comparable to this instrument for size, and tone, and workmanship. (*Chronicon* above-mentioned.)

At this time the contentions began between the Houses of York and Lancaster; and the first blow was struck at St. Albans, 23 May,¹ 1455. The battle was fought in Key Field, south-east of the town. The Lancastrians were defeated, and the King, Henry VI., having been discovered in the house of a tanner, was made prisoner and conducted by the Duke of York to the shrine of the Saint, and the next day to London. (*Walsingham's Hist. Ang.*)

An account of this battle will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. 519, by John Bayley, Esq., F.S.A., of H.M. Record Office. It is copied from a MS. in a coeval hand, found in the Tower among a large quantity of private letters, and accounts of Sir William Stone, Knight, who, from his correspondence, appears at this time to have been much about the Court; and was also a steward of the Abbat of St. Alban. On comparing the writing with some of the other papers, it seems to be in the hand of Sir William himself.

Particular circumstances connected with this battle will also

¹ Historians differ as to the day of the month, but *The Grafton Chronicle* and the best authorities agree on the 23rd.

be found in the Paston Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 80, 100, 104, 118, and vol iii. pp. 220, 250.

In 1459 King Henry VI. passed his Easter at the Abbey; ordering his best robe to be delivered to the prior on his departure. Dugdale gives a long extract from an interesting account of this visit, recorded in the Chronicon of Wheathampsted, in the Library of the Herald's College, see p. 95.

On Shrove Tuesday, the 17th of February, 1461, the second battle of St. Albans was fought, when Queen Margaret compelled the Earl of Warwick to retreat with considerable loss; and the person of the King fell again into the hands of his own party. The battle was fought on Bernard Heath, north of the town. No one of distinction is recorded to have been slain but Sir John Grey of Groby, the husband of Elizabeth Woodville, afterwards Queen of Edward IV. He, in the company of other twelve, had been made Knight, in the town of Colney, on the preceding day. (See Grafton's Chronicle and Stow's Annals, also remarks on the monumental brass of Sir Anthony de Grey, p. 65.)

The King and Queen and the Prince of Wales went to the Abbey the day after the battle; and the Abbat and Monks led them to the Altar to return thanks. (Stow's Annals.)

Early in the following month the Earl of March was proclaimed King by the title of Edward IV.

According to Hallam (Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 488 note) the Abbey of St. Alban was stripped by the Queen and her army after the second battle fought at that place; which changed Wheathampsted the Abbat and Historiographer from a violent Lancastrian into a Yorkist.

Edward IV. (late the Duke of York), granted to this Abbat power to hold Pleas of all Felonies, in as ample a manner as was usually assigned by Commission to the Judges of Assize. There was given a full power of life and death, and the cognizance of all the most capital offences. Even treason was cognizable in this court. These powers remained in force until 24 Henry VIII. and then the authority sunk down to its former and ancient level, as when the liberty was first granted to Geoffrey of Gorham, in the time of Henry I. (See a Copy of this Charter in Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, vol. i. Appendix, No. 1.)

He caused the old Chapel dedicated to St. Andrew, which stood on the north side of the west door of the Church, to be demolished. (Claud., D 1, fo. 157, Acta Joh. de Wheathampsted, per Joh. Ammundesham Mon. St. Alb.)

In order that there might be a decorous and fitting place of prayer to God, who dwells in the hearts of his faithful people, he erected at his own cost the Chapel which we see near the north side of the Church of St. Albans, about to be solemnly conse-

crated to the honour of St. Andrew the Apostle. (Nero, D 7, fo. 42.)

Putting these two records together, we may perhaps pronounce that they both refer to the ruins of an extra-mural Chapel, laid open by Mr. Gilbert Scott, at the western end of the north aisle of the nave; the inference being further strengthened by the different dates of the fragments found.

In the year 1462 he presented a petition to the new sovereign Edward IV. on the impoverished state of the Abbey. The King granted a new Charter of Privileges, by which the civil power of the Abbats was greatly augmented, and a kind of palatine jurisdiction vested in them; in many respects similar to those lately enjoyed by the Sees of Durham and Ely.

If we admit with Hearne (Preface to Wheathampsted's Chronicle) that none could by the Canon be ordained priest before they were twenty-five at soonest, and Wheathampsted was ordained in 1382, he must have lived to above a hundred. And this is corroborated by the circumstance, that when he accepted the government of the Abbey a second time he speaks of himself as old and infirm.

Bale (Illust. Script. Maj. Bryt. Basil 1557,) has given a list of the works written by this Abbat; and it has been copied by Thos. Hearne in his *Duo Rerum Script. Vet.*

WILLIAM ALBAN, 35th Abbat, was elected and confirmed by the King, probably in 1463 or 1464.

In the Bodleian Library there is a Register of the Acts of William Alban, Abbat of the Monastery of St. Alban. It is a miscellaneous collection, and not confined to the rule of this Abbat.

WILLIAM OF WALLINGFORD, 36th Abbat, had been Prior and Archdeacon. He erected the screen over the High Altar, which had been designed by Wheathampsted. In Nero, D 7, it is recorded that this Abbat constructed a Chantry Chapel for the place of his own burial, at a cost of £100 sterling, situated in the south part of the Church, near the High Altar; but there is much doubt in the present day as to the spot where it stood. The prevailing opinion is, that it occupied the space in the aisle between the Chantry of Wheathampsted and the door of the Saints' Chapel, where there is now an altar-tomb without an inscription. But some are inclined to consider, that the remains of it are seen in the extra-mural structure by the south door mentioned in pp. 48 and 54.

The art of printing had been brought into England by Caxton, and the earliest historical work printed in England issued from his press in 1480. It is entitled "The Chronicles of England;" and was apparently derived from the Cotton MS. Galba 8. The edition of the Chronicle, which was printed at St. Albans in 1483, is erroneously called the "Fructus Temporum." The last named

work was compiled by a Schoolmaster of St. Albans from Caxton's Chronicle, with the addition of brief excerpta from Holy Scripture. (Mon. Hist. Br. General Introduction.)

There is a copy of the "Chronicles of England" with *the frute of times* in the Collection of the Earl Spencer and another in the Royal Library Brit. Mus., having the arms of the Abbey at the end; and, on a fly leaf at the beginning, in writing, "Peter Thompson—Bought at Mrs. Bacon's sale. I. West. Given me by my worthy colleague in Parliament for the Borough of St. Alban, the above Sir Peter Thompson."

The prologue begins "Insomuch that it is necessary," &c.

Sir Henry Chauncy assigns the name of *Insomuch* to the Printer; and apparently, as has been remarked, from some unaccountable misapprehension of the first three words of the prologue.

The earliest book printed at St. Albans was "Rhetorica Nova Fratr̃is Laurencii Gulielmi de Saona, 1480." There is a copy of it preserved in the Library of the Earl Spencer, another in the University Library at Cambridge, and a third in the Royal Lib. Br. Mus. The last ends thus, "*Compilatum autem fuit hoc opus in Almâ Universitate Cantabrigie. . . . Impressum fuit hoc presens opus Rhetorice facultatis apud villâ Sancti Albani, A. D. 1480.*"

The first treatise on hunting which ever issued from the press was "The Boke of Saint Alban," written by Dame Juliana Barnes (otherwise Berners) the Prioress of Sopwell, and printed in the Monastery in 1486. There is a copy in the Collection of the Earl Spencer and another in the University Lib. Cambridge.

It may be added that, in the Library of King Edward VI.th's Grammar School, in the Lady Chapel of the Abbey, there is a copy of Geoffrey Chaucer's translation of Boethius de Consolatione, printed by Caxton.

A very beautiful MS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace is thus described in the printed Index:

"6. Codices MSS. in folio, Sec. 15. The St. Albans Chronicle "as it is called, enriched with miniature paintings of the most exquisite beauty, and finely preserved. It begins, 'Here begynne the cronicles of kynges of Englonð sith the tyme that it was first inhabit; and of their actes as by dyērs auctores is declared and testified.'

"See the account of this work as printed in 1497 by Wynkyn de Worde. (Ames' Typograph. Antiq. edit. Herbert, vol. i. p. 133.)

"In the colophon to Wynkyn de Worde's publication, the work is said to have been compiled and also empyrnted by one sometime scole mayster of Saint Albans.

"Pits and Bayle speak of a schoolmaster or reader of history in

“ the Monastery of St. Alban, who had collected materials for a “ history of England, but died before he had completed the same.”

This Abbat was very prudent in the management of the affairs of the Abbey, and resolute in the defence of its rights. Some claims against him by Archbishop Bouchier, upon appeal to the Court of Rome, were decided in the Abbat's favour. (Newcome.)

His labours for the advantage of the Monastery in the several offices of Prior, Archdeacon and Abbat, are enumerated in MS. Nero, D 7.

All chroniclers seem to be agreed that he died in 1484, though his successor was not appointed until 1492.

But during this interval two remarkable documents were issued which seem to have dropped out of general history.

They are given in the Appendix to the Monast. Anglic. but the matter they refer to is not embodied in the text ; nor has the compiler met with it in any other history.

1. A Bull of Innocent VIII. for the reformation of exempt monasteries and other religious houses, dated Rome, A. D. 1489, in the 6th year of his Pontificate.

It opens with the declaration that it has come to the ear of the Pontiff that some monasteries in England have greatly deviated from rectitude. He therefore urges on the Archbishop that he visit every superior monastery in his province within a certain range, and effect a reformation both of Chapters and individual members of those establishments, and bringing them back to conformity with the rules and ordinances of the several Orders to which they belong ; and giving to the Archbishop full authority to displace, excommunicate and interdict—resorting also, if necessary, to the secular arm—for carrying his judgments into effect.

2. A monition from the Archbishop reciting the Bull which had been addressed to him as Legate. He states that instances had come to his own knowledge of simony, usury, dilapidations, lavish expenditure, and even great violation of good morals. He therefore admonishes the Abbat and brotherhood living within the walls, and also the prioresses of Pré and Sopwell, and others in the Priors and Cells subjected to the Abbat, that within sixty days after the delivery of these presents, and affixing copies of them to the doors of the Conventual Church, all things be reduced to order. If reformation be not effected within the time allowed, then after thirty days the Archbishop would visit in person or by commissioners appointed by him.

Acta hæc omnia Lamethith (Lambeth), Westminster, A. D. 1490, mensis vero Iulii die quintâ.

THOMAS RAMRYGE was 37th Abbat ; whose name was originally Ramrugge, from a place so named near Kimpton. Though

his predecessor died in 1484, he was not appointed (as before mentioned) until 1492.

Newcome conjectures that this circumstance may be attributed to the King's displeasure on finding that Catesby, the great seneschal of the Abbey, was among the traitors at Bosworth.

There is an interesting picture in the Collection of MSS. in the British Museum (Cole, vol. xxx. fo. 14) headed, "The Parliament holden at Westminster the fourth of february the third yeare of our Sovereigne Lord Kinge Henry the 8th, A. D. 1512," during the Rule of Abbat Ramryge, in which the figure and dress of each ecclesiastic dignitary walking in the procession is depicted. Each has his coat of arms over his head. It commences with Abbats walking in pairs according to the rank of their abbeys—the lesser houses preceding. The first pair are the Abbat of Tewkesbury and the Prior of Coventry. This is the only Prior in the procession; and the shield over him is blank, though with a line of impalement. Many have not their family arms, the sinister being left blank. The Abbats of St. Albans and Westminster are the last pair. The arms of both are given; but there is no figure under those of Westminster; from which we may infer that he was absent. All the Abbats, with two exceptions, have exactly the same dress, consisting of a plain cassock and cap, with an ample robe of purple having folds behind as a hood; none of the Abbats wear mitres. The Bishops wear the same simple caps as the Abbats, only the Archbishops who close the procession wear the mitre. The arms of Ramryge are—*gu. on a bend or, three eagles displayed gu. in chief a lion rampant, and in base a ram rampant gardant ar.*

Not the least history of this Abbat's rule has been transmitted to us. But we learn from Willis (Mitred Abbeyes, vol. i. p. 25), that he wrote a book, "De Gestis Abb^m. Mon^m. et benefact^m. St. Alb. Monast."¹ And the Landsdown MS. 160, contains the following minute of the Court of Star Chamber, 20 Henry VII. 1505, "of the Abbot of S. Albones 80 lib. for the discharge of a fine of 100 lib. for the escape of one Js. Banester cōvict of felony."

This entire want of information, Newcome remarks, can be accounted for on no other supposition, than that the first plunderers after the surrender of the Seal on the Dissolution of the Abbey, seized all the Writings and Registers, as being evidences of the Estates and Properties belonging to the House.

This Abbat is portrayed in prayer to the Holy Trinity, in Cotton MS. Nero, D 7; and there is an engraving of the portrait in the

¹ The work is quoted by Weever (Funeral Monuments), who saw it in MS. in the Library of the British Museum, Cotton Collection, Otho B 4.1, since burnt. The precise title of the MS. as given in Smith's Catalogue is "Gesta paucula Ab. Joan. Whethampsted de tempore illo quo præfuit primo in Officio Pastoralis."

Royal and Ecclesiast. Antiq. of England, by Jos. Strutt, London, 1773. The time of his death is very uncertain.

THOMAS WOLSEY—Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal—succeeded as 38th Abbat. He was invested with the Temporalities on the 7th of December, 1521, and held the Abbey in commendam,¹ granted at Rome the following year.

This latter process was such a violation of the Canon Law, and such an invasion of the rule and government in which Abbeys had been held, that it seemed to portend some fatal blow to the monastic institutions (Newcome). The two instruments will be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*.²

There is an interesting letter from Richard Pace³ to Wolsey, dated Windsor, the 13th day of November, detailing the interview between Henry VIII. and a deputation of the Monks of St. Albans at Windsor Castle upon the death of their Abbat, petitioning for licence to choose a new Abbat. The original will be found, Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B 4, fo. 197—and it has been published in the Collection of Original Letters by Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1846.

Mr. Ames (Typographical Antiq.) remarks that there was no printing at St. Alban's during the Abbacy of Cardinal Wolsey; and that probably he put a stop to printing here, having previously shewn his disapprobation of it in a convocation held in St. Paul's Chapter House; telling the clergy that if they did not in time suppress printing, it would be fatal to the Church.

There is no record remaining, that he even came down to take possession; nor of any act done by him with reference to this Monastery during his commendamship, which lasted till his downfall, except the gift of plate to the Monastery (of which a note is preserved in the Cotton Lib. Titus, B 1, fo. 80), and the following presentation in right of his abbacy. "I find William Wake-field inducted into the vicarage of St. Peter's in the town of Saint Albans, by virtue of the letters of Thomas, Lord Cardinal and Archbishop of York, and Abbat of Saint Albans." (Cole, MS. Brit. Mus.)

¹ *Commendam* is a benefice or ecclesiastical living, which, being void, is committed (*commendatur*) to the charge and care of some sufficient clerk, to be supplied until it may be conveniently provided of a pastor (Godwin's Repertorium, 230). The law respecting *commendam* has been abolished by 6 and 7 Gul. IV. c. 77.

² Pro Cardinali Eborum de Restitutione Temporalium S. Alb. teste Rege apud Westmonasterium septimo die Decembris, A. D. 1521, and the other, pro Cardinali Eborum, Monast. S. Alb. commenda, per Adrianum papam sextum. Dat. Romæ A. Incarn. 1522 Sexto Id. Novembris.

³ Pace was a learned priest and considerable statesman. He was sent for to the court of Henry VIII., who appointed him secretary of state, and employed him in several important negotiations. On the death of Leo X., Cardinal Wolsey sent him to Rome for the express purpose of endeavouring to obtain for him the Papal chair.

ROBERT CATTON, 39th Abbat—*i.e.*, Robert Bronde of Catton, was *elected* to save appearances, but really *appointed by the King*, being promoted from the Priorate of Norwich. (*Wharton's Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 420.) The Royal Agents and Ministers lived as guests in the monastery, and held rule over all. However, the letter from Petre, one of the Commissioners (Cleopatra, E 4, fo. 43—copied in the Mon. Ang. and Newcome, p. 439—and published by the Camden Society), shows the Abbat to have been a difficult subject to manage.

His signature stands first of the Abbats, having seats in the Upper House of Convocation, who signed the Articles agreed upon in 28 Henry VIII., A.D. 1536, which were afterwards confirmed by the king, and published in his name and by his authority.

The original exists in the Cottonian Lib. Cleop. E 5.

In his time the art of printing was again revived at St. Albans, and was practised in the precincts of the Abbey by John Hertforde. A work in English Verse was printed in 1534, entitled, "The glorious lyfe and passion of Seint Albon, prothomartyr of Eng-
"lande, and also the lyfe and passion of Saint Amphabel, which
"converted Saint Albon to the fayth of Christe."

The Colophon ends—"Whose lyves were translated out of
"french and latin into Englyshe by John Lydgate monk of Bury;
"and now lately put in print at request of Robert Catton Abbat of
"the exempt monasterie of Saynt Albon, the xxvi yere of our
"souveraigne lorde Kyng Henry the eyght, and in the yere of our
"Lord God MDXXXIIII."

It appears from the Act of Restitution to his successor of the temporals on approval of the election by the King, that this Abbat was deprived and superseded in his lifetime. The clause runs thus: "post privationem legitimam Roberti Catton ultimi Abbatis ejus-
"dem loci vacantis" (Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 14, p. 587, A.D. 1538, 29 H 8).

RICHARD BOREMAN, S.T.B., alias Stevynnache,¹ the 40th and last Abbat, was chosen by the Royal interest, and put in to execute the instructions of the King and parliament with a better grace.

He surrendered the Abbey on the 5th of December, 1539, and delivered the Conventual Seal to the Visitors appointed by the Crown.² The seal, which is of ivory, is now in the British

¹ In Hertfordshire.

² The general form in which most of the surrenders were written was pre-
faced by the declaration that "the Abbot and Brethren upon full deliberation,
"certain knowledge—of their own proper motion—for certain just and
"reasonable causes especially moving them in their souls and conscience, did
"freely and of their own accord give and grant their House to the King."
(Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 14, p. 604.)

The number of monasteries suppressed—first and last—in England, accord-

Museum. Thomas Walsingham, in his *Hist. Angl.*, recording the attaching the Seal of the Monastery to an agreement between the Monastery and the Town of St. Albans, in the time of Richard II., speaks of the Seal as being of very high antiquity. It is remarkable that it should bear the inscription, *Anglorum, P.M.*, as the date of the martyrdom was much more remote than the arrival of the Angles in Britain (see page 55).

The *Archæological Journal*, 1854, p. 261, exhibits a seal of Peter Bishop of Beauvais, A.D. 1123, very similar to this.

A Copy of the Surrender from the Original in the Augmentation Office, signed by the Abbat ("Ricardus Stevynnache") the Prior, and 37 Monks will be found in Dugdale; and also a list of all the Lands, Manors, Rectories, &c., of the Monastery, and the respective values of them at the time of the Dissolution.

The King assigned to Boreman a yearly pension of £266 13s. 4d.; and various allowances to Monks of the Abbey. The Abbat and twenty of these Monks were surviving on the accession of Queen Mary, A.D. 1553. (Willis' *Hist. of Mit. Parl. Abbeys.*) Clutterbuck, in the Appendix to vol. i. of his *History*, gives from the Original Roll a List of Pensions and Annuities granted after the Dissolution of Religious Houses in the county of Hertford, in the reign of Queen Mary.

The possessions of the Monastery were very quickly dispersed among the interested Courtiers, who had favoured the King's views. Several volumes of MSS. in the Laudian, and one in the Rawlinson Collection of the Bodleian Library, belonged to the Monastery of Saint Alban. One in the library of Exeter College, bears at foot a note that it is the gift of John Wheat-hampsted, the Prior to the Monastery of St. Alban; and he has

ing to Camden, was 643, together with 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals.



written at foot his usual anathema against those who shall purloin or injure it.

Leland (Collect. edit. London, 1770, tom. iv. p. 163) gives a list of works which he had seen in the Abbey Library: it is copied in the Monast. Anglic. edit. London, 1819-30.

Stevens (additional volume to Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1722) writes, "The Great Abbey of Saint Albans, in Hertfordshire—if the old lands were united together—is worth at this day, in all rents, profits and revenues, about two hundred thousand pounds a year, according to the improved rents of this day."

The Monastic Buildings, with all the ground lying round the Abbey Church and the Parish Church of St. Andrew, which stood on the north side, were granted to Sir Richard Lee in February, 1540; and he had scarcely gained possession when he began demolishing the whole.

In the ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of his Majesty's Exchequer, printed under the direction of the Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom is, under 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, an Indenture testifying the delivery made by the Solicitor-General to the Lord Treasurer, of deeds relating to lands conveyed to the Queen.

These documents are—1st, A deed bearing date 25th Nov., a^o Ed. VI. 5^{to}, wherein Sir Richard Lee, Knight, bargained and sold to the said Boureman, and to his heirs, the site of the late dissolved Monastery of St. Albans, &c. 2nd, A release from the same deed. 3rd, A letter of Attorney made by the said Boureman to James Oledale to take possession in the premises. 4th, A deed from Richard Boureman to the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors bearing date 29th Dec., 3rd and 4th years of the said King and Queen.

"Queen Mary, having an intention of restoring this Abbey, designed Abbat Boreman to preside over the new convent, which she had established here, if her death had not prevented it. I judge this favor to him might have been in consideration of his having been instrumental in preserving his church by purchasing it after the dissolution; and thereby putting a stop to the demolishing it; which the sacrilegious proprietors might have soon yielded to, for lucre of the materials." (Willis' *Mit. Par. Abbeys*.)

The Abbey Church continued in the Crown until the 12th May, 1553, when the Town obtained its Charter, (a transcript of which from the Original in the Archives of the Borough will be found in the Appendix to Clutterbuck's History) from Edward VI. empowering the Mayor and Burgesses to erect a Grammar School in the Church of St. Alban; and thus the Lady Chapel, with the Ante-chapel or Eastern Aisle, became detached from the great

body of the Church, which, by the same Deed, was granted to the Mayor and Burgesses for 400*l.* to be the parish Church of the Borough for the inhabitants of the late parish of St. Andrew; and all the Messuages, Lands, &c., within the late parish of St. Andrew to be reputed part and parcel of the newly-constituted parish of St. Alban, George Wetherall being appointed the Rector.¹

The following is the succession of Rectors, with the Dates of their respective Institutions :—

George Wetherall	12 May, 1553.
† William East	
† James Dugdall, M.A.	26 Feb. 1556.
Edward Edgworth, M.A.	5 March, 1578.
Roger Williams, S.T.B.	7 March, 1582.
† John Brown	
† Edward Carter.	20 Feb. 1662.
† John Cole, M.A.	16 Dec. 1687.
† John Cole	9 Sept. 1713.
Benjamin Preedy, B.A.	13 Sept. 1754.
Joseph Spooner	23 Jan. 1779.
John Payler Nicholson, M.A.	28 Nov. 1796.
Henry Small	4 July, 1817.
Henry J. B. Nicholson, M.A.	13 Feb. 1835.
Sir John Cæsar Hawkins, Bart. M.A.	18 Oct. 1866.
Walter John Lawrance, M.A.	30 Oct. 1868.

“Information of Abuses in the Suppression of Monasteries to Queen Elizabeth,” Harl. MSS. No. 6879, is to be found also in the Harleian Miscellanies, London, 1813, vol. x. p. 279; and the document is there headed by some remarks on the subject, chiefly taken from Warton’s Life of Sir Thomas Pope. The following

¹ Under the operation of the Municipal Corporation Act in 1835 the Advowson was sold by the Corporation and purchased by Dr. Nicholson, who has bequeathed it to the Bishop of the diocese.

† Marked thus were also Archdeacons of St. Albans. It seems impossible to ascertain at what time the first appointment of an Archdeacon as an Officer under the Abbat took place. We learn, however, from Mat. Par. that in 1129 there was an Archdeacon named Radulphus; and from Nero, D 7, fo. 31, in 1380, Johannes de Hethwithe; and, in Collect. Top. and Geneal. vol. vii. Art. 25, a list of the Archdeacons of St. Albans is given from 1415 to 1539, copied from the Registers now in the archives in the Abbey Church. Thos. Kyngesbury received a formal appointment of Archdeacon and Commissary from Abbat Robert Catton; but in 1536 the words “*authoritate regia*” are added to his Title.

† The Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the state of the Ecclesiastical Benefices in the year 1650 (the year after the murder of the King), found by their Inquest that “this Rectory was sequestered from one John Brown; and that Mr. Job Tookey, an able and godly minister, officiated the Cure.” Lambeth Lib. MSS. 902-922.

are extracts :—"Many of the abuses of civil society are attended
 "with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation the loss
 "of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit
 "resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and not im-
 "mediately perceived or enjoyed. The accuracy of this observa-
 "tion is fully exemplified by an attentive examination of the cir-
 "cumstances attending the dissolution of Monasteries ; than which,
 "in the words of the same author (Warton), scarce any Institutions
 "can be imagined less favourable for the interests of mankind.
 "And yet their suppression was immediately attended with many
 "and very serious evils. This great event was the cause of a
 "temporary but lamentable decline of literature, an extinction of
 "hospitality, an increase of domestic hardships by the oppression
 "of poor tenants, and a variety of other grievances, which occa-
 "sioned loud complaints at the time. . . . But it must
 "be recollected, that the greater part of these evils were not ne-
 "cessary attendants of reformation, but produced by the corrupt
 "and injudicious manner in which reformations was effected.
 ". . . . It may be truly said—however mortifying the
 "observation—that the actors in this great scene were in defiance
 "of the express prohibition of that Book which we possess through
 "their means—'doing evil that good may come.'"

A patent passed the great seal in the 15th year of James I. (1617), which is to be found in Rymer, "*Licentia specialis concessa Mariæ Middlemore ad inquirendum de treasure trove infra diversa Monasteria.* Witness ourself at Westminster, 29th day of April, 1617." The purport being to allow to Mary Middlemore, one of the maydes of honour to our dearest consort Queen Anne of Denmark and her deputies, power and authority to enter into the Abbeyes of St. Albans, Glastonbury, Saint Edmondsbury and Ramsay ; and into all lands, houses and places within a mile belonging to such Abbeyes, there to dig and search after treasure supposed to be hidden in such places.

Bede complains of the spoliation of Monasteries in his day by Rulers, Kings, and Bishops. (*Opera*, vol. viii. p. 1071.)



EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AND TRACES OF THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.



HE building has little of external ornament. Its form is that of a Latin Cross, the axis pointing about twenty degrees to the south of the east; and it consists of a *Nave, with its side Aisles, Central Tower, and the two Transepts, Choir with side Aisles, Eastern Aisle or Ante-Chapel of the Lady Chapel, and the Lady Chapel.* The most central parts are the most ancient, and are built of Roman bricks collected out of the ruins of Verulam.

The later portions of the structure are of stone from the quarries of Totternhoe in Bedfordshire.

The external *length*, from east to west, measures 548 feet four inches, and from the great east to west window 434 feet ten inches; length of the nave from the great west window to St. Cuthbert's Screen 215 feet; from the same to the Western Arch of the Tower 284 feet; the *width* between the outer faces of the transepts 189 feet six inches, and the height of the tower 144 feet.

The distance between the Altar Screen and that of St. Cuthbert is the same as that between the inner faces of the transepts, 175 feet four inches, thereby forming a Greek cross. These measurements have been obligingly taken by a friend, an architect, for the purpose of this publication; and they confirm those of Hawkesmoor in 1721, who makes the total length 550 feet. An error has at some time arisen in regard to the extreme dimension, which has been accounted 600 feet; and this statement has been too hastily adopted in successive descriptions.

The *Lady Chapel*, which appears to have been building from about the year 1280 to 1320, received great embellishment at the hand of Abbat Wheathampsted. This chapel and its ante-chapel formerly communicated with the general structure by three pointed arches; but these were blocked up and a public thoroughfare constructed in the year 1553. (See page 42.)

The walls of the *Retro Choir* or *Sanctuary* exhibit the intended insertions of flying buttresses, to counteract the thrust of the proposed stone roof, when this part of the Norman building was reconstructed in the 14th century. But the groining having been completed in wood, the buttresses were not required.

On the east walls of the *Transepts* traces still exist of the pitch of the roofs of the *Apsidal Chapels*, which formed an interesting

feature of the Norman structure. These Apses and the Norman Gables of the Transepts were removed in the 15th century. (See pages 71 and 82.)

The Cylindrical Turrets at the angles of the Transepts are of Norman date. *The History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Alban* by J. C. and C. A. Buckler, assigns to them, in their original state, a Conical Roof, like those on the Chancel of the Church of St. Peter in the East, Oxford. The Octagonal Turrets were formed at the angle of each transept, when the fronts of the transepts were changed from the Norman into early pointed architecture, by which a staircase in those angles became necessary as a means of communication; the windows occupying the full height from the level of the triforium to the gable.

The Gable Springers at foot of the towers shew the pitch of the original Norman *Roofs* of the transepts.

When the present depressed form of roof with gutters was substituted for the steep pitch, parapets were added to the walls, and the Norman cornice and buttresses were dismembered.

The *Great Tower* terminated in turrets at the four angles—circular, like those of the transepts; and probably presenting a general correspondence with them.

In the thirteenth century, the original finish of the tower gave way to an *Octagonal Lantern*; and this in its turn disappeared in the course of subsequent alterations; leaving the original Norman design injured by the loss of the turrets which surmounted the angles.

The Nave exhibits three periods of Architecture, which will be more particularly noticed when describing the Interior of the Building.

The *West Front* of the Norman Church presented a lofty group of gabled walls with towers measuring forty feet square on the outside, and extending to a breadth of a hundred and fifty-five feet.

The *Great Gateway* of the Monastery (page 28) is the only building except the Church, which has escaped destruction. It was until lately appropriated to the purpose with reference to which it was constructed, that of a gaol for the custody of prisoners in the jurisdiction of the liberty of St. Albans.

The Remains of *the Cloisters*, a hundred and fifty feet square, are visible against the south wall of the nave.

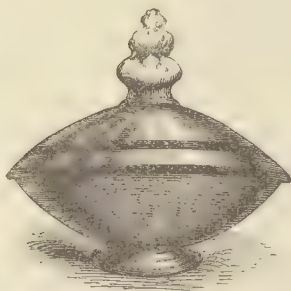
The *Chapter House* stood in front of the south transept, as in the Cathedrals of Exeter and Worcester; and also of Winchester, as traced by its ruins in the Dean's Yard.

The *Sacristy* was situated immediately under the east front of the south transept, and extended the whole length of it, joining on to the wall of the south aisle of the choir or sanctuary.

The Refectories, Dormitories, &c. were built south of the Cloisters, forming a range of buildings parallel with the Nave.

Doctor Stukeley (*Itiner. Cur. Iter* 5, dated 10th Oct. 1722), writes, "They have lately been working hard at pulling up the old foundations of the Abbey; and it is now levelled with the pasture, where, three years ago, you might make a tolerable guess at the Ichnography of the place. This very year they pulled down the stone tower or gate house on the north side of the Abbey, within a month after I had taken a sketch of it." He gave the Society of Antiquaries a drawing of the original ground plan of the Abbey.

There is also in the Royal Library of the British Museum a rough pen sketch by him of part of the foundations, dated 1721, and a very interesting drawing of the Abbey Church, and of some portion of the Conventual Buildings, particularly the South Gateway in the Abbey Mill Lane, by John Lievens, a pupil of Rembrandt, but without date.



Wesheyl (*Wæshal be whole*, Bosworth's Sax. Dict.), or Grace Cup, presented to the Abbey by Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, from 1345 to 1381, on the day of his admission into the Fraternity. MS. Nero, D 7.

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.



THE *Lady Chapel*¹ must not be omitted under this head ; although from its long separation from the Church (see p. 42) there is nothing left to describe beyond the structure itself. This however exhibits many features which are interesting to the Antiquary and Ecclesiastical Architect, as being executed in the best taste of the period in which it was built.

The Shrine of St. Amphibal occupied the centre of the Antechapel or Eastern Aisle ; and many persons of note, among whom were Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Clifford, were buried in the Chapel after the first battle between the Houses of York and Lancaster, fought at St. Albans May 23, 1455, in the time of Wheathampsted (p. 33). An account of the interment of these noblemen, with the Abbat's Oration or Sermon on the occasion, will be found in Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 203, extracted from the Chronicon of the Abbat in the Library of the Herald's Office.

The General Entrance of the Church is by the south door, which, the visitor will observe, has taken the place of the doorway into a Chantry Chapel, the remains of which are seen outside the wall of the building, having been constructed as a Side Chapel between the buttresses. There is an Ambrey on the right of the Altar ; and the entwined Roses of York and Lancaster are seen beneath.

When the Chapel was laid open in 1846, a stone-lined grave was also discovered, occupying the centre of the structure. No human remains were in it. The destruction of this Chapel probably took place on the building becoming a parish-church, and the tenant of the grave may have been removed and consigned to a second resting-place within the walls. The colour and gilding on the wall were at first very apparent, and even vivid in places. They are shown in a drawing executed at the time by Messrs. R. and A. Brandon, for the St. Albans Architectural Society. (See p. 35).

Abbat Wheathampsted expended on a new little chapel in the Church over against the shrine above seventy-four pounds. (Nero, D 7, fo. 27).

¹ Built under the rule of Hugh de Eversden, 1308 to 1326 ; and by the hands of Master Reginald, a native of the town.

The South Aisle of the Saints Chapel.

ON entering, the eye is drawn to the monument of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, fourth and youngest son of Henry IV. and Protector of the Kingdom during the minority of his nephew Henry VI. The structure is attributed by some to Abbat Stoke (see page 33); by others to Abbat John of Wheathampsted, who both preceded and succeeded him. The monument is sprinkled with wheat ears, the device of the latter. The figures in the canopied niches are considered by Sandford (*Genealog. Hist.*) to be the Duke's ancestors. Mr. Gough inclines to think them Kings of Mercia; and this opinion is very much confirmed by the circumstance of one of them bearing in his hand the model of a church, which has always been accounted indicative of the founder of one;—we should therefore pronounce the figure to be that of Offa.

The iron grating is generally considered to be of a date prior to the erection of the monument, and to have been intended to give to pilgrims and other visitors in the aisle a view of the shrine in the centre of the Feretory, or Saints Chapel.

On the east wall of the aisle is the following Latin Inscription, in honour of the Duke, probably the composition of John Westerman, Head Master of the Grammar School, in 1625, whose name is attached to a monumental record in the south aisle of the choir, to be noticed in its place :—

Piæ Memorix V. Opt.

Sacrum

Serotinum.

*Hic jacet Humphredus, dux ille Glocestrius olim,
Henrici sexti protector, fraudis ineptæ
Detector, dum ficta notat miracula cæci:
Lumen erat patriæ, columen venerabile regni,
Pacis amans, musisque favens melioribus, unde
Gratum opus Oxonie, quæ nunc schola sacra refulget,
Invida sed mulier regno, regi, sibi nequam,
Abstulit hunc, humili vix hoc dignata sepulchro;
Invidiâ rumpente tamen, post funera vivit.
Deo Gloria.*

Fraudis ineptæ Detector is an allusion to the pretended gift of sight to one born blind, on touching the Shrine of Saint Alban; which was detected by the Duke. (See Shakespeare's *Henry VI.* part 2, act ii. sc. 1.) *Gratum opus Oxonie*—the Divinity School at Oxford, founded by Duke Humphrey. He also commenced the collection of books now comprehended under the general name

of the Bodleian Library. But all the books presented by him were destroyed by the visitors in the time of Edward VI. except two volumes. One of them, a MS. on vellum is in the library of Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxon, and contains translations from Plato and other writers on moral and natural philosophy. The other, a MS. in the library of Oriel Coll. of Capgrave's Commentary on the Book of Genesis, is a large folio volume containing 181 leaves, written upon vellum in double columns and by his own hand. It is dedicated to Humfrey duke of Gloucester. On the fly-leaf at the end is the following remarkable inscription, written in a bold but not very clear hand:—"Cest livre est a moy Humfrey duc de Glou-
*"cestre du don de Frère Johan Capgrave qu'il me fist presenter a mon
 "manoyr de pensherst le jour de l'an MCCCCXXXVIII."* Invidiā sed mulier—the Queen Margaret of Anjou, by whose intrigues, and those of her partisans, certain articles were exhibited against him in Council, and he was arrested at St. Edmund's Bury. The night following he was found dead in his bed at St. Saviour's Hospital in Bury; slain, as some old writers record, by the hand of Pole, then Duke of Suffolk. "However," (observes Newcome), "providence seems to have avenged his death, in that utter ruin which fell on
 "the King, Queen, and all the nobility; for Gloucester being
 "dead, the people cast their eyes on the Duke of York, as being the
 "next legitimate heir, and thus raised up a terrible enemy and a
 "most destructive civil war."

The following dates and circumstances are extracted from p. 117 of the English Chronicle from 1377 to 1461, published by the Camden Society, 1856.

A.D. 1447.

"Feb. 23. And on the Thorsday next folowyng aftrē the ares-
 "tyng of the sey duke of Gloucetre, he deyde sone appon iij on
 "the belle at aftrenone at his owne loggyngē called Seynt Salua-
 "tores, without the Northgate; on whose sowle God haue mercy.
 "Amen.

"Feb. 24. And on the Fryday next folewyng the lordes spirituelle
 "and temporelle, also knyghtes of the parlement, and whosoever
 "wolde come saugh hym dede. And ageyne even he was bowelled
 "and rolled in seryd cloth and leyde in a cheste of leede, and thenne
 "aboue the leede a cheste of popeler boorde.

"Feb. 25. And on the Saturday next folewyng by the morewen
 "he was bore to the Greye Freres of Babbewede with xx torches of
 "his owne meynye; save the two zemen of the crowne and the ser-
 "geant of armes, ther was no mo strangeres that went with hym.

"Feb. 26. And on the Soneday folewyng at afternone the Abbot
 "of Seynt Albones dede his Dirige.

"Feb. 27, 28. And on the Moneday his masse. And on the
 "Tewesday they bruzt hym to the Newemarket and bood there

"at nyzt. And on the Wendesday at nyzt they lay at Berke-
wey."

"March 1, 2, 3, 4. And on the Thorsday they lay at Ware. And
"on the Fryday they come to Seynt Albones. And there was done
"his Dyryge, and on the morewe his Masse; and thanne put into
"a feyre vout whiche was made for hym by his lyffe and so closed
"and mured up: On whose sowle God haue mercy, and on alle
"Cristen sowles. Amen."

At the foot of the Tomb of Duke Humphrey is the Monumental
Slab of Abbat Ramryge, removed from its original position in his
Chantry Tomb, perhaps when the Ffarrington family were first
interred there. It is worthy of notice, as being an *Incised Slab*,
i.e. one in which the figure and inscription are complete in the
stone itself—a very usual style of art on the Continent: but the
far more general process in England was to imbed an engraved
brass plate or effigy in the stone. The legend in the margin is
Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas atque Indivisa Unitas.
quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam. Amen.

The space between the eastern extremity of Abbat Wheathamp-
sted's Tomb and the door of the Saints Chapel, now occupied by
an Altar Tomb, was probably the site of Abbat William Walling-
ford's Chantry Chapel.

The painted glass was introduced into the window opposite in
memory of Archdeacon Watson, D.D. who died in 1839, having
presided over the Archdeaconry of St. Albans for 23 years. It is
a general tribute of respect from the Clergy, by whom he was held
in very high esteem, and is the production of Mr. Clutterbuck, of
Stratford. The subject bears reference to the patron Saint, and
represents the point of time when Alban, having refused to offer
incense in an Idol Temple, is passing on to receive his Crown of
Martyrdom. The kneeling figure in front represents the Execu-
tioner, who is recorded to have been converted by the words and
the bearing of Alban.

Beneath this window is a *Table Monument*, the slab of which
was formerly that of an Altar, as is shown by the five crosses cut
upon it, one at each angle and one near the centre, corresponding
with the five wounds of our Saviour. (See the Service for the Con-
secration of an Altar in the Roman Pontifical, which directs the in-
cising of these crosses as part of the ceremonial.) But it is said
that they were also permitted to be cut upon the tombstones of
benefactors who had bequeathed gifts to be distributed at their
graves.

Gough (Sep. Mon. vol. i. Pref. cxxii.) records that, conversely
the Communion Table at Stow Bardolf, Norfolk, is made of the
slab of Sir Ralph Hare, Knight of the Bath, who died 1623.

Close by, on the floor, is the brass effigy of Rauff Rowlatt, mer-

chant of the Staple at Calais, an ancient Company of foreign merchants, incorporated by King Edward III. He was the lineal ancestor of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. The Estates of Gorhambury and Sandridge, with others, had been granted to him by Henry VIII. at the dissolution of the Monastery. His son dying without issue, his two daughters became his co-heiresses; Mary or Margery, the eldest, inherited Gorhambury, and married John Maynard, Esq. of Easting in the County of Essex, who sold the whole of his Estate in the neighbourhood of St. Albans to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Kt. afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was buried in St. Michael's Church.

Elizabeth, the younger, who inherited the Estates of Sandridge and Holywell, St. Albans, married Ralph Jennings of Churchill, in the County of Somerset, and from them descended three co-heiresses, one of whom, Sarah the youngest, purchased the thirds of her sisters, and married Colonel Churchill, afterward Duke of Marlborough: from him the Estates of Sandridge and Holywell devolved to the younger branch of the Spencer family.

The present Rectory pew formerly belonged to Holywell House, and was attached to the Rectory when the House was pulled down and the Estate divided into lots and sold in 1837. The carving of the pew exhibits a coat of arms, Quarterly of four (Churchill and Winston), bearing on an escutcheon of pretence Jennings; with a Baron's Coronet and supporters. Clutterbuck remarks that this pew must evidently have been fitted up in its present state soon after the repair of the Church, while the Duke of Marlborough was Baron Churchill of Eymouth or Sandridge.

The Saints' Chapel.

A VIEW is here obtained of the north face of Duke Humphrey's elaborate and elegant monument.

In the broad moulded cornice, between the canopies now destitute of figures, and the principal arch, are seven Shields bearing his Coat—the Royal Arms bordered Argent. The centre and two intermediate shields are surmounted by a helmet, lambrequin, and cap of maintenance, the others by a cap of state or coronet. The intervals between these Shields have been occupied by Antelopes, the Badge of the Duke. A writer in the *Hesperus Monthly Magazine* draws attention to the daisy flower (*marguerite*) in the sculptured coronet of the Duke, as being the device which had been chosen by the Queen Margaret, in allusion to her name, and which is still to be found in the margins of books illuminated for her. In a window of Ockwells House, Berkshire, where her Arms are

brilliantly painted, daisies are represented on the velvet between the bars of the crown. The window is engraved in vol. i. part 2, of Lysons' Mag. Brit.

In Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, there is a delineation of this monument made from the original in 1663. It exhibits as perfect much that is now mutilated, and represents all the niches on the north face as occupied by figures at that time.

The Cottonian Lib. in the British Museum contains *A Schedule of the Charges for making the Tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and for perpetual Masses, &c.* Claudius, A 8, fo. 195.

"In Queen Anne's time,¹ while they were digging a grave for "John Gape, Esq., who lies between St. Albans² and Duke "Humphrey, was found the vault of the Duke in a leaden coffin "full of pickle, and the corpse entire, with a beautiful crucifix "painted against the east wall at his feet, which is yet entire; but "the body is now decayed." (*Cole MSS.* 5836, bearing date Oct. 25, 1747); Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. 2, part 2, p. 143; and Salmon's History of Hertfordshire, 1728, speak of the state of the body and describe the crucifix.

There is also a picture on canvas of the appearance in the vault, taken at an unknown time since the discovery, and now in the Saints' Chapel for the inspection of visitors. On comparing the different descriptions with the original, as it now appears, it is evident that it has received additions—considered as embellishments—in later times. The four cups are remarkable features of the picture, but not singular; for the east window of the church at Bowness, Westmoreland, is occupied with stained glass taken from Furness Abbey, which represents the Crucifixion, and angels receiving into cups the sacred blood issuing from the wounds.

The remains of the Royal Duke, and of a leaden coffin which contains them, are now covered by a wooden case, visible through an iron gate at the entrance of the vault.

In July, immediately following the first great battle of St. Albans, 23rd of May, 1455, a parliament was holden in King Henry's name; and the first popular Act of the Assembly was to restore the memory of the Duke to honour: declaring him to have been a true subject to the King and Realm. (*Chronicon of Abbat John of Wheathampsted.*)

His virtues and public wisdom acquired him the honourable title of *the good Duke Humphrey*; but perhaps it is not so generally known that he added to his other merits and accomplishments invincible courage and consummate military skill. He received a

¹ A.D. 1703.

² More properly the site of St. Alban's shrine.

dangerous wound at the battle of Agincourt; and appears to have borne a distinguished part in all the warlike operations of his brothers in France. (Leland's Collectanea.)

The notion which prevailed before the discovery of the body, that he was buried in the Old Cathedral of Saint Paul's, in London, and that the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, of the House of Warwick, a drawing of which may be seen in the History of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by Dugdale, 1658, was his, gave rise to the proverb of *dining with Duke Humphrey*. A custom prevailed of strewing herbs before the monument in the Cathedral, and sprinkling them with water; and men who strolled about for want of a dinner were familiar enough with this tomb, and were said to dine with Duke Humphrey. (See Stowe's Survey of London.)

Messrs. Buckler are of opinion that the Chantry Chapel, south of this monument, of which we have already spoken, appertains to this tomb; observing that it stands with respect to the monument precisely like that of his Royal Father, Henry IV., attached to the south aisle of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, in Canterbury Cathedral. But it is difficult to understand, upon this supposition, for whom the grave in the Chantry Chapel was intended.

A stone in the centre of the Chapel indicates the place of the Shrine of Saint Alban, which is more particularly marked by a framework of Purbeck marble in the pavement. And this agrees precisely with the position assigned to it by Matthew Paris, the historiographer of the Abbey.

This stone, which has lately received a new inscription, previously exhibited the following:—*S. Albanus Verolamensis, Anglorum Proto-Martyr, 17 Junii 297.*

There are several records in this Church, which, though they relate to matters of distant antiquity, have always been accounted of recent origin, and this was one of them.

It is not noticed by Weever, in his *Anc. Fun. Mon.* 1631, though he dedicates twenty-six pages to the inscriptions in this Abbey Church, and gives some quaint lines in English verse relating to the martyrdom, which existed until lately on the east walls of the Chapel, very near to the Shrine. As far as the Compiler's researches have extended, it is first mentioned by Chauncy in 1700, followed by Salmon in 1728, in their Histories of the County of Hertfordshire; but it is remarkable that both of them, while professing to give a copy of the inscription, have "A. D. 293;" and this error has been continued in the reprint of Chauncy in 1826. An entry in the Cole MSS. Brit. Mus. dated Oct. 25, 1747, states that the stone was laid "not long since."

As the inscription had its origin in a dark age of our country, in

regard to her Church Antiquities, we need feel but little hesitation in calling its accuracy in question upon three points: first, the appellation *Anglorum P. M.* secondly, the day of the month, 17 *Junii*; thirdly, the year of the Martyrdom, 297.

The objection to the appellation *Anglorum P. M.* has long ago been urged, and renewed at intervals.

A Saxon MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, relating to the burial-places of the English saints, begins thus: "The first martyr of *Britain* reposes," &c. Matthew of Westminster in the fourteenth century observes: "*Britonem* non "*Anglum* extitisse; unde male dicitur *Anglorum* proto-martyr." Thomas Walsingham, in the fifteenth century, describes the common seal of the Abbey as a very ancient work of art, quo gloriosi protomartyris *Britannorum*¹ Albani figurabatur imago, tenens in manu palmam. In an ancient MS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Codex Memb. 6) "he (St. Albion) is cleped the first martir "of brytayn." Camden, Usher, and other later historians, use the same appellation in writing of Saint Alban.

It is very desirable, for the preservation of historic accuracy, that the precautions to which these writers draw our attention should be observed by us. But it claims our observance on much more important grounds than the preservation of historic accuracy merely for its own sake. It is materially connected with our own controversy with Rome; for by using the appellation *Anglorum P. M.* we seem to concede to her that Christianity had scarcely a recognizable existence in this island until the mission of Augustine, and that our Church stands in the position of an unnatural child disavowing its parent. Whereas, while we gratefully acknowledge the Christian love of Gregory, the author and the watchful promoter of the mission, and the zeal of Augustine in the process of reconverting to the Christian faith the large portion of our island which was then lying prostrate under pagan tyranny, we are able to show that a Church had been planted and had become consolidated long before Augustine's time; and that even when he arrived among us, the ancient British Church not only existed in distant holds, but forthwith gave proof of her discipline and strength by resisting the new observances which Augustine would have imposed upon her.

The second point calling for remark is the day of the month, which is supported by the authority of our present Calendar, and we may add *by it alone*. It would seem that the attaching the name of Alban to the 17th of June was a mere inadvertency

¹ And yet the seal itself (if that which is now attached to the Dissolution of the Monastery (p. 41) be the same as that in Walsingham's time) reads *Anglorum*.

when writing the Festivals against their respective days. Our own historian, Bede, both in his Ecclesiastical History and Martyrology—the foreign Martyrologists Rabanus, Ado and Notkerus, in the course of the ninth century—a breviary in the Brit. Mus. (Royal MS. 2 Ax.¹)—a chronicle in the Harleian Collection MS. No. 6217, translated from a Latin original, probably by a monk of St. Albans, not long after the death of Edward III.—three ancient Calendars of the Use of Salisbury, published by Maskell in his Monumenta Ritualia—the Liber Precum Publicarum, published by Royal Authority in the second year of Queen Elizabeth

¹ This MS. is interesting in connection with the present subject, as having the following entry in red letters at foot of the page containing the Kalendar for January. *Hic est liber Sancti Albani; quem qui abstulerit aut titulum deleverit Anathema sit. Amen.* The words are precisely the same as those in the Memorandum on the Cotton MS. Nero D 1. fo. 1. See List of Original Manuscripts. The practice of defending property by imprecations originated with the pagans, but was not for several centuries countenanced by the Church. They are, however, of frequent occurrence in the Eccles. MSS. of the middle ages.

No. 2798 of the Harleian Collection has the following fearful imprecations, at the end of the volume, by the hand which wrote the whole: *Quem si quis abstulerit, morte moriatur—in sartagine coquatur—caducus morbus instet eum et febres—et rotetur—et suspendatur. Amen.* Anglice, If any one take away this book, let him die the death—let him be fried in a pan—let the falling sickness and fever press upon him—let him be broken on the wheel and hanged. Amen.

Abbat Wheathampsted built a library in the Monks' College in Oxford, to which he gave many books; in some of which he writ these verses, for their better security:—

Fratribus Oxonie datur in munus liber iste
Per patrem pecorum prothomartyris Angligenorum
Quem si quis rapiat ad partem sive seponat
Vel Jude laqueum vel furcas sentiat. Amen.

Weever. Fun. Mon.

Last in order, but not least in interest, may be mentioned a similar malediction inscribed in cuneiform characters, by order of Tiglath Pileser I., the great Assyrian monarch, on two duplicate cylinders now in the British Museum. "Who-soever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders—or shall moisten them with water—or scorch them with fire—or expose them to the air—or in the Holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood—or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name—or shall divide the sculptures(?) and break them off from my tablets; May Anu and Iva, the Great Gods my Lords, consign his name to perdition!—May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be broken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemies! May Iva in his fury tear up the produce of his land! May a scarcity of food and of the necessities of life afflict his country! For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and his race perish." Extract from "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World," by Geo. Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. London, 1862.

(A.D. 1560)¹—an ancient Calendar in the Grafton Chronicle (A.D. 1564)—the Red Book of the Exchequer, containing the Regnal years of our Kings—an English Martyrology published in 1608—and the Roman Martyrology of Gregory XIII., published at Rome in 1749—with many foreign Calendars of great antiquity which have been consulted by the compiler—all assign the 10th of the Kalends of July (June 22) to the memory of Saint Alban. It is remarkable, too, and confirms the supposition of an accidental difference, that on comparing our present Calendar with the three of the use of Salisbury, there is not another instance of a Festival removed from one day to another in forming the present one.

The possibility has been suggested that mistake may in some way have arisen between XXII. and XXII.

As regards the year, historians vary in dates; ranging between 286, the 3rd of Diocletian and 305, the last of that Emperor. But not one of the ancient Chronologists consulted confirms the date 297 on the late inscription. Dugdale ("Monasticon," vol. ii. p. 179, n.), considering the period of time when the persecution commenced in Britain to be very uncertain, pronounces only that the martyrdom took place between the years 286 and 305.

The foregoing considerations led to the erasure of the old inscription and the placing of the following in its stead.

H. P.

SANCTI ALBANI

BRITAN: PROTOMART:

SUB DIOCLET: PASSI

FERETRUM.²

Anglicè. Here stood the shrine of Saint Alban, first martyr of Britain, who suffered under Diocletian.³

¹ In many subsequent editions of the Book of Common Prayer the name is dropped from the calendar; but it is resumed in 1642, in an edition by Barker cum. priv.; and then for the first time it is attached to June 17.

² Feretra were portable and used in processions; and these only could with propriety bear the name. When the Abbat of this Monastery addressed a petition to King Stephen, who was at that time his guest, the ceremony of approaching the monarch is thus described by Matt. Paris: "Allato Sancti Martyris (Stephani) et statuto ante pedes Regis feretro," &c. Hence we collect that the *Feretrum* in this passage is the *Reliquary*, or case containing the relics; not the complete structure which we understand by the term Shrine. Yet was it also given, Gough (*Sep. Mon.*) remarks, to the immovable fixed shrines as to our protomartyr at St. Albans (App. No. 3 ad Hemingford, p. 165.—Matt. Paris, *Vit. Abb.* p. 92)—Thos. à Becket's at Canterbury, Birinus' at Dorchester, Cuthbert's at Durham, and Edward the Confessor's at Westminster.

³ The Catacombs at Rome contain but one known monument of this the severest persecution experienced by the Ancient Church—the epitaph of Lannus; nor is this martyr mentioned in history. The inscription was discovered and published by Boldetti.—Lannus XPI. Martir hic requiescit sub Diocletiano passus.

Two very interesting Imperial Inscriptions, referring to the Nicomedian Decree, bear testimony to the fury with which the heathen raged, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed; and, at the same time, on being compared with the subsequent events of the Church, even then as it were awaiting their birth, they show the impotency of man's fury and the foolishness of man's counsel when striving against God. He that dwelleth in Heaven was laughing them to scorn; the Lord was having them in derision.

These inscriptions were discovered at Clunia in Spain, and are thus printed in Gruter's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Tom. i. p. 280.

Cluniæ in Hispan.
in pulchra columna

Cluniæ Hispan.

DIOCLETIANUS JOVIVS ET
MAXIMIAN HERCVLEVS
CAESS AVGG
AMPLIFICATO PER ORIEN
TEM ET OCCIDENTEM.
IMP. ROM.
ET
NOMINE CHRISTIANORVM
DELETO QVI REMPEVER
TEBANT.

DIOCLETIAN CAES
AVG GALERIO IN ORI
ENTE ADOPT SVPER
TITIONE CHRIST
VBIQ DELETA ET CVL
TV DEOR PROPAGATO

e. Schotti schedis.

E. Schotti schedis aliorumque.

Assuming these inscriptions to be genuine, the Imperial persecutors here triumph in the anticipation that the name of the Christians, who were overturning the State, and the superstition of Christ would be everywhere blotted out, and the heathen religion propagated; whereas, in nine years after, Constantine, the sole Emperor of Rome, set up the emblem of the Cross in public triumph in the city of Rome, and began to build up Christianity on the ruins of heathenism.

It scarcely needs mention that all *Remains of the Body of Saint Alban* have long since been abstracted from this sanctuary, built on the site of his martyrdom and over his grave. The occasional notices of them in the History of the Abbey reach to the time of Symon, the 19th Abbat; and we may suppose that what were accounted the relics of the Martyr at that time remained in the shrine until the dissolution of the Monastery, in 1539, or near upon it. No mention of them is to be found in any printed History or MS. so far as the Compiler's search has extended, nor is any tradition afloat upon the subject; except, indeed, that in the Appendix to

The History of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, by Dugdale, in 1658, the following memorandum occurs of relics preserved there, taken from an old Record in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. "Item unum vas argenteum deauratum ad modum cupæ factum, continens Reliquias Sanctorum Oswaldi, Albani et Dunstani."

It is not an unlikely circumstance to have attended the dissolution of a monastery at this time that some devout member of the fraternity, seeing the storm ready to burst, removed the relics to an asylum known only to himself and a few associates; and the remembrance of the asylum and of the relics died with them.

Mention has been made (page 5) of some memorial of our Martyr, taken out of his tomb and given to Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, about the year 429. The foreign Church Historians record that these relics were carried by him to Ravenna, and were afterward removed to Rome; whence they consider them to have been carried to Cologne, and placed in the Abbey of St. Pantaleon, about the year 980, by Theophania, wife of the Emperor Otho II. There they remained for many centuries, the Martyr being held in great honour under the name of *Albinus*; a modification which the name underwent that it might not be confounded with that of another Alban, the patron saint of Moguntium (Mayence). At length, in the year 1820, the Abbey of Pantaleon being occupied as a military establishment, and the Church appropriated to the Lutheran service, these relics were removed to the neighbouring Church of St. *Mary in Schnurgasse*; and the ancient Reliquary which contained them was placed in a wooden case over the altar of Saint Anne.

On a late occasion of visiting Cologne, the Compiler, having the advantage of a Letter of Introduction to the Curé of the Church, was favoured by him with a sight of the Reliquary and an account of the Relics contained in it, which are annually exhibited on the Sunday after the 22nd of June.¹ But upon the whole there is reason to conclude that they are not Remains of our martyr.

These Relics were the subject of a paper read by the Compiler at a meeting of the St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society, 23rd October, 1850, and subsequently printed by the Society.

In the year 1849, on occasion of relaying the pavement, a seal was found near the site of the Saint's Shrine; it is of bone, a material rarely used in the fabrication of mediæval seals, and it is remarkable that the ancient seal of St. Alban's Abbey (page 41) is of ivory.

It exhibits a very curious example of the military equipment

¹ See Remarks on the Festival of St. Alban, p. 60.

of a period which has left few authorities, except in illuminated MSS.



The date to which it may be assigned is about the earlier part of the twelfth century. There is observable in it a close resemblance to the seal of Milo de Gloucester, created Earl of Hereford in 1140, found some time since at Ludgershall in Wiltshire, a representation of which is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. 14, plate 47. All research has hitherto proved fruitless in the endeavour to ascertain any history of the warrior it portrays.

The surname of De Vierli may have originated from a place so called in the honour of Lithaire in Normandy; or it may have been connected with the parish of Virley in Essex, to the south of Colchester.

These remarks are extracted from a notice of the Seal obligingly communicated to the St. Alban's Architect. and Archæolog. Soc. by Mr. Albert Way.

In the East Wall of the Chapel, under the northernmost of three arches walled up at the Reformation, are the remains of an altar, lately laid open. A glass case covers a figure of an Archbishop, in distemper, bearing the name of *S^tus Willm^{us}*.

Saint William was Archbishop of York, A.D. 1140 to 1154. He was son of Lord Herbert by Emma of Blois, sister to Stephen, King of England—canonized by Pope Honorius in 1226. A full account of him, extracted from *Nova Legenda Angliæ* of Capgrave—*Hist. de Dunelmens. Eccles.*—*Acta pontif. Ebor. apud Twysden*—the *Monasticon* of Dugdale—and other authentic sources, will be found in *The Lives of the English Saints*, London, 1844.

Beneath is a coat of arms, Lozengy arg. and gu. There are several ancient delineations of the arms of this Archbishop existent—in the Cathedral of York—on the entrance door-way of St. William's College in that city,—and in a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

But these differ in some degree from the above, and from each other; all, however, bear the charge of lozenges.

The coat here given is precisely accordant with that which has been always borne by the Fitzwilliam family.

Matthew Paris records, that shortly after the ancient tomb of St. Alban had been found between the altar of St. Oswin and that of St. Ulstan, in the year 1257, the Archbishop of York came for the purpose of pronouncing an oration. This must have been Archbishop Gray: and perhaps this altar might have been adorned with the effigy of his canonized predecessor in honour of the occasion.

On the north side is seen the Watching Tower of carved oak, in which a monk was posted who was designated the Custos Feretri. Matt. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 92. In Cotton MS. Nero D 7 (being a Catalogue of Benefactors to this Abbey) mention is made of Robertus de Trunch,¹ custos feretri S^ci Albani, qui providit huic eccles. unam capam . . . in dorso cape textitur qualiter stirps jesse virgam produxit; and among the persons present at the second election of John of Wheathampsted was Nicholas Geywood custos feretri. The Shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey had the same protection (*Widmore's Hist. of West. Ab. App. No. 3*).

On the frieze of the structure was a series of carvings, representing the memorable events of Alban's history and other singular subjects: and on the upper part of the structure shields of arms, many of which are lost and the rest are much mutilated; but as very accurate drawings exist of them in the library of Charles Dimsdale, Esq. of Essendon Place, they may be restored at some future day. Gough remarks that the device of corn-harvest on the upper fascia seems to indicate that it was the work of Abbat Wheathampsted. Beneath are almeries or lockers, in which the reliquaries and sacred vestments were deposited.

Some idea of the use made of the sacred edifice during the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century may be formed from an inscription, effected probably by the point of a knife, and now almost obliterated, on the south side of the north door-way in the screen: *Hugh Lewis souldier in his Ma^{ies} Army taken prisoner at Ravensfield Northampton-scr y^e . . . day June 1645.*

This part of the Abbey Church has long been used as the Spiritual Court in which visitations are held, and is designated the presbytery. The seats under the central canopy in the screen are those of the Archdeacon and his officials. An inscription on the railings which encircle the court records that they are a votive offering in the year 1678, by a father on the recovery of his son

¹ His name occurs in a list of monks of this abbey living in the year 1380 (Nero D 7, fo. 31).

from sickness. Charles James, D.D.—the father—was at this time head master of the Grammar School.

By comparing this date with the record on the monument of the son in the south transept, it appears that he was at this time a child seven years of age.

The North Aisle of the Saints' Chapel.

This is of the Early Pointed Style of Architecture, but the north entrance door is of much later date.

On the roof is the sacred monogram, I. H. C. They are the radical letters of the name of JESUS in the Greek form. Subsequently in the Western Church it became transformed into I. H. S. the three letters being still representative only of the name. On the reliquary of Saint Alban at Cologne the sacred name is written JHESUS; and in the Chapel of Chénonceaux, near Amboise on the Loire, IHES. But in later times this symbol was adopted by the order of the Jesuits as their peculiar badge, and explained by them as composed of the initial letters of *Jesus Hominum Salvator*. See *An Argument for the Greek Origin of the Monogram I.H.S.* a paper read before the Cambridge Camden Society, May 25, 1841, and also the preface to a Catalogue of MSS. in the King's Library, Brit. Mus. by David Casley, London, 1734.

The Retro-Choir or Sanctuary.

The construction of this part of the Church may be referred to the latter half of the 13th century. The Holy Lamb of St. John the Baptist and the Eagle of St. John the Evangelist which adorn the ceiling are the cognizances of John of Wheathampsted.¹ Reference is made to these insignia of the Abbat in a Latin inscription over the Eastern Arch of the Tower. They were also placed by Wheathampsted upon the censers, basins, and other articles of plate which he provided for the Church.² The illumination of

¹ In a Chapel at Tittenhanger he caused to be painted on the walls the similitude of all the Saints of his own Christian name of John, with these verses:—

Cùm fero par nomen, par ferre precor simul omen.
Tum paribusque pari—licet impar—luce locari.—*Weever*.

² The Church has at intervals since the dissolution of the Abbey received contributions of money for repairs and restorations.

In A.D. 1612—James the First, by brief. "That monarch took a personal view of the structure as he made his progress into the north, and 'out of his princely zeal and pious inclination to preserve so antient a monument and 'memorable witness of the first conversion of this Kingdom from paganism

Wheathampsted's portrait in MS. Nero, D 7, in the Cottonian Library, is adorned with an Eagle volant and a Lamb passant; Mr. Gilbert Scott has remarked that a blue ground may be perceived in places where the later colour is defective, which goes to show that the ceiling was decorated at the time when this part of the structure was built.

In viewing this part of the building, the eye is soon drawn to the magnificent *Screen behind the Altar*—closely resembling that of Winchester Cathedral.

“to Christianity, granted a Brief for collections to be made throughout England and Wales, for the speedy repair of the same; and about two thousand pounds were thus collected; which was most justly and truly expended.”
(*An Old MS.*)

1681—Charles the Second, by brief. The East window bears date 1683 in stained glass, in record of the expenditure upon the building in that year; and at the same time the arms of certain nobility and gentry, who contributed, were hung up at the foot of the groinings in this part of the Church.

1689—William and Mary, by grant out of certain Ecclesiastical Funds.

1721—George the First, by brief.

1764—George the Third, by brief. On the petition of the Minister and Churchwardens, the Archdeacon, Mayor and others; stating amongst other particulars, that the south wall together with the great window is become very rotten; and is in great danger of falling into the Church. (This probably was the occasion when the window of the South Transept was framed in wood.)

1832—William the Fourth, by voluntary contributions, chiefly in the County of Hertford. Great repairs and improvements were effected by Mr. Cottingham the architect; especially the entire restoration of the great south window in stone, in conformity with the opposite window in the north transept, the opening of all the windows in the clerestory of the nave, and removal of the belfry; of which the floor was constructed between the Clerestory and Triforium of the Tower.

1856—A public meeting of the County of Hertfordshire was held on the 5th of April at the Court-House, St. Albans, the Earl of Verulam, the Lord Lieutenant in the chair, to consider the best means of restoring and upholding the Abbey Church, and of obtaining for it the dignity of a Cathedral. A Report on the state and capabilities of the Church, which had been drawn up by Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, the eminent ecclesiastical architect, at the Lord Lieutenant's request, was read; and resolutions were carried unanimously to the effect that the permanent restoration of the building would be secured, and the spiritual interests of the country greatly promoted by its being made a Bishop's See; and that subscriptions be forthwith entered into with a view to the entire restoration of the Church and its adaptation to the purposes of a Cathedral. Subsequently, when the Committee appointed by the meeting, to confer with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Her Majesty's Government and to receive subscriptions and apply them, was given to understand that there was no present hope that the resolutions of the meeting would be acceded to, it was determined that the existent subscription list should be cancelled, and another opened for the exclusive purpose of sustaining and repairing the building. The amount of this second subscription enabled the Committee to purchase a plot of ground on the north side of the Church, thereby rescuing it from the desecration of cottages to be built closely adjacent to the whole range of the north walls; and during the years 1860-1 very important works were carried out by Mr. Gilbert

It is considered to have been the work of William Wallingford, 36th Abbat; but the arms of Wheathampsted are over both the doors behind and over the north door in front.

The thirteen niches in the centre were probably designed to receive images of our Saviour and his Apostles. The defaced portion was formerly hidden by a frontage of very debased character, which was removed by Mr. Cottingham in 1832. In Dr. Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, published in London, 1720, is a plate representing a Crucifix attached to this central part of the Screen, and exactly corresponding with the present Cruciform Tracery; but showing no vestige of the half-destroyed tabernacles. The question is whether he had seen the tracery now laid open, or took the outline of the cross from some earlier description or drawing of it.

The Stone Steps are a late restoration; and a faithful one, as regards position. But the originals were of Purbeck marble, and the ends of them had been preserved from destruction by serving as the foundation for *the Chantry Tomb of Abbat Ramryge*, bearing a curious inscription, which would escape observation unless attention were drawn to it. It begins at the east end of the north side, and terminates in the middle of a word at the west end, beginning again at the west end of the south side. *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gracia.*¹ *Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium; et tui amoris in eis ignem accende. Amen.* This Chapel contains the remains of several members of the Ffarrington family of Lancashire; and the date, 1678, on the door probably records the time of the first interment. In memory of these recent occupiers of the tomb there is painted, on the north wall within, a coat of arms, Baron and Femme per pale Ffarrington and Garrard.

The simple structure opposite to it—*the Sepulchral Chapel of Abbat Wheathampsted*—is in strong contrast with the elaborate

Scott, of which the following is a summary. Extensive excavations were made in the ground which had been purchased, so as to open out the walls to the original level; the earth having gradually accumulated against them, to the height of about ten feet in front of the transept. The parts of the walls thus exposed to view were carefully repaired and the foundations underpinned where found defective, at the same time that an air flue was constructed at foot of the wall.

Drains were also formed to receive the water conducted from the roof by pipes and conveyed into a main sewer, now first constructed, which discharges into one of the town sewers. The roof of the north aisle of the nave was renewed in its whole length. At the east end the buttress of the choir aisle, which was giving way, was thoroughly restored, and a perpendicular doorway which had been walled up opened out.

The works thus completed were all of great importance to the stability of the building; while the appearance of the whole north elevation and of the interior of the Church is very considerably improved.

¹ These words form part of the "Sequence" in the Salisbury Missal, and the Antiphon for the Psalms for Whitsuntide.

workmanship just examined. Weever states that this Abbat was buried in his own Chapel, which he had provided in his lifetime. Dugdale records that his figure *in pontificalibus* was formerly upon a blue slab beneath the canopy, and Weever has preserved the inscription.

In this tomb is deposited, for the sake of protection, *the very fine Brass of De la Mare*, 30th Abbat. It is considered to be of Flemish workmanship, and was made under the direction of the Abbat himself, as was also that of his predecessor Mentmore; they also rest side by side in the Choir. There are engravings of it in Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, and Clutterbuck's *History of Hertfordshire*.

At foot of the altar steps are the gravestones of four successive Abbats, whose names are here given on the authority of the Harleian MS. 3775-16, *Monumenta Eccles. S. Albani*, bearing date 1429. The nearest to Wheathampsted's tomb marks the grave of De la Mare; the second, that of Michael Mentmore; the third, that of Richard Wallingford; and the fourth the resting-place of Hugo de Eversden. Abbats Roger de Norton, John de Berkhamsted, and John de Marinis, were buried near the great candelabrum in the middle of the Retro-choir.¹

Matthew Paris (*Vitæ Abbat.* f. 133) gives a detailed account of the ceremonials on the death and burial of an Abbat, and (fo. 166) of the process of election and confirmation. The Register of St. Albans Abbey in C. C. C. Camb. contains a beautiful Illumination illustrative of the process of election of a new Abbat on the death of Abbat John Moote. It is described in Coles's MS. vol. 42.

West of the stone of Michael Mentmore is the Brass Figure of a Knight, in complete plate armour of the Yorkist period. He wears the Yorkist collar of Suns and Roses, adopted by Edward IV. after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, in 1461.²

The inscription is now altogether lost; but the following portion of it has been preserved by Carter.

. knyght son & heire to Edmond erle of Kent.
. d the fourth hole sister to our sov'raine Lady the
. yere of our Lorde A 1480, and of the kyng
. ke; on whose soule God have mercy. Amen.

The "Knyght son and heire to Edmond erle of Kent," originally Lord Grey of Ruthyn, and created Earl of Kent by Edward IV. was Sir Anthony de Grey. His mother was Catherine,

¹ The portion of the manuscript recording these monuments will be found in Gough's *Sep. Mon.*

² A collar of SS. was introduced by Henry IV. as the distinctive badge of adherence to the House of Lancaster. See *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, by Rev. Ch. Boutell, London, 1847.

daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. It has been stated that he was killed at the second battle of St. Albans; but as that was fought on the 17th of February, 1461, the difference of dates is a sufficient proof of error.

"Our Sov'raine lady" was Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV. who had been previously married to Sir John Grey of Groby, killed in that battle, fighting on the side of Lancaster. The two Knights, being of the same family, have been mistaken for each other.

One of the shields lost from this stone was recovered some years ago, having been discovered in an old iron shop in the suburbs of London by an Antiquary, who purchased it and returned it to the Abbey. It bears quarterly first and fourth barry of six arg. and az.; in chief three torteaux, *Grey*. Second and third quarterly, first gu. seven mascles conjoined or. 3. 3. 1. *Ferrers of Groby*; second and third barry of 10 arg. and az.; an orle of martlets, gu. *Valence*. Fourth arg. a manche sa. *Hastings*.

To the right of this memorial is the Brass of Robert Beauner, A.D. 1470—a Monk of the Abbey—holding in his hand a heart, and having a scroll inscribed with the text, *Cor mundum in me crea Deus* (Ps. li. 10). The record at foot states that he held various offices in the Monastery through a period of more than forty years.

Adjacent is a stone which once exhibited in brass the figure of a Monk kneeling at the foot of a cross, by which stood the Virgin and St. John. It has been despoiled of all except the legend issuing from the mouth of the suppliant, and claims to be sustained a little longer in remembrance for the spirit of Christian faith which it manifests, and the beauty of the language in which its sentiment is clothed.

"Salva Redemptor plasma tuum nobile
Signatum S̄co vult' tui lumine
Nec lacerari sinas fraude dæmonum
Propter quos mortis exsolvisti pretium."¹

Save, O Redeemer, thine ennobled workmanship marked with the sacred light of thy countenance, suffer not those for whom thou hast paid the penalty of death to be destroyed through the deceit of devils.

The Canopied Brass of Abbat Stoke, close to the north door, exhibits the ruin of an elaborate work of art. Elias Ashmole (MS. 784) on the occasion of a visit to the Abbey, 19th July, 1657, notes of Abbat Stoke's stone that it is "adorned with brass-work—the Abbat is in his habit, and at the bottom of his feet

¹ This is a verse from the hymn in the Salisbury Breviary, *Annue Christe sæculorum Domine!*

Hic jacet obitus," &c. So that the brass effigy of the Abbat seems to have been existent at that time. An Engraving of this memorial, when in a much more perfect state, will be found in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

Westward of this Slab is the Grave of Richard Stondon, a priest. Only the inscription remains.

On the verge of a defaced Slab is an inscription in Lombardic¹ characters, which Messrs. Buckler transcribe thus: "Le Abbe Johan gist ici-Deu de sa alme eit merci; vous ke par ici passes, "pater e ave pur lalme pries; e tous ke pur lalme priunt Deu- "karaunte ans e karaunte jours de pardun averunt." The inscription is much mutilated, which has caused different versions to be given of it. See those of Gough and Carter. They are certainly wrong in reading Richard instead of Le Abbe Johan. It most probably indicates the resting-place of Abbat John of Berkhamsted, who was buried, according to Walsingham, in front of the High Altar.

On a Stone adjacent is the figure of a lady, coupled with one of a gentleman in armour, of which the lower half is preserved in the monument of Abbat Wheathampsted; and the inscription, now lost, bore the names of Bartholomew Halsey and Florens his wife.

Immediately on the left, are the almost brassless remains of what has once been a handsome design. The matrix exhibits the figure of an Abbat wearing the mitre, and holding the pastoral staff, with the vexillum attached. Some portion still remains of the border inscription, taken from Job xix. 25, and having between each word some strange device. The Evangelistic emblem of St. Luke still remains in one of the angles; besides an inscription at foot,

Hic quidam terra tegitur, peccati solvens debitum,

Cui nomen non imponitur, in libro vitæ sit conscriptum.

One is here covered with earth paying the debt of sin, whose name is not placed on this record. May it be written in the Book of Life.

Mr. Herbert Haines, of Paddock House, Gloucester, wrote a paper, read before the Oxford Architect. Society, in which he gives his opinion that it is the memorial of Abbat John Moote.

The lower part of the effigy is an interesting specimen of a palimpsest brass. It displays at the back of the plate the lower part of the figure of a female, having at her feet a dog, wearing a

¹ Epitaphs were first inscribed in Roman Capitals. About the seventh century a small hand was introduced. Lombardic characters became general on tombstones in the thirteenth, old English about the middle of the fourteenth century. (Gough's Introduction.)

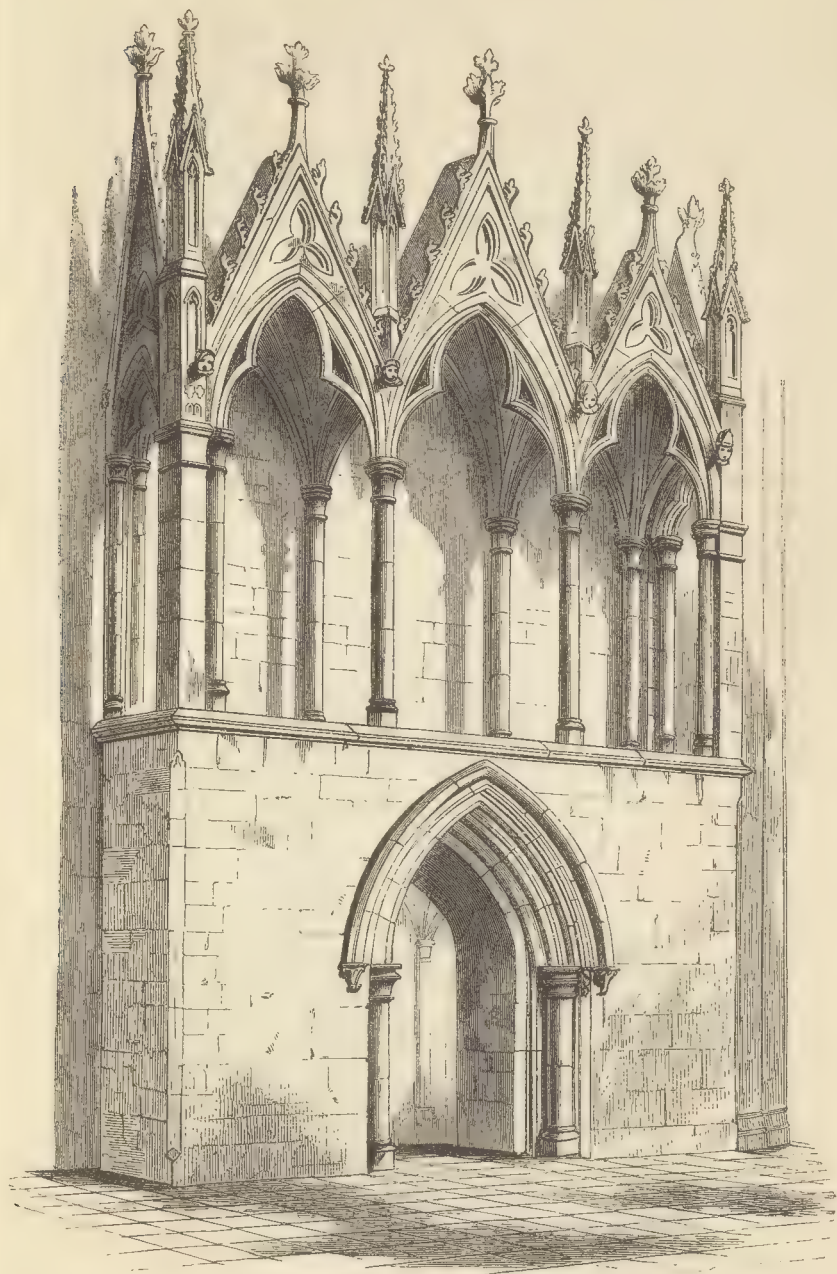
collar of bells. The term palimpsest originally and properly applies to the skins used for writing, before the invention of printing, which had undergone the process of erasing a former writing, in order to replace it by some other subject. The custom is referred to by name—in *palimpsesto*—by Cicero, ad Fam. 7. 18.¹

Some Remains have been observed of a Structure in the Choir, projecting from the South Wall, under the first arch from the Tower, the panelling was lately removed under Mr. Gilbert Scott's superintendence; and it was then ascertained that the ruins of the structure lay packed up in fragments, in a Norman doorway in the wall, which had been formerly noticed by Mr. Buckler as one of a series connecting the Apsidal Chapels. The fragments were put together under Mr. Gilbert Scott's direction, and the accompanying engraving, from a sketch made at the time by himself, may be considered to approach very nearly to the figure of the Structure when it was complete. The Archway in the lower part of it coincided with the Norman opening, and thereby prevented the passage from being blocked up. The character of the architecture resembles that of the Eleanor Crosses, though a trifle earlier, and it may have been the work of Abbat Norton a few years before Queen Eleanor's death. But the precise purpose of it is at present unknown.

¹ "A curious example (of a palimpsest brass) occurs in Saint Margaret's, Rochester, where the representation of a Vicar of the Church, who died in 1495, is found on both sides of the plate; the only difference being slight variations in the ecclesiastic costume; the first having evidently presented some impropriety in that respect, for which it was cancelled, and the figure given in due form on the other side. It is described in the Gentleman's Mag. Dec. 1840. At Bromham, in Bedfordshire, are fine brasses, representing Thomas Wideville, Esq., who died about the year 1435, and his two wives, in the costume proper to the time of Hen. VI. These, by an extraordinary reappropriation, have been employed 100 years later to supply a memorial for the descendants in the fourth generation of the sister of the individual for whom they had been originally designed, viz. for Sir John Dyve, who died in 1535. This curious monument has been engraved for Lysons' Bedfordshire (*paper on palimpsest Sepul. Brasses by Albert Way, Esq., read before the Society of Antiquaries, 2 Feb. 1843*).

Many interesting examples of palimpsest brasses will be found noticed in *Monumental Brasses*, by Rev. Charles Boutell, M.A., London, 1847, and *A Manual of Brasses*, by Rev. Herbert Haines, M.A., Oxford and London, 1861.

"I noticed an example of a stone which had been made to do duty twice. On one side of it is inscribed IRENE IN PACE, on the back is found HILARA IN PACE. Just as mediæval brasses and recent tombstones are sometimes found engraven on both sides, so it is found that it fared in these resting places of the dead." (The Roman Catacombs, in Letters to Home Friends, by J. W. B. Oriel Coll., Oxon., Nov. 26, 1860.)



ANCIENT DOOR-WAY AND STRUCTURE.

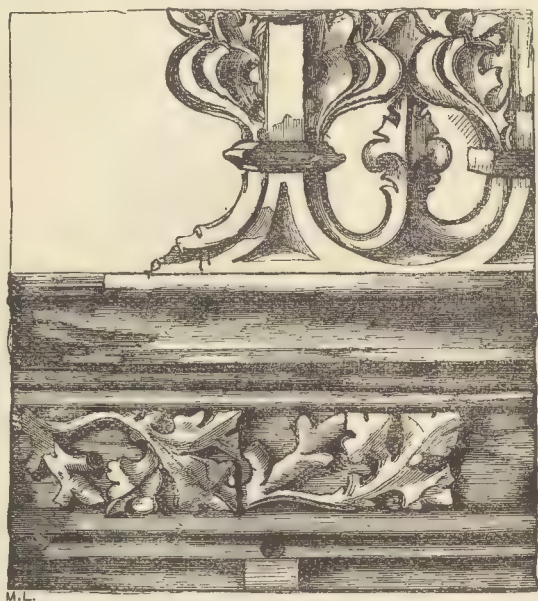
The Tower.

OVER the crown of the arch upon which the east side of the Tower rests is the Coat of Arms of the Monastery. This Shield stands between two others. 1st, gules, three crowns or. (Mercia). 2ndly, Quarterly, gules and or, four lions rampant, counterchanged. There are two shields in Abbat Ramryge's tomb bearing quarterly four lions rampant; and the same, now lost, was in the brass of Abbat Stoke. The appropriation of this coat seems not to have been ascertained. It is also to be seen with seven others carved in stone in the chancel of Luton Church.

The end of the beam of the rood loft is still to be seen in the centre of the pier on the south side. It was lately taken out for the purpose of sawing off the portion embedded in the wall, which was accidentally found to be a very interesting relic of the original carving and gilding, and is now to be seen in the Presbytery. The portion projecting was replaced as it now appears.

The notice by Matthew Paris of a lofty octagonal lantern and tapering pinnacles, added to the Tower by the same Abbat, places it beyond doubt that considerable alterations were made under his direction in this feature of the building.

We have no clue to the extent or exact description of the work;



ROOD BEAM.

and it has disappeared in the course of subsequent alterations. There can be no doubt that the interior of the lantern lost a noble

embellishment in the ribbed oakwork with which it was roofed. It would seem from the ancient descriptions, that this octagon was elevated above the summit of the parapet, and based upon the eight ribs, which descended to corbels fixed in the angles, and between the windows. The design may be supposed to have resembled the upper part of the central lantern of Ely Cathedral. (History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Alban.)

The Roses of York and Lancaster are conspicuous in the painted ceiling.

The Visitor should now return to the North Aisle of the Choir, and he will observe on the right, just before entering the Transept, a window of perpendicular date now occupying an archway which communicated between the adjacent apses and the aisle. (See Ground Plan of the Building.)

Directly opposite to it is a Norman Archway leading into the Chancel or Retrochoir.

The North Transept.

It has been remarked by Dr. Ducarel (*Ang. Norm. Antiq.* p. 51), that the inside of the Transepts of this Church very much resemble those of the Abbey Church of St. Stephen at Caen in Normandy, built by William the Conqueror in 1064. And it probably would be so, considering that the present structure was raised only thirteen years after, by Abbot Paul, kinsman of the Conqueror.

On the east wall are some remains of a Fresco, representing the incredulity of Saint Thomas. It may be assigned to the fifteenth century. A copy of it has been adopted for a memorial window in the south aisle of the Baptistry.

In the Centre of the Ceiling is a rude representation of the Martyrdom of Alban. Gough considers the painting of the ceilings of the transepts and baptistry to be the work of Abbat Wheat-hampsted in the fifteenth century; but Clutterbuck remarks, that, as the arms of the Duke of Somerset in the North Transept appear with the augmentation granted to that family¹ upon the marriage of Henry VIII. with Lady Jane Seymour, A.D. 1536, this painting must be subsequent to that occasion.

On the east side, the recesses under the arches were occupied by altars in place of those which had been removed with the projecting apses. They are considered to have been taken down in the fifteenth century.

¹ (Quarterly, 1st and 4th or, a pile gules, charged with three lions pass. gard. or; between six fleurs de lis az. *the augmentation*; 2nd and 3rd gules, two wings, conjoined in lure, tips downward, or; *the original arms of Seymour*.)

Observe that the two Norman windows in the lower stage of the face of the transept were blocked up for the introduction of the perpendicular window in the fifteenth century.

The pilasters have been removed from the lower part of the walls on account of the side altars.

The Columns of the Triforium in the Transepts and Tower are remarkable for their rudeness and want of uniformity. It is the opinion of J. C. and C. A. Buckler regarding this feature of the building, that "the greater number of the circular and octagonal pillars, in addition to those distinguished by bands, which in both transepts are all placed on the east side, are of a date anterior to the Conquest, and can scarcely be supposed to have occupied a prominent and dignified position until the present was assigned to them in the Norman Abbey. There can be little temerity in regarding these columns as remnants of the Saxon Church, which was superseded by the present structure."

A portion of the wall has been cleared of the coat of plastering, in order to show the material and mode of its construction.

The material was taken from the ruined walls and buildings of Verulam (p. 11), and the construction exhibits, as might be expected, a certain degree of similarity with the blocks still remaining of the Roman city wall.

The North Aisles of the Baptistry and Nave.

THE Visitor will observe on the left hand the massive structure of the Norman Piers. Messrs. Buckler remark, that the rectangular pier was selected for the design on account of the facility of shaping its angles, with the brick as it was found; and that in general, the material, brought together with so much labour and diligence, had its share in determining the character of the design of the Church.

The nine windows of these aisles are the work of Abbat Wheathampsted, between 1420 and 1440, who also inserted stained glass. Weever (Anc. Fun. Mon. p. 562-566), describes some of the subjects, and gives the inscriptions attached to them. Certain inverted sentences in them, Carter remarks in alluding to the fragments which remain, are indisputable marks of this sententious Abbat. In one of these windows have been brought together nearly all the poor remains of the stained glass, which was once a predominant ornament of this part of the building. The Lamb and Eagle, the cognizances of Wheathampsted, belonged originally to this window. The four royal coats of arms are those of Edward III. and three of his sons. That of Edward the Black Prince is distinguished by a label argent; Lionel Duke of Clarence

bore a label arg. having a canton gules in each point, and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, bore a label ermine.¹

In the window next on the west is a coat of arms which has not been disturbed from its original position—az. a saltire or, within a border gu. charged with nine mitres or. As this coat is composed of the arms of the Abbey augmented by the charged bordure, and as there is a precisely similar shield in a window of Lichfield Cathedral (Shaw's Staffordshire, vol. 1, plate 22), we may conclude that it is the Coat of Abbat Heyworth, promoted to the See of Lichfield in 1419. There is a difficulty, however, in reconciling this to the fact that the arms of Heyworth, still existent on a tomb in Wheathampsted Church, are altogether different from the above, being arg. three bats with wings extended sable. (See page 30.) Perhaps Heyworth assumed this bordure on being appointed to a *mitred* Abbey, or when promoted to the See of Lichfield. Either supposition will agree with the fact that the shield was inserted in the window by his successor Wheathampsted.

The Nave.

THE Visitor is recommended to pass on through the Nave towards the west, having first examined the western face of St. Cuthbert's Screen, and the traces of two altars upon it. The high altar was for the service of the people congregated in the Nave; and that on the north side of it may be accounted an "altare animarum," at which masses were celebrated for the dead. (Dugdale, Monast.)

On the south side will be observed four heads, on which the hood mouldings of four arches rest. Over the head of a king are the arms of Mercia—of a queen, three lions of England—of a Bishop, the arms of Edward the Confessor—of an Abbat, those of the Abbey.

¹ The label of the *Black Prince* had, in all probability, been changed from azure to argent in consequence of the az. of the shield of France having required a different tincture. That of *Lionel, Duke of Clarence*, was the traditional coat of Clare, anterior to the well-known chevrons; and is to be attributed, as well as the designation of his dukedom, to his alliance with an heiress of that family: and, in like manner, the ermine of *John of Ghent*, who was Earl of Richmond before he was Duke of Lancaster, was taken from the arms of the former Earls of Richmond.

At this period the labels were of three or five points indifferently, according to the fancy of the artist or the space he had to occupy; and neither was the number of fleurs de lis, ermine spots, &c. of the respective labels fixed; though in general there were three on each point. (Extracted from a Tract entitled *On some Marks of Cadency borne by the Plantagenets*, by Weston S. Walford of the Temple, from No. XXVI. of the *Archæological Journal*)

The change of architecture is next worthy of observation. Originally the Norman style extended to the extreme west; and the transformation was commenced by the conversion of the porch and nearly half the length of the Nave into Early Pointed (see p. 19). The termination of this change on the north is remarkable; inasmuch as the bay about to be transformed shows that a change had taken place in the design; there being but one window instead of two in the new clerestory.

At a later date, on the fall of the remaining Norman Structure on the South as far as Saint Cuthbert's Screen, the repairs were made in the decorated style of the day (p. 23).

An Epitaph on the last pillar but one on the north, indicates the place of sepulture of the celebrated traveller, Sir John de Mandeville, a native of the town. But Weever, who wrote in 1631, says that he saw his tomb in the city of Liège, in the Church of the Guiliamites, bearing date 16th November, 1371, and he gives the inscription on it.

The charge of the escutcheon over the epitaph could not be given in former editions of this description, from the almost entire obliteration of the lines in it. But the compiler has since met with a note of the Inscription and Coat of Arms in Elias Ashmole's pocket-book (No. 784, p. 40, in the Bodl. Lib.) dated St. Albans, 19 July, 1657. The former agrees with that in Latin which is now existent, and has at foot the date 1622; the coat of arms is—party per pale sa. and gu. surmounted by a label of five points ar. for difference. Upon this authority, confirmed by such traces as remain, the coat has been renewed.

Salmon (in his Hist. of Hertfordshire, 1728) writes, "Here is also an English and Latin epitaph for Sir John Mandeville, &c."¹

Ortelius,² in his Itinerarium, 12mo. Ant. 1584, has given the epitaph which he found in the Abbey of the Guiliamites above-mentioned, and says, that upon the same stone was also a void place for a scutcheon, wherein he was told was formerly a brass plate with his arms engraved thereon, viz. a lion arg. with a lunet gu. at his breast, in a field az. and a bordure engrailed or. This coat was borne by Sir Roger Tyrell of Hartfordshire in the time of Edw. I. Cotton Lib. Tib. D 10, p. 155. There are about thirty different coats of Mandeville; differing very much from each other; and no one agreeing exactly with the above description. There are nineteen manuscripts of his Voyages and Travels in the Brit. Mus. The Cotton MS. Titus C 16, was written about the year 1400. There is also a vellum MS. in 4to. in the University Library of

¹ Or rather the epitaph is partly in Latin and partly in English.

² Camden published his *Britannia* in 1586, having been ten years about it; and says that he was put upon it by Ortelius.

Cambridge, to which the same date is ascribed. The first printed edition was by Wynkyn de Worde at Westminster, 1489. The compiler took occasion of being at Liège to enquire into the subject, and found only the site of the Church and some remains of the conventual buildings; the structure having been destroyed and the fraternity scattered at the time of the French Revolution. No intelligence could be obtained regarding the monument in question.

When the repairs of the Church were going on in the years 1860-1, under the direction of Mr. Gilbert Scott, the ground was opened at foot of the north wall externally, and the site of an extramural chapel was discovered, as also many fragments of the ornamental parts of the structure heaped together.

This led to subsequent openings in the interior, developing bases of columns corresponding in position with those which separate the aisle from the nave, and showing that the extramural chapel occupied two bays in length. The entrance to the North Tower was laid open at the same time (see p. 35).

In the Porch of the North Aisle are seen three stone coffins, lately discovered just below the level of the original pavement. The lid of the central coffin was raised at the time, and a perfect skeleton was seen enveloped in a black woollen garment, the vestment of a Benedictine monk. A stick or staff, apparently of hazel wood, was placed in the hand as a walking-stick; it had been broken into four parts. Matt. Paris (*Vitæ Abbat.* p. 133), describes the process of interment of an Abbat, writes that the body was brought from the chamber where the Abbat expired to the infirmary, and there clothed in pontificals . . . *et dextro sub brachio baculus consuetus*, "and the accustomed staff under his right arm."¹

A portion of the garment and of the stick were taken before

¹ The late very Rev. John Merewether, D.D., Dean of Hereford, in a paper read before the Soc. of Antiq. June 11, 1846, mentions the opening of a coffin in Hereford Cathedral in which a hazel wand was found. While some workmen were employed in improving the churchyard of Coldingham (Berwickshire) they came upon the tombs of two of the priors. One is that of Ernald, who was prior from 1202 to 1208. . . . The slabs were removed, and the two workmen went down into the vault with lighted candles in their hands. The body of Ernald is sewed in leather. His shoes were found at his feet and a *hazel wand* about thirty inches long lying upon his breast. (London Paper, May, 1857.) In one of the stone coffins discovered at Etran on the 11th of March, 1859, the Abbé Cochet, Hon. F.S.A., found lying across the body a *hazel stick* or wand about forty or fifty centimetres long. Some tombs in the Abbey of St. Wandrill (of the Monkish period) were found to contain the bodies of ecclesiastics with leathern boots and a *hazel wand* the same length as the tomb.

Montfaucon speaks of a *hazel stick* discovered in 1645, in the coffin of Queen Bilichilde, wife of Childeric the Second, in the choir of St. Germain des Prés. In the Suabian graves at Oberflacht were found *hazel wands* seven feet long. (Archæologia xxxvi. 136.)

closing up the coffin, and are now in a small glass case in a locker in the presbytery for the inspection of visitors.

The lower portion of the Central Porch is the work of Abbat John de Cella, 1195 to 1214, who began the transformation of the Norman structure. But all above the columns, as also the porches of the aisles, are to be attributed to Abbat Trumpington, his successor. It appears that, two centuries after, the front of this central entrance was taken down, and the present massive walls and arch were set up as an abutment to the older work. A channel left open after trial made here and in several adjacent places by Messrs. Buckler at the time of their general survey of the building, exhibits the original floor, three feet two inches below the present level. Mr. Gilbert Scott accounts for this by considering it to have been part of the plan of John de Cella to make the entrance considerably lower than the general floor of the Church, which was to be approached by steps, but his successor continued the work on the old level.

The great West Window is the work of Abbat Wheathampsted.

The Painting of the Ceiling is probably of the fifteenth century, though it is only carrying out the idea of the twelfth—a flat painted ceiling like that of Peterborough Cathedral; and this was the usual and appropriate internal covering of our Norman churches.¹

A Latin inscription under the window records that the Courts of Justice were adjourned from London to this town in the reign of Henry VIII., and again in that of Elizabeth, on account of pestilence raging in the capital. Fabyan's New Chronicle of England and France records, under the combined dates 1543-1544, "this yere was a great death in London; which continued so long that there was no Terme kept at London at Michelmas; but was removed to Saint Albones and there kept." And in a book belonging to the Corporation of St. Albans there is the following entry, as given by Clutterbuck. "20 January, 31 Eliz. A. D. 1589, 4s. and 8d. paid to John Saunders for nayles for the work in the Church for the Assizes."

The slender pillars of Purbeck marble detached from the wall, were intended to support a groined roof, of the kind afterward added to the Sanctuary, or easternmost portion of the Choir. (*Buckler.*)

The pavement of the Nave is of late date; said to have been the gift of Philip Stubbs, Archdeacon of St. Albans, 1715 to 1738, and paid for out of a legacy bequeathed to him by a lady.

¹ See J. H. Parker, F.S.A., in *Gent.'s Mag.*, May, 1862.

Paintings in Nave.

SOME interesting frescoes have lately been laid open on the west faces of the Norman piers between the Nave and north aisle, and also on the soffits of the arches, which will be best seen by the visitor on returning from the west end.

For the following notice of them the editor is indebted to Mr. J. G. Waller.

The ancient distemper paintings in the Nave of St. Alban's Abbey Church are in accord with the simplest plan of decoration; the same subject being repeated several times. In the small village church at Ulcombe, Kent, the same plan is followed, on each pier the figure of Christ crucified being repeated in the same manner.

The earliest example is that on the north side, where the more recent additions join the ancient pier. It represents the Crucifixion, the cross taking the form of a tree, or being in heraldic language *raguly*. St. John is on the left of the cross and is holding a book; the Virgin is on the right side. Beneath this is the Virgin and Child; the former is crowned, seated upon a throne, and holding a sceptre in her right hand. Above, on each side, issuing from clouds is an angel censuring. The general treatment of the subjects, the ornamentation, especially the key pattern, show that this must be very early in the 13th, or, perhaps late in the 12th century.

On the south side of the pier are the remains of a gigantic figure of St. Christopher with the infant Christ, but it does not appear to be earlier than the 13th century, and is so much defaced that details are difficult to be made out. The head of St. Christopher seems to have on a large hat of Flemish shape, and there appear to have been scrolls bearing the usual legends which accompany this subject.

The next pier repeats the subject of the Crucifixion—the Virgin with clasped hands is on the left side, St. John on the right. The background has a simple form of diaper. The Virgin and Child enthroned as before, beneath a cinque-foliated arch or canopy, is placed underneath. This from the details must belong to the early part of the 13th century.

The third pier again repeats the subject, but the tree-like form to the cross is given up. The Virgin is on the left side with hands clasped together; St. John on the right resting his head on one hand. Beneath this we get a pointed arch subdivided into two compartments; in one of which is a figure of an angel, and in the other the Virgin Mary. This, of course, represents the Annunciation. The date is of the 14th century, and is mostly executed in simple outlines.

The fourth pier also repeats the Crucifixion, but by a single figure only, of very rude execution; the termination of the arms of the cross are cut off at an acute angle. The Annunciation is repeated beneath, both figures being represented standing beneath two pointed arches: date 14th century.

The fifth again repeats the Crucifixion; it is given on a red ground, and the figure of Christ is much draped, the Virgin and St. John are introduced by the sides of the cross in the usual manner. Beneath is the subject of the Coronation of the Virgin. Both figures of the Virgin and that of Christ are seated upon a throne, the latter holds the book of the Gospels, the cover of which is shown as richly ornamented. Above, on each side, are angels censuring, the thuribles hanging down below the arched canopy, have been mistaken for *gloves*, but their true character is, when closely examined, unmistakeable. The whole of this work is of the best time of the 14th century, and is well executed. On the south side of this pier the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Child beneath is again repeated, but it is very slightly executed, and by a feeble hand of the same age.

On the sixth pier are the remains of a large figure of Christ in his glory, such as is seen at St. Stephen's Chapel in Winchester Cathedral. It is too much effaced to describe, but there are indications of a scroll on which doubtless was inscribed, "Salus Populi ego sum." On the south side of the nave, opposite to St. Christopher and on one of the clustered piers of the 14th century, are some very slight remains in outline. There are portions of the figures of the Virgin and Child, and a king kneeling, which proves the subject to have been the Adoration of the Magi. Close beside this, turning into the aisles, are remains also of what must have been the same subject repeated. Traces of the Virgin and Child are upon one of the columns, and near it there is a standing figure, very simple in composition, which appears to be one of the Magi with presents.

Most probably these paintings indicated "stations" as now observed in continental churches, at which prayers were offered up during processions, &c. This accounts for the arrangement, as well as for the repetition of the subject.

The frescoes were laid open by the late Dr. Nicholson in 1862.

The South Aisle of the Nave.

THE Ground Plan of Newcome exhibits a Staircase in the South-West Angle of the Building, entered at that portion of the Porch of the South Aisle which has been destroyed.

The lofty Arch in the Wall was designed to open to the Tower on the south-west (see p. 46). The intended groining of the roof is also apparent in several places.

In returning Eastward a passage is to be observed constructed under a window leading from the Cloister to the Aisle.

The general description of Conventual arrangements, given by Bloxam in a small tract on the subject, exactly agrees with the plan of this abbey. "From the Cloister Court into the South Aisle, as it might be, of the Nave of the Conventual Church, were two entrances through the South Wall, opening into that side of the Cloister abutting against the Church. The westernmost of these entrances appears to have served for the ingress of the monks from the Dormitory into the Church at the Nocturnal Offices." Messrs. Buckler suggest that the arched recess at the East end was designed for a Confessional, a seat of oak being placed in it.

The Visitor has now entered on a part of the Aisle which we have before remarked is of a later date by about 120 years than the western half of it. The history of the Church informs us that, in the time of Abbat Hugh de Eversden, A. D. 1323, while the Mass of the Virgin was in celebration, many men and women being present, suddenly two great columns on the south side of the Church fell to the ground with a great noise and crash. In an hour after, all the roof and the beams of the south part and nearly all the cloister fell (Claud., E 4, Nero, D 7). The Abbat forthwith began the work of restoration (see p. 23), but died leaving it incomplete. Richard de Wallingford, his successor, seems to have occupied himself almost exclusively in the invention and construction of astronomical instruments (p. 25). But Michael de Montmore, the next Abbat, 1335 to 1349, carried on the restoration of the Church and Cloister to completion (p. 25).

By the side of one of the windows is suspended the framework of a marriage-garland, which, tradition says, records the burial near the spot of a Bride who died on her wedding-day. Chaplets of this kind still hang in some of the Derbyshire Churches, and at Hathersage in that county the custom is still retained. It is noticed in "The Bride's Burial" of the Percy Reliques.

A Slab on the Easternmost column of the Nave in memory of John Jones, a Welshman, undermaster of the Free Grammar School, records that on the occasion of repairing the Church in the

year 1684, he composed a Poem entitled *Fanum Sancti Albani*, which the writer of the Epitaph, in friendly, perhaps in filial pride, expected would prove to be *hoc lapide hâc etiam æde ævoque perennius omni*, i. e. more durable than the tablet,—than the Church itself,—and all time. One cannot refrain from a smile when reading this betrayal of weakness which lurks so generally in the human heart, but which is not often perhaps uttered in such exaggerated language. While the Stone exhibits an instance of human ambition, it stands also as an humble evidence of the disappointment of human hopes, however innocent the object on which they rest. For even the shortest period mentioned has more than sufficed to measure the existence of this promising work. The Stone remains to this day undilapidated; but not a copy of the Poem can be found surviving.

The Baptistry.

THE Visitor should now enter the Baptistry through St. Cuthbert's Screen.

Richard de Albini, 15th Abbat, built a Chapel in honour of St. Cuthbert, in thanksgiving for a miraculous cure obtained at Durham. It stood eastward of the present Screen, and some traces of it remain in the pier on the north side. It was dedicated in honour of St. Cuthbert and John the Baptist, 16 Kal. of June, 1172. William de Trumpington, 22nd Abbat, replaced it by a more magnificent structure, which was in its turn removed soon after the completion of the five Eastern bays on the South side of the nave, about the middle of the 14th century, and the present screen raised. (Buckler's *Abbey Church of St. Alban*.)

A Compartment of the Triforium on the north side has been pierced with a cross *pommée*, enlarged on the outside for purposes of watching. The structure shows the general form of the Triforium before the insertion of windows by Abbat Wheathampsted.

Observe the emblem of the Holy Trinity in one of the compartments in the ceiling. It was the device on a banner displayed by Henry the 5th at Agincourt. (*Journal of the Archæological Association* for June, 1857, and *The Battle of Agincourt*, by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. 248, and Appendix, 71.)

In the year 1853 the present Font was substituted for one of marble. Camden, who published his *Britannia*, in 1586, speaks of the brass font, in which the children of the Kings of Scotland used to be baptized, as standing in this Abbey Church in his day, bearing a Latin inscription by Sir Richard Lee, the donor, to whom the monastic buildings, with all the ground lying round

the Abbey Church, had been granted in 1540. Weever testifies to its being in the Church in his time, 1631.

The Brass Font at St. Albans was taken away by one Hickman, a vile ironmonger, a justice of the peace proper for those times (Newcourt's Repertorium). Fuller (Worthies, p. 32, London 1662) records that it "was taken away, in the late cruel war, as it seems, "by those hands which suffered nothing how sacred soever to stand, "which could be converted to money. There is a wooden one "to supply its place, which is said to be made of the same shape "with the old font."

Willis (Hist. of Mitred Parl. Abbeys, London, 1718, apud Leland. Collect.) writes "there is one (a Font) preserved in wood "which represents the fashion and make of the brass one."

But no record remains as to when the marble font replaced that of wood, nor whether the fashion of the original out of Scotland was perpetuated in that of marble, now deposited in the Abbats' Cloister, p. 86.

The South Aisle of the Baptistery.

THE foundation of St. Cuthbert's Screen, three feet in breadth, is continued across this aisle to the outer wall; and there are traces of the concrete bed of a tiled floor about 16 inches below the level of the present, continued to the steps ascending to the south transept.

If the same prolongation of the foundation originally existed across the north aisle it has been destroyed in opening the ground for interments; for no traces of it remain.

Against the wall is the arch of a recessed Tomb, occupied by a Piscina, which, we learn from Mr. Gough (MS. in the Bodl. Lib.), originally stood against the South-West pillar of the Choir.

An inscription records the interment beneath of the hermits Roger and Sigar, and mention is made of the monument of Roger and Sigar in Harl. MS. No. 3775-16 (Mon. Eccles. S. Alb.)

There is a detailed account of them in Cott. MS. Claud. E 4, fo. iii., following on the life of Abbat Geoffrey, but passed over by Wats in his Lives of the Abbats. Roger took up his abode in a hermitage near Dunstable; and subsequently Christina, a lady of good family near Huntingdon, also entered on a solitary life in a cell constructed by Roger near to his own, and they united in devotional exercises. Roger became a monk in the Abbey of St. Albans and was buried in the church. Christina obtained a great repute for sanctity. The Abbat, on the recommendation of Roger, built the Priory of Merkyate Cell for the reception of nuns of the Bene-

dictine order : and in the last year of the Abbat's life A.D. 1145, the Church of the Priory was consecrated by Alexander, the Bishop of London under the name of the Church of the Holy Trinity in the Wood (*de Bosco*), the Abbat appointing Christina the first Prioress. Sigar was a hermit in the Wood of Northaw. The particulars of his life, preserved in monkish legends, are not worth transcribing.

The Abbat's door, by which he passed from the great cloister into the church, is deserving of particular observation. This and the doorway leading into the transept are the same in regard to position as in Bolton Abbey.

The South Transept.

ON the right hand is seen the grated window of a Watch-chamber, formed by the excavation of the solid mass of brickwork. The door of entrance is still discernible outside, on a level with the Roof of the Cloisters.

"On the west side of the South Ile (transept) is a place where an Anchorite was mewed up" (Ashmolean MS. 784); (one of several notes made by Elias Ashmole on visiting the Abbey Church.)

Just beneath, but almost covered by the pewing, is the Monumental Slab of Thomas Rutlond, Sub-Prior of the Monastery, who died A.D. 1521. The Figure and Inscription though detached from the stone, are preserved; but the legend or verse, except a few words, is lost.

Further on is the original Conventual Entrance to the Church from the Cloisters, opposite to the Chapel of the Virgin.

The two pointed Arches on this side are regarded by Messrs. Buckler as the two windows inserted by Abbat Trumpington for the improvement of the Lady Chapel opposite.

The destruction of the Apsidal Chapels in the Transept seems to have taken place in the time of Edward II. to make room for a spacious Sacristy. The Chapels then constructed under the two original Arches, by building the wall which projects from that of the Transept to form the back of them (*see the Plan*), and partly filling up the Norman Arches in front, were dedicated, according to Newcome, the one as before mentioned, to the Virgin Mary—the other, to Saint Simeon.

Observe that there were no Norman windows in the front of this Transept, as in that of the North. Their absence is owing to the Conventual Buildings having been attached to this part of the Church, the doorways to which are still visible in the South Staircase. Compare these remarks with those on the North Transept, p. 71.

The Norman doorway in the South West angle of this Transept originally led only to the Triforium and Clerestory, and to some chambers and passages external to the walls of the Church; but in later times the wall of the Transept was entirely pierced, so as to give an entrance to the passage, which has generally been known by the name of the Abbat's Cloister, leading to the great Cloister, and very worthy of remark for the architectural features it exhibits. Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in some Remarks on Conventual Arrangements, describing the most usual, observes: "Between the Chapter and South Transept of the Church there was a narrow apartment or passage, the general name of which I have been unable to ascertain; though in the Rites of Durham, at which Monastery it was used as a passage from the Cloister Court to the Cemetery garth, it is called a Parlour." And in another passage, "There was also a portion of the Church used as the Sacristy or Vestry. This commonly opened out of one of the Transepts; in some instances this appears to have been the small apartment between the Church and Chapter House."

The *Parlour* is the *speche* or *speke-house* of certain old documents. (Britton's Dict. of Architect. and Archæol.)

In Exeter Cathedral this structure is Norman, having a pointed window inserted in the East wall, and bears the name of the Chapel of the Holy Ghost. In Winchester Cathedral it is called the Slyp or Slype. This term is several times employed in the sense of a narrow passage between two buildings by William of Worcester (see Itin. p. 192). The same construction appears in the Remains of the North Transept of the Abbey Church of Repton, discovered in 1851 by Arthur Ashpitel, Esq., F.S.A.; as also at Fountain's Abbey, and in the ruins of Croxden Abbey,¹ Staffordshire.

South Aisle of the Retro-Choir, or Sanctuary.

On entering this aisle, a communication is observed on the left between the Chancel or Retro-Choir and the aisle; and, opposite to it, a large Norman archway, leading into the Apsidal Chapels in the South; being a similar arrangement with what has been noticed in the North aisle of the Choir.

This Norman arch was subsequently contracted by the insertion of a pointed arch, probably when the Apsidal Chapels were re-

¹ A Brief Description and Ground Plan, by the Rev. E. Whieldon, Jan. 1853.

moved, and the Sacristy constructed. (See C. and C. A. Buckler's History.)

The Vestry on the South side was formed in 1846; and the circular-headed doorway pierced through the wall for the purpose.

The few remaining steps in the present buttress and the restored pointed Archway were connected with the ancient Sacristy.

The Record on the wall over the doorway, leading into the Choir, is to the memory of John Thomas, the first Master of the Grammar-School, in 1588. He was *Υλοκόμιου*, i. e. of Bois le Duc, in Belgium. This quaint inscription was the production of John Westerman¹ ("*Vestra Manus*" in the inscription), the Head Master in 1625, who probably was also the author of that on the East Wall, commemorating the Duke of Gloucester; and of some others, which have gradually disappeared.

The attention of the Visitor has been drawn to objects worthy of remark in the *Aisle of the Saints' Chapel* on entering the Church (p. 49).



Chalice of the 15th Century, taken from the Abbey Church by Sir Thomas Pope, one of the Visitors appointed by the Crown, and by him given to Trinity College, Oxford, which he founded, and where it is still preserved.²

¹ So *John Capgrave*, compiler of the *Chronicle of England*, which he dedicated to King Edw. IV., latinizes his own name, *De monumento pileato*.

² The Compiler is indebted for this to the kind courtesy of Henry Shaw, Esq., F.S.A.; it being a photograph copy taken from a plate in a beautifully illuminated work by him, one of a series on the Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages.

OBJECTS OF INTEREST IN THE VIEW FROM THE TOWER.



THE present town of St. Albans may be considered as owing its early origin to Ulsinus, or Ulsic, the 6th Abbat, circ. 948, who built the three churches of St. Peter, St. Michael, and St. Stephen, on the three principal roads leading from his Monastery.

The new Church Yard of the Abbey parish, west of the Church, of a triangular shape, was until lately a plot of waste ground, called Rome Land, upon which George Tankerville, after being tried and condemned by Bishop Bonner, was burned alive, pursuant to his sentence, on the 26th August, 1556. (Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 230.)

Almost at the foot of the Abbey on the north is a tower called the Clock House. Matthew Paris records that in his day a tower was standing near the Monastery, bearing the name of King Canute; the only remains of the Royal Palace at Kingsbury, dismantled by Abbat Ælfric II. (p. 10). But the present structure, even if it be on the same site, is of much more modern date; and Clutterbuck states that there are Deeds preserved in the Archives of the Corporation, showing that it was built for a clock house between the years 1402 and 1427.

In the area at its base, where a pump is now seen, stood the Cross erected by Edward I. in memory of his Queen Eleanor. (P. 22.)

The parish church of St. Peter is seen at the entrance of the town on the north. A great number of the bodies of such as were slain in the two battles between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster, were buried in this church and churchyard. (Gough's Sep. Mon.) Chauncy, in his mention of the monumental records in this Church, notices the tomb of Sir Bertin Entwysel, slain in the first battle of St. Albans fighting for the King. "Here lyeth Sir Bertin Entwysel, Kt. . . . died 28 May, 1455;" also the Epitaphs of Ralph Babthorpe and Ralph his son; the father Squire, the son Dapifer to Henry VI. died 22 May, 1455—and the following:—Hic jacet Edmundus Westby Arm. Justiciarius Pacis Com. Hertford et Hundredarius ac Balivus de Franchesia Sancti Albani et Margaretta uxor ejus qui Ed: obiit 18 Sept. 1475. Weever, who records this last monument as extant in his day, adds, on the

authority of *Stowe*, in his *Annals*, that Henry VI. was in this Edmund's House during the time of the first battle in the Town. The House, with its grounds adjoining the Churchyard of St. Peter's, is said to have been at that time the property of the above Edmund Westby.

In the List of those admitted into the Fraternity of the Monastery (Cotton MS. Nero, D vii.) is inserted "Willielmus Westby, Hundreder of this Monastery and Justice of the Peace. The benefit of our Fraternity is granted to him and his wife Agnes on his petition, Anno Domini 1487."

These monuments disappeared when this Church was deprived of its Chancel and Transepts in the beginning of this century.

Close by, on the left, is Bernard's Heath, where the second battle was fought.

Hatfield House, the noble residence of the Marquis of Salisbury, lies in the distance on the right, and may be seen distinctly with the aid of the telescope. An Oak is still shown in the Park, under which the Princess Elizabeth was sitting when intelligence was brought to her of the death of Queen Mary. The House in times past belonged to the Bishops of Ely, whereupon it was named Bishops Hatfield. (*Camden's Brit.*)

On the east side of the town, verging towards the south, and just at the back of the houses, extended Key Field, the Arena of the first conflict between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

On the distant hill is seen Porter's Lodge, the modern residence of the Lords of Weld Randolfes.

The ancient Manor House stood at a short distance north of it, and is described by Chauncy as compassed with a moat, having a park adjoining to it. It was occupied for a time by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (*Grafton's Chronicle* and *Newcome*, p. 509 *et seqq.*)

Further to the right, on the other side of the river, are seen the ruins of Sopwell Nunnery (p. 13). Camden (*Britannia*, published 1586) and Stukeley (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, in 1720) record the tradition that Henry VIII. was married to Anna Boleyn in this Nunnery. In the distribution of the property of the Monastery and its dependents this Religious House fell to the lot of Sir Richard Lee (pp. 42 and 79). Newcome states that he repaired and enlarged the structure with the materials of the dissolved Monastery, and built the wall which enclosed the lands from the London Road. The house of Sopwell fell into decay in the reign of Charles II. Among the parts taken down were ten large circular medallions of stone, representing some of the Roman Emperors. These were purchased by the Lord of Salisbury Manor, in the parish of Shenley, and by him placed in the wall of his Hall, then building anew, and are now still remaining there.

In a field near the town, and nearly in the line of sight joining these ruins and the Abbey, is the Ancient Well, from which the Nunnery obtained its name, indicated by a protecting arch of brickwork, and a tree planted near to it.

The site of the Hospital of St. Julian (p. 13), assigned to Thomas Lee, the brother of Sir Richard, is marked by a farm house (which preserves the name) and a double line of fir trees to the left of St. Stephen's Church.

The ancient Watling Street seems to have passed by St. Stephen's directly through the Roman city, a little southward of St. Mary's Chapel¹ and St. Michael's Church. Nevertheless, there is a road round about, without the south side of the walls, for those that had no occasion to go through the city (Stukeley's *Itin. Cur.* and Pennant's *Chester to London*). The line of road carries the eye on to the right, past the chief remains of the walls and foss of Verulam, in a fir plantation, to Gorhambury (see p. 15), the residence of the Earl of Verulam, where a vestige is still to be seen of the mansion built in the time of Robert de Gorham, and the ruins of that in which Lord Bacon resided. He was buried in the church of St. Michael.

The river bears the name of the Ver. It rises about nine miles off towards the west, flowing by Merkyate Cell and falling into the Colne four miles to the south-east (p. 1).

Nearly at the completion of the circuit is a white house on a hill, called Oyster Hill. The name is possibly a corruption of Ostorius' Hill, indicating the place of encampment of the Pro-prætor in the time of the Emperor Claudius (Camden).

¹ St. Mary de Pratis, p. 24.



TABLE OF COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY.¹

Kings of England.	Began to reign A. D.	Abbats of St. Albans.	Began to rule A. D.	Ecclesiastical Architecture.
		1. Willegod		Saxon.
		2. Eadric		
		3. Vulsig		
		4. Vulnoth		
		5. Ædfrid		
		6. Ulsinus		
		7. Ælfric		
		8. Ealdred		
		9. Eadmer		
		10. Leofric		
		11. Ælfric 2nd.		
		12. Leofstan		
		13. Frederic		
<i>Norman Line.</i>				Norman.
William the Conq.	1066	14. Paul de Caen	1077	
Will. Rufus	1087	15. Richard d'Aubeny or de Albini	1097	
Henry I.	1100	16. Geoffrey de Gorham	1119	
Stephen	1135	17. Ralph de Gobion	1146	
		18. Robert de Gorham	1151	
<i>Saxon Line Restored.</i>				Transition or mixed Norman and Pointed.
Henry II.	1154	19. Symon	1167	
		20. Warren de Cambridge	1183	
Richard I.	1189	21. John de Cella, or of Studham	1195	
John	1199	22. William de Trumpington	1214	Early Lancet.
Henry III.	1216	23. John de Hertford	1235	

¹ The year in which the Abbats before the Conquest began their respective Rules is omitted, because of the uncertainty of the dates up to that time. The same cause prevented the introduction of the names of the Kings.

Saint Alban.

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Kings of England.	Began to to reign A. D.	Abbats of St. Albans.	Began to rule A. D.	Ecclesiastical Architecture.
Edward I.	1272	24. Roger de Norton	1260	} Early or Geomet. Decorated.
		25. John de Berkhamsted	1291	
Edward II.	1307	26. John de Marinis	1302	
		27. Hugh de Eversden	1308	} Later Decorated.
Edward III.	1327	28. Richard de Wallingford	1326	
		29. Michael de Mentmore	1335	
Richard II.	1377	30. Thomas de la Mare	1349	
		31. John Moote	1396	} Perpendi- cular.
<i>Line of Lancaster.</i>				
Henry IV.	1399	32. William Heyworth	1401	
Henry V.	1413	33. John Wheathampsted	1420	
Henry VI.	1422	34. John Stokes	1440	
		John Wheathampsted re- elected	1451	
<i>Line of York.</i>				} Tudor or Florid.
Edward IV.	1461	35. William Alban	1464	
		36. William Wallingford	1476	
Edward V.	1483			
Richard III.	1483			
<i>The Families United.</i>				
Henry VII.	1485	37. Thomas Ramryge	1492	} Tudor or Florid.
Henry VIII.	1509	38. Thomas Wolsey	1521	
		39. Robert Catton	1530	
		40. Richard Boreman de Ste- venache, and surrendered the next year.	1538	

A LIST OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

FROM WHICH THE HISTORY OF THIS ABBEY HAS BEEN
CHIEFLY DRAWN AND MIGHT RECEIVE FURTHER INTERESTING ADDITIONS.

Cottonian Library in the British Museum.



- ULIUS, A X 2. Saxon Martyrology of about the 11th century. Wanley says that this Codex agrees entirely with that of C. C. C., Cambridge, the various readings excepted.
- Julius, D 3, fo. 1. Register of Deeds relating to the lands and prædials of the Monastery of St. Alban, together with the Gifts and Confirmation of them. It appears that several names of streets and lanes in the Town were existent in that day, while others have been changed. Dugdale considers this MS. to have been written in the time of Richard II., A. D. 1377 to 99.
- Claudius, A 8, fo. 195. A Schedule of the Charges of the Monastery of St. Albans for making the Tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and for perpetual Masses, &c. (Printed in the History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford, by Clutterbuck. London, 1815.)
- Claudius, D 1, fo. 1. Letters of John Whethampsted, Abbat of the Monastery of St. Albans.
- Claudius, D 1, fo. 33. Acts of the same John, through each year of his Rule, by John of Agmundesham, a Monk of St. Albans, and contemporary with the Abbat. This MS. contains the Annals of the First Rule of Wheathampsted, and the first page is illuminated in a manner very similar to that of the MS. of the Chronicon in the Herald's Office, which records the Transactions of the second Rule.
- Claudius D 1, fo. 169. *Rentale domus sive hospitalis S. Juliani juxta S. Albanum; renovatum anno 22 Henrici VI.—fo. 170. Rentale de terris and tenementis de novo acquisitis per Th. Ramryge Abbatem Monasterii S. Albani renovatum eodem anno.*
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 34. The Martyrdom of St. Alban, Protomartyr of England; and also of Amphibalus, and his companions. Also concerning the Discovery of the Grave of Saint Alban by Offa. It is said that this is a Translation into Latin, in 1170, by William, a monk of St. Albans, at the desire of Abbat Symon, of a history in the ancient British language, by an unknown author, and written about the year 590, according to the conjectures of Leland and Bale, grounded on the author describing himself a Catechumen, about to go to Rome to obtain baptism, and prophesying the approaching conversion of England. There is a Copy of this Treatise in Faustina, B 4, and in the Lib. of Magdalen Coll. and Jesus Coll. Oxford. It is printed in extenso,

- in the *Acta Sanctorum*, under date of June 22, and an Epitome of this MS. will be found in the work of Matt. Florilegus, under the year 303, the *Legenda Albani et Amphib.* of Capgrave, and *Hist. Eccles.* of Nicolaus Harpsfield, lib. 1. capp. 8. and 10.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 47. The Lives and Martyrdoms of St. Alban and Amphibalus, in Latin Verse by Ralph de Dunstable. (This is a rendering in verse of the M.S. above mentioned, fo. 34), and is the same as Julius, D 3, 125, Des: Cat.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 84. *Hist. of Offa*, 1st and 2nd, auctore M. Par.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 98. Acts of the Abbats of the Monastery of St. Alban, from Willegod to Thomas de la Mare: by Matthew Paris and Thomas of Walsingham. (Matt. Par. was a monk of St. Albans, who wrote in the reign of Henry III. Thomas of Walsingham lived in the reigns of Henry IV. and V. See Preface of Wats to the Lives of the two Offas; and of twenty-three Abbats of St. Albans, in his edition of the Works of Matt. Par. London, 1640.)
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 241. Constitutions of Abbat Thomas, set forth in a General Chapter, held on the Feast of St. Michael, A. D. 1351, and subsequently.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 307. Proceedings against the Rebellious Tenantry of the Monastery, in the time of Richard II. by Matthew Paris and Thomas Walsingham. (See p. 27.)
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 334. A Treatise on the Nobility, Life, and Martyrdom of SS. Alban and Amphibalus, extracted from a certain book written in the French language, and translated into Latin.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 337. Goods and Chattels of the Abbat and Monastery of St. Alban.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 349. Of the Relics deposited in the Monastery, and the Indulgences granted to the visiting them. The *Monast. Anglic.*, edit. London, 1819-30, gives the list in full of the Relics, some of which are very marvellous.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 359. The manner of proceeding in the Election, Confirmation and Installation of an Abbat. See *Monast. Anglic.*
- Claudius, E 8, fo. 10. De denario S. Petri qui Romescot dicitur et de mancusa.
- Claudius, E 4, fo. 213. Surrender of privileges by the Abbat and Monastery to the rebellious Townspeople.
- Nero, A 1. Remarks on the payment of Romescot or Peter Pence (*in Saxon.*)
- Nero, C 6. The First part of the Granarium of John of Wheathampsted, concerning Histories and the Writers of them. The other part is in Tiberius, D 5, now almost destroyed by fire. It is a kind of Theological Common-place Book. Dugdale.
- Nero, D 1, fol. 1. (The Catalogue describes this Book as very valuable, and to be treated with the greatest care.) History of Offa I. and II. by Matthew Par. At the beginning is written in red letters, a Memorandum, of which the following is a translation:—"Brother Matthew gave this Book to God and the Church of St. Alban; whoever shall take it away or injure it, let him be Anathema." This can hardly be regarded as

written by himself, for a prayer is immediately subjoined, that the soul of the said Matthew and the souls of the faithful departed may rest in peace. Edited by Wats. London, 1640.

Nero, D 1, fo. 27. Of the finding and translation of the body of Saint Alban, and of King Offa, the founder of the Church of St. Alban.

Nero, D 1, fo. 30. Lives of the first twenty-three Abbats, by the above Matthew Par. An illuminated Portrait precedes the Life of each Abbat. Edited by Wats.

Nero, D 1, fo. 145. A List of Gifts of Rings—precious stones set in gold. (A coloured Drawing is given of each, followed by a description and the name of the donor.)

Nero, D 1, fo. 148. Ancient and Primitive Records of the Church of Saint Alban. (Wats Addit. p. 237.)

Nero, D 1, fo. 165. An Obituary Table of the Monks of St. Alban, from A. D. 1216 to 1252. (At the year 1217, is written in red letters, in Latin, a Memorandum, of which the following is a translation: "In this year I, Brother Matt. Paris, took upon me the Religious Habit, on St. Agnes' day. I have written these accounts that the names of the Brothers might live for ever.") We infer then that we have here the Autograph of the Author.

Nero, D 1, fo. 173. The Rule according to which the Nuns and Sisters of our Lady des Prés, near St. Albans, ought to live. Printed in Wats' Matt. Par. Vitæ Abbatum, p. 97.

Nero, D 1, fo. 187. Statutes of the Hospital of St. Julian, appointed by Michael, Abbat of St. Alban. (Edited by Wats.)

Nero, D 1, fo. 192. Charter of the Foundation of St. Julians.

Nero, D 1, fo. 193. Customs and Rules of the Nuns of the Blessed Mary, of Sopwell, used from the earliest times, and renewed by Michael, Abbat of St. Alban. (Edited by Wats.)

Nero, D 1, fo. 193 b. Articles to be observed by the professed Brethren of the Hospital of Saint Julian.

Nero, D 7. Catalogue of Benefactors, and of all who have been admitted into full Fraternity of the Monastery of St. Alban, to the year 1463, with Compendious Histories of the same, and Portraits. The greater part of this MS. was compiled by Thomas Walsingham, in 1380, see fols. 82, 83. The last entry in black letter is in 1475. The writer of it was William de Wylum. But there are some subsequent entries in a later and a running hand. It will be found copied in the Appendix to Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire; and he remarks that the Portraits executed by Alan Strayler, Illuminator of the Abbey, appear to have furnished Mr. Strutt (Regal. and Eccles. Antiquities, p. 39), with many subjects of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of this Kingdom. This M.S. was presented to Sir Robert Cotton by the great Lord Bacon, in 1623. It formerly belonged to Queen Mary. Thos. Hearne, in his work entitled, *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres, Oxon. 1732*, gives a portion of Nero, D 7, beginning at folio 27, and headed *De Gestis Johannis Whethampsted*.

Vitellius, B 4, fo. 95. Richard Pace to Card. Wolsey about the death of the Abbat of S. Albans, and a licence for the election of a successor.

- Titus, B 1, fo. 80. A note of Plate given by Cardinal Wolsey to the Monastery of Saint Alban. There is another account of Plate given by the Cardinal to the Abbey of S. Albans from a MS. in the hands of Rev. Mr. Price, keeper of the Bodl. Lib., Oxford. Printed in *Collectanea Curiosa*, Oxford, 1781.
- Otho.—*Gesta Paucula Ab. Joan. Wheathampsted* relating to his first rule; burnt to a crust: existent in Weever's time, and quoted by him.
- Cleopatra, E 4, fo. 43. Thomas Legh and William Petre to J. Cromwell, giving an account of their Visitation of St. Albans, and their arguments to bring the monks to surrender. St. Albans, Dec. 10, 1538. (This letter is given in full by Newcome, p. 439, and in *Mon. Ang.*)
- Faustina, B 4, fo. 1. History of the Martyrdom of St. Alban, &c. Same as Claudius, E 4, fo. 34.
- Faustina, B 9, fo. 75—144. English Chronicle, by G. Ryshanger, a monk of S. Albans, from A.D. 1259, deficient 54 years to 1360, and then continuous to the deposition of Richard II. and the accession of Henry IV.

Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

- No. 28. An Indenture, quadripartite, made between King Henry VII. (20th Nov. in the 20th year of his reign)—the Abbat and Convent of Westminster, the Abbat (Ramryge) and Convent of St. Albans and the Mayor and Commonalty of London, concerning the holding a solemn anniversary in the Church of St. Albans for ever, and praying for the King, the Royal Family, and the Realm.
- No. 139. The pedigree of John Bostock, Abbat of St. Albans.
- No. 247. See No. 6217 below.
- No. 602. A Book of Memoranda, compiled apparently by order of John de la Moote, then Prior of the Monastery, afterwards Abbat (p. 29), about the 40th year of Edw. III. The first leaf of the MS. is headed, *Liber Memorandorum Dom. Joh. Moot Prioris Coquinarii Refectorarii Infirmarii et Eleemosynarii hujus Monast.*, and ends with *Thomas*, as apparently the person who wrote the inscription. Just below this, *Thomas Prior Abbas Monasterii* is written in small characters. There is a copy in the Lib. of Jesus Coll. Oxford.
- No. 604, fo. 67. Sir Richard Riche to Cromwell, announcing his intention of suppressing Binham Abbey.
- No. 3775, fo. 8. Names of those who have joined the fraternity of St. Alban.
- No. 3775, fo. 10. A very infamous Petition (*supplicatio pessima*) of John Sharpe to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Kingdom, tending to the subversion of the Church.
- No. 3775, fo. 12. In what way the Abbat of Westminster first usurped the precedence in Parliament over the Abbat of Saint Albans.¹

¹ Dugdale thinks that this paper was drawn up by Abbat Wheathampsted himself.

- No. 3775, fo. 14. Of the Dedication of the Church of St. Alban.
 No. 3775, fo. 16. Monuments of the Church of St. Alban, dated 1429. Newcome gives long extracts from this MS. p. 312 et seqq.; and Weever, in his *Ancient Fun. Mon.* (London, 1631) has occupied twenty-six pages with ancient Inscriptions in this Abbey.
 No. 6217. An Historical Relation of certain Passages, about the end of King Edw. III. and of his death. There is little doubt that it is a translation from a Latin original, and the writer seems to speak sometimes as if he lived near the times of which he writes. He is considered to have been a monk of St. Albans. One of the chapters records a legacy bequeathed to the Monastery by the Countess of Pembroke, and another describes the acts of a new Brotherhood which had established themselves in the town. These incidents, as well as the burning of a brewhouse belonging to the Abbey, and afterwards of some houses in the town, are by the chronicler recorded amongst events of the highest possible interest. It commences abruptly with the words, "the nighte followynge," &c., and the portion of history which should precede it has been found in the same handwriting in No. 247 of the Harleian MSS. The foregoing remarks are extracted from a Letter on this MS. by Thos. Amyot, Esq., F.R.S., Treas. S. A., and printed in the *Archæologia* 1829, vol. 22, No. 16.
 No. 6853, fo. 86. Extracts from the Register of the Monastery of Saint Alban.

Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum.

- No. 260. Some Interesting Papers concerning the Abbey of St. Albans.
 No. 375. Register Book of the Almoner of the Abbey of St. Albans, on Vellum, in 4to. containing 195 folios. It was compiled for the use of the Eleemosynary or Almoner of the Abbey of St. Albans, and contains an account of everything belonging to the same Office, from the latter part of the reign of Edward III. to 16th Richard II. as also of Lands, Tythes, &c., belonging to the Abbey of St. Albans. This MS. formerly belonged to Bishop Kennett, and afterwards came into the possession of James West, Esq., of St. Albans. Dugdale gives a summary of its contents.

Arundel MSS. in the British Museum.

- No. 34. A Register of various Lands and Tenements by John Whethampstede and Thomas Ramryge, Abbats of the exempt Monastery of St. Alban. This was once the property of the Royal Society of London, whose stamp it bears on the first page, which also states it to have been the gift of the Duke of Norfolk. For a full account of the contents of this Register, see Dugdale's *Monast.*, vol. ii. p. 210.

Cole MSS. in the British Museum.

- No. 5828, fo. 153. An Analysis of the Register of the Monastery of St. Albans, in the Library of C.C.C., Camb.
 No. 5828, fo. 188. List of the Cellarers of the Abbey of St. Alban.
 No. 5843, fo. 153. *Historia aurea*, &c., in Benet. Coll. Lib. This curious old MS. is in the MS. Lib. of C.C.C., Camb. The former part seems to be an old *Eng. Chronicle*, the latter a *leiger book of the Abbey* of St. Albans. At the top of the first page is written, in a different hand from the *Chronicle*, this Title, Supplementum Historie auree J. de Timouth ex Cœnobio S. Albani.

Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace.

- No. 6. Codex membr. folio. The St. Albans' Chronicle, see p. 42a.
 No. 585, p. 67. Extracts from a certain Register of the Monastery of St. Alban, and Hist. of the Abbats, from 1396 to 1400.
 No. 585, p. 387. Extracts from a Register of the Monast. of St. Albans, compiled by Fr. Will. Wyntershulle, A° 1382.
 No. 585, p. 437. Catalogue of the Abbats of the Monast. of S. A. to 1510. The Catalogue ends with Thos. Ramryge.
 No. 589, p. 30. Historical Collections concerning the Parliamentary Abbats of England, who had the Right of sitting in the Upper House of Parliament, arranged each in their proper order and succession.
 No. 590, p. 37. Extracts from the Register of Thos. Ramryge, Abbat of St. Alban.
 No. 643, p. 7. Bull of Pope Alex. IV. exempting the Monastery of S. A. and all its Cells, which are enumerated in order, from Episc. authority.

The Library of the Herald's Office.

- Norfolk Press.* No. 3. Chronicon of John of Wheathamstede, Abbat of S. Alb., during his second Rule (see Claude D 1, fo. 33). On the first leaf is written *Blakeney Robertus Capellanus Domini Thome Ramryge Abbatis*. In the margin, in a later hand, *William Howarde*, 1589. Thos. Hearne has printed the greater part of this Chronicon in the 2nd vol. of "*Duo Rerum Anglic. Script. Vet.*" An enumeration of its contents will be found in the *Monast. Anglic.* and the parts indicated which have been published by Hearne.

The Bodleian Library, Oxford.

- Register of Presentations to the Churches belonging to St. Albans Abbey, from 1458 to 1488. Rawlinson MSS.
 Albanus S. Martyr. His History in prose and verse. 4to.

Register of Willm. Albon, Abbat of the Monastery of St. Albon. It contains Records of various kinds, and among them a List of all the members of the Monastery. Also an abbreviation of the Hist. Aurea of John of Tynemouth.

A Copy of all the Verses, by Abbat Wheathampsted, in the new windows of the Cloister and the Library, and Verses On the First Battle of St. Albans, in the time of Henry VI. Laudian MSS. 697. They are to be found in Dugdale's Monasticon.

A Graduale, or Book of Chants with Rubrics, pointing out the days on which they are to be used. On a leaf near the end is written, in ancient hand, Lib. Mon. Sci. Alban. Anglor. Protomart. Laud. MSS. 358.

Historia Aurea Johannis Anglici (sive Tynemutensis) MS. V. 44, Jur. Lib. 20, cap. 72. Extracts from this MS. will be found in Harl. MSS. No. 258, fo. 36.

The Library of Magdalen College, Oxford.

A MS., considered to have been written about the 12th century, and the same as Claudius, E 4, fo. 34.

Trinity College, Oxford.

A MS. No. 38. Lives of SS. Alban and Amphibalus, translated out of French and Latin by John Lydgate, Monk of Bury, at the request and prayer of John Wheathampsted, in the year of our Lord 1439, and the 19th of his abbacy. Printed at St. Albans in 1534. There is a copy of this work in the Brit. Mus. Gen. Cat. 1076, c. 2; and Newcombe has given an extract from the Arundel MS. 34, recording the payment, by Abbat Wheathampsted, as a present to a certain Monk of Bury, for translating the Life of St. Alban into the vulgar tongue, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

No. 57. A Book of Festivals in English Verse, containing Lives of many Saints: that of St. Alban, at fo. 55-6. One of the poems in this volume bears date 1375.

Jesus College, Oxford.

MS. 77, 1. Containing the lives of St. Alban and Amphibalus. It is the same as Cotton Lib. Claudius, E 4, fo. 34.

2. Extracts from the Register of St. Albans, in which are contained many documents relative to the Abbey of St. Alban's, the Cell of Tynemouth and others; the Foundation of the Hospital of St. Julian for poor Lepers, by Abbat Geoffrey, &c. At folio 68*b* is a Memorandum that John Episcopus Artfarthensis¹ held an Ordination at the High Altar in the season of Advent, at the desire of John of Hertford, the Abbat of St. Albans.

¹ Ardfert, a small decayed village in Ireland. Soon after the Restoration, in 1663, it was annexed to the See of Limerick, and has so continued.

3. A Book of Memoranda of John Moote, Prior-almoner, &c. of this Monastery. He became 31st Abbat. Also Harl. MS. 602.

4. Book of the Acts of John of Wheathampsted during the years of the second Rule of that Abbat. These are extracts from the Earl of Arundel's library. See The Lib. of the Herald's Office.

The knowledge of the existence of these College MSS. was obtained by consulting Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Colleg. Aulisq. Oxon. hodie asservantur. Confecit Henricus, O. Coxe, A.M. Oxon, 1852.

The University Library, Cambridge.

Dd. x. 22. Secunda pars Historiæ Aureæ ad A.D. 1342.

Ee. iii. 44. Notes taken out of two Registers of the Abbey of St. Albans, temp. Eliz.

Ee. iv. 20. A Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Albans made by William Wyntershulle, the Abbat's Chaplain in the year 1382.

The original Register abounds in curious and important information relating to the Monastery of St. Alban, and the places where its possessions lay. There are also various little articles in the old French, such as lists of colours and herbs, and a brief tract on heraldry.

The Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

A compendium of the Benefactors of the Monastery of St. Alban; together with the Lives of the Abbats, Thomas de la More and John Moote, and the election of William Heyworth. This Treatise is a supplement to the Hist. Aurea. of John of Tynemouth, and Harl. MSS. No. 258, contains Extracts from this work, which are stated to have been taken from a complete MS. in the Bodleian Lib. Oxford. Large Extracts are to be found from this Compendium, and copies of Illuminations, in vol. 42 of Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus. where it is entitled, Registrum Monast. Sci. Albani. It is very similar in its contents to Cott. MS. Nero, D 7. Cole closes his Analysis of Contents thus: "In this book are an hundred "things of great curiosity, relating to the private acts of a few of the "Abbats." In Col. C. C. C. Jan. 20, 1770.

Gaius College.

Foundation of the Monastery of S. Alban by the glorious King Offa, and a Catalogue of Abbats. There is a general Analysis of this MS. by Ames in his Typogr. Dict. vol. i. p. 127, et seqq. London, 1785.

The List of Manuscripts may be much extended by consulting the Catalogues of the British Museum—Leland, De Reb. Hist. Collectanea, 6 vols. 8vo. London, 1774; and Tanner's Notitia Monastica, fol. Camb. 1787.

The printed Histories from which this Compilation has been chiefly formed, are—

Acta Sanctorum, Johan. Bollandus, Antwerp, 1643.

Works of Matthew Paris, in the original Latin, edited by Wats. fol. London, 1640 (composed entirely of MSS. mentioned in the preceding List).

Monasticon Anglicanum (Dugdale), last edition, 8 vols. folio. London, 1817 to 1830.

History of the Ancient and Royal Foundation, called the Abbey of St. Alban (Newcome). 4to. London, 1795.

Some Account of the Abbey Church of St. Alban (Carter). London, 1813.

History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford (Clutterbuck). 3 vols. folio. 1815.

History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Albans (J. C. and C. A. Buckler). 8vo. London, 1847.

THE END.

WALL TILES.



TILES intended as a decoration for walls, in the room of bas-reliefs, paintings, or tapestry, are almost peculiar to Malvern Priory Church. This is the only place where Wall Tiles remaining in use have been found.* Others made for the same purpose† may be recognised elsewhere, but none have hitherto been observed *in situ*, with the exception of what has been called a wall diaper at West Walton in Norfolk.

In most churches which had a choir, it was inclosed by wooden *cancellæ* or screens: but occasionally a wall of stone was erected, and this was in part the case at Malvern.‡

* Some of the Malvern tiles have occurred at Monmouth; and Mr. Wakeman, in an essay recently published in the quarto volume of the Archæological Association, has treated them as of distinct manufacture; but this is an evident mistake.

† The Archbishop, Queen, and King, (each on three tiles,) from Chertsey Abbey, represented in Mr. H. Shaw's *Specimens of Tile Pavements*, pl. xxii. have every appearance of being intended for the Wall.

‡ The Choir extended two arches westward from the high altar. On the north the arch next the altar was occupied by the stone screen. The opposite arch towards the south was filled by a chantry chapel (upon which now stands the monument of John Knotsford, esquire, the grantee of the church after the Dissolution of the Priory). The two western arches had each a low stone wall; faced externally by what I term the third and fourth sets of tiles; above which was an oaken screen of perforated tracery, with a range of louvres, or openings slanting towards the east, at a proper height to afford to the laity that stood outside a view of the services of the high altar, without intruding on the monks. All these screens are still perfect.

The wall takes a semicircular sweep at its eastern end, forming a narrow vestry behind the high altar, and leaving an ambulatory or procession path, which surrounds the whole choir. It was to ornament the exterior face of this wall, towards the ambulatory, that these tiles were made. It will be remembered how a similar wall in the church of Notre Dame at Paris is adorned with bas-reliefs, which have been much admired; and there are other continental churches where such decoration was accomplished by sculpture. It was here attempted by the humbler fictile art, which was evidently flourishing in this county, with much ingenuity and gracefulness of design, in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Of the Wall Tiles at Malvern there are at least four sets, of various patterns, and several gradations of size, made to fit the compartments which were sunk in the stone wall to receive them. Latterly those of the largest pattern have stood more conspicuously within the choir, on the walls about the altar table, where some still remain; but, how far that was originally a place for them, it is difficult to decide, as that part of the church has been frequently disturbed, and more particularly on the erection of a large Protestant altar-piece of wainscoting, which is now removed. The interior decorations of the choir may very probably have been of richer materials. But, in any case, I have no hesitation in asserting that these very curious Wall Tiles were specially made for the cavities in the exterior wall of the stone screen, to which such as remain of the smaller sets have been now restored, accompanied by a great quantity of ancient Floor Tiles, which for their number and variety form a very interesting study of this class of mediæval art, though from wear and ill-usage many are in an imperfect state.

It is to be regretted that some of the largest set of the Wall Tiles have not also been restored to their original position on the eastern face of the screen; from which they were driven little more than half a century ago, in order to make room for mural monuments. The smaller tiles which have lately been placed below those monuments, are embedded in such strong cement that I fear they cannot be again removed without destruction; but, if other situations could be found for the monuments, the Wall Tiles—in a single instead of a double arrangement of the pattern—might still be set above the other tiles.

Among the interesting drawings by the Rev. Daniel Lysons now in the possession of his nephew the Rev. Samuel Lysons of Hempsted Court (and exhibited by him at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Worcester in 1862,) is one of this part of the church, showing the tiles in their original position; and one of the smaller sketches made by John Carter in 1784, etched in his "Ancient Architecture," also represents them still *in situ*.

THE FIRST SET OF WALL TILES.



NE set is composed of tiles unusually large in size, being, with one exception, a foot in height (shrunk nearly a quarter of an inch in the kiln) by 9 inches in width; and their thickness is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. There are six varieties in the set, one of which is made for the uppermost row, one for the second, another for the third, and three to be used alternately in the lowest range.* These tiles, when thus put together, occupy a space equal to one-half of the height of the upper cavity sunk in the stone screen, on its eastern face; and when repeated they fitted it exactly, for its perpendicular measure is 7 feet 9 inches. They were continued along the whole sweep of the screen on that side, which measures 39 feet in length. The uppermost tile of the pattern has at the top an inscription of the date of its manufacture—

Anno d' M. cccc. luj.

i. e. in the year of our Lord 1453, and is covered with foliated tracery, forming canopies for the shields below.

The next tile, which is only ten inches in height, contains two shields, being the royal coats of Edward the Confessor and of England, both crowned. They may be considered to allude to the Abbey of Westminster and its royal founders the Kings, the priory of Malvern being a house in some respects dependent upon that abbey.

* These Tiles were published very imperfectly in Mr. Shaw's *Specimens of Tile Pavements*, 1852. His plate represents three tiles only, each thrice repeated—the first, the second, and for a third a pattern which does not exist, for by some accident Mr. Shaw has paired together the shields of Despenser and Beauchamp Earl of Warwick.



WALL TILES AT MALVERN.

(FIRST SET.)



The third tile contains shields of Bohun Earl of Hereford, and of the family of Mortimer of Kyre Wyre, or Cure Wyard, in Worcestershire, which distinguished their coat by an ermine inescutcheon.*

These two pairs of shields were repeated along the whole design; but the three other pairs were placed in succession in the lowest range of the pattern, each terminating in a border decorated with quatrefoil and cruciform ceilllets. One of these three last tiles contains the shields of Clare Earl of Gloucester, and Beauchamp Earl of Warwick; the second those of Despenser Earl of Gloucester, and Beauchamp of Powick; and the third those of Scull and Stafford of Grafton.

The arms of Clare, Despenser, and Beauchamp all commemorated the ancient lords of Malvern Chase, who, as well as the rest, were doubtless reckoned among the chief benefactors of the Priory. The neighbouring castle of Hanley belonged to the Earls of Warwick; and at Powick, between Malvern and Worcester, was seated the junior branch of Beauchamp which bore martlets instead of crosslets. The historian Habingdon speaks of Sir Walter Skull as "a person very famous, who resided at Holt Castle (on the Severn) in the reign of Edward IV."† That family were also of Much Cowarne in the county of Hereford. Their coat is blazoned as, Gules, a bend voided between six lion's heads erased or. The Staffords possessed estates in various places

* Arms of Worcestershire Families, in Nash's History of the County, Appendix, p. lxxxix; and in vol. ii. p. 70, he shows that these Mortimers, a younger branch of the Barons of Wigmore, were living in the reign of Henry VI. In former accounts of the tiles this shield has been always assigned to Mortimer Earl of March.

† "Skull of Wichenford" in former descriptions of this tile, following Thomas, and perhaps Habingdon; but Nash does not mention the name under that parish.

of Worcestershire. The branch "of Grafton" were distinguished by the ermine canton.

There is a seventh tile of the same large size, which like the uppermost is decorated with open tracery and canopy heads, and it was apparently made to intervene between the lower ranges of tile. If two lines of it were so placed it would increase the height of the pattern to about nine feet; and its occurrence favours the supposition that some of this pattern were thus arranged near the altar screen. Used in that way it interposes a line of lighter colour not disagreeably between the dark-grounded tiles. It might also be employed for some smaller spaces where there was not room for the whole design.



ACCESSORY TILE TO THE FIRST PATTERN.

THE SECOND SET OF WALL TILES.

(A few copies of this set are printed of their actual size.)



THE second set is composed of tiles of the same oblong form, but of considerably less size than the former. They measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$; the perpendicular line of five occupying 3 feet 8 inches which is just the height of the cavity formed for them in the upper division of the stone screen on its northern side. To that place (measuring in length 16 feet 9 inches) such as are left of these tiles have been recently restored. Their thickness is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Their design consists of architectural stall or canopy work, in four stages, its crowning pinnacles and finials appearing in the head tile, with this date in the upper margin:—

Anno r. r. h. vi. xxxvi.

that is,—the 36th year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, 1457-8.

In the second tile is a shield of the Passion, its charges being the cross surrounded by the spear and ladder, two scourges, and two nails.

In the third or central tile is the royal shield of France and England quarterly, under a crown.

In the fourth is placed, under a coronet of a more florid form, the holy name of *ihc* (Jesus); and in the lowest the religious device of a Pelican in her piety, which is seated in her nest on a tree. This striking emblem of the self-sacrifice of the Saviour was frequently employed in ancient times, as on the spire-formed cover of the font at Ufford, Suffolk, and the font at North Walsham, Norfolk; and

pelican lecterns formerly existed in the cathedrals of Durham and Norwich, and other churches. The legendary tale was this, that the pelican, having slain her young, mourns over them three days, and then, vulning herself, restores them to life by the aspersion of her blood. Thus, according to the ancient distich:—

*Ut pellicanus fit matris sanguine sanus,
Sic sumus sanati nos omnes sanguine nati. i. e. Christi.*



LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO





WALL TILES AT MALVERN.

(THIRD SET.)

THE THIRD SET OF WALL TILES



THE third perfect set is of a continuous pattern, with head and foot tiles. These tiles are square, measuring on each side nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and five rows of them exactly fit the lower stages of the screen, in a cavity of the height of 27 inches. There are however four varieties of the central tiles, making six in all.*

The head tile contains a cypher of MARIA, the name of the Blessed Virgin. The foot tile is of tracery, resembling two church windows.

The central tiles display the name of *ihc* crowned: a shield of France and England, one of Edward the Confessor, and one of the Passion. The charges of the last are in this case very remarkable. Around the cross are arranged the scourge, spear, hammer, two nails, crown of thorns, ladder, rod with hyssop, an axe or bill of singular form, a dice-box (apparently), and three dice, marked | • | •• | ••• |

At Gloucester Cathedral a part of this same pattern occurs in Abbot Sebroke's pavement, but slightly varied in the foliage, and therefore decidedly made from other moulds. It is a combination of sixteen tiles, of only three patterns, having the shield of France and England at the four corners,

* Mr. E. L. Blackburne, F.S.A., architect, in his "Sketches, Graphic and Descriptive, for a History of the Decorative Painting applied to English Architecture during the Middle Ages, 1847," 4to., has given a plate composed from three tiles of this pattern—the shield of Edward the Confessor, the royal shield, and the foot tile. He took them from tiles then placed on the altar steps, and concluded, very naturally, that they were made for that situation.

the crowned cypher of Maria at the sides, and the crowned *jhc* in the area.*

Here at Malvern we have a shield of France and England placed in a corner tile, but again from a different mould.

* Represented in Shaw's Specimens of Tile Pavements, pl. xl. but with the shields in the corners reversed.







2
Three
two rows
should be
hang, with

WALL TILES AT MALVERN.

(FOURTH SET.)

THE FOURTH SET OF WALL TILES.



FOURTH set appears to have been made for one of the other lower divisions of the screen; but we find only three tiles out of five, unless those three were intended by repetition to serve for the five rows, which is not improbable from the large quantity remaining of the tile first described.

This is a tile containing the names of Jesus Christ, *ihc xpc*, both crowned, in two compartments.

In another, under an inverted leaf, are two shields charged with objects connected with the Passion of our Lord,—one containing the crown of thorns, two swords, the three nails, and hammer; the other, the cross, spear, rod with hyssop, scourge, and a kind of cruch cross, which seems to come in place of the ladder.

This species of religious heraldry was in frequent practice during the fifteenth century, and several other examples of it remain among the stained glass of this church.

The third tile is of leaves or flowers, as will be seen in the engraving: and might be used to unite with the preceding on either side.

There is another wall tile which forms a continuous pattern of oak-leaves, by no means inelegant.



And there is a tile of castellated canopy-work, which looks like the heading of another wall set, but for which no correspondent tiles are to be found. This it has not been thought necessary to engrave, as by itself it is unmeaning.



A CHARM AGAINST FIRE.

THE inscription placed on this tile is,—*Mentem sanctam, spontaneum honorem Deo, et patrie liberationem*, one that seems associated with the sentiments of those secret fraternities which formerly endeavoured to cherish the spirit of patriotism in combination with religious sentiments, in spite of the dominion of tyrannical governors. There is, however, no doubt that it was used as a charm against fire, and the reason why is related in the legend of Saint Agatha, who was also considered a protector from that calamity.

Saint Agatha the virgin martyr suffered in Sicily about the year of our Lord 253. After enduring a long series of torments, which are detailed in her legend, she died in prison; and at her interment there appeared a strange youth, clothed in silk, attended by more than a hundred others vested in albs, who placed at the head of the corpse a marble tablet inscribed with the words which are repeated on this tile. The veil of the martyr was afterwards used to check the eruptions of the neighbouring volcano of Etna, and with like success to that which attended the blood of

A CHARM AGAINST FIRE.

Saint Januarius at Vesuvius. Hence it came that Agatha was generally esteemed as a patron saint against conflagration.

"Saint Agatha defends thy house from fire and fearful flames."

Barnabe Googe's Popish Kingdom.

Dugdale mentions this mysterious legend as having been inscribed upon the great bell given to the church of Kenilworth by prior Thomas Kedermynstre, who was elected in 1402; and it is well known that bells were rung in the days of superstition, not only to give warning of fires, but especially to scare away those spirits of mischief who were supposed to fan the flames.

It also occurs as a charm "for fyre" in a MS. book of medical recipes, &c. in the British Museum (Addit. MS. 12,195); and it is doubtless still esteemed as a specific in some parts of the continent, for I have in my possession a slip of paper taken "From the door of a cottage on the Rhine," the ends of which are notched into points, and daubed with red lines to represent flames, and the charm is thus inscribed,—the three crosses being also inserted with red paint.

*Mentem Sanctam ✠ Spontaneum ✠
honorem Deo ✠ et Patriæ liberationem
ignis a læsura protege nos Agatha pia.*

j8j7.

This tile has been found at Shrewsbury.



THE MENDICANT'S TILE.

There was also perhaps something of the nature of a charm intended by the inscriptions upon this tile: which seem to be allusive to the sufferers who visited the holy waters of Malvern for relief from their diseases.

Hast thou a wound to heal
the which doth grieve thee ?
Come then unto this Well,
it will relieve thee :
Noli me tangere's
and other maladies
have here their remedies,
Praised be the Lord !

To drink thy waters, store
lie in thy bushes,
Many with ulcers sore,
many with bruises ;
Who succour find from ill
by money given still,
thanks to the christian will,
O praise the Lord !

THE MENDICANT'S TILE

These verses of the vivid and stirring Malvern ballad of the seventeenth century perpetuate the picture of the earlier date which is borne upon this tile—

a. d. mcccc. lbi.

The convent of Malvern was at once a monastery and a hospital.*

The doors and ailes of the church were doubtless frequented by mendicant invalids, on whose behalf was quoted the verse of Job xix. 21, the words of which are so curiously arranged on the tile, *Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me.* (Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, at least ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me.) The names of the four Evangelists placed in the outer angles favour the idea of this text being considered as a charm, reminding us of the homely distich still current in that capacity—

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Bless the bed that I lie on.

Possibly the beggars were required to take their station upon a spot indicated and limited by these tiles.

* In the appropriation of the church of Powick to the priory of Malvern, made by Walter bishop of Worcester in 1314, it is recognised that the house was maintained for the continuance of divine worship by twenty-six monks, for the perpetual relief of thirty poor folk, and for the duty of hospitality in a place so far distant from others. *Antiquitates Prioratus Majoris Malverne*, 8vo. 1725, p. 166.

COMPILATION OF COUNTY HISTORY.

A large Paper Copy of "LIPSCOMB'S HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE" has been purchased, to form the basis for a complete and accurate County History. Members are particularly requested to verify the account of places in which they are themselves interested, and to carry it down to the present time. For this purpose it will be lent to any Member on application. It is also desired, that notes of the building, restoration, or even slight alterations of any Church in the County, and other events of interest in a *Parochial History*, may be sent to the Secretaries for the purpose of being preserved and appended to the History of the County. Some of the more interesting or important of these notices may from time to time be printed in the "Records."

The following extracts from a letter, written by the Rev. F. G. Lee, to the Secretary, contain some useful hints for the Ecclesiological portion of the County History. He suggests that—

"Every clergyman who belongs to the Society, and any others who would be willing to aid, should at once draw up in MS. a description of his Church as it exists at this present time, or in the year 1856. Let him take the size of the chancel, nave, aisles, transepts, chapels, porches, vestry, &c., the space of the principal arches, the height and styles of the windows, with drawings of as many as can be obtained. Let him describe the form and position of the Pulpit, and note any peculiarities in it which are remarkable: the size, form, height, probable age, material, and position of the Font. Let the same be done in regard to the Holy Table or Altar, and let each of the piscinæ, shelves for cruets, aumbreys, niches, &c., be measured, and, if practicable, drawings made of them. Should the Church possess any remarkable or ancient altar or other sacred vestments, let full descriptions be given of them, and if possible, drawings or tracings of the embroidery be made. If there are any ancient tiles, let tracings of each pattern be likewise carefully made, and let the same be done in regard to flowered quarries in the windows. Let every fragment of ancient glass be carefully traced, which is easily done, with care, upon tissue or tracing paper; and afterwards let them be colored to match the originals. The old oak carving, too, should be accurately described, and, if possible, drawings be made of it. The ancient skreen, if there be one, should be represented, as there is just now a wide-spread desire to see this interesting piece of symbolism removed or destroyed: and, at a future time, it may be particularly useful to know something of its pattern and design. Then, in regard to monuments, let each be fully described, both as to shape, and present position, and the inscriptions accurately copied. Should there be any heraldick ornaments, let all be carefully drawn. Every brass should be

minutely described, and a rubbing ought to be taken of it. It is quite wonderful to know how, within the last thirty or forty years, memorial crosses have been destroyed, removed, or damaged. All ancient sepulchral slabs, and crosses also, should be drawn and descriptions given of them. All ancient books, e. g. of *The Homilies*, early copies of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the works of *Erasmus*, *John Foxe*, &c., so often found in village Churches, should be described as to size and date: and their title pages and colophons transcribed. If there are any quaint or otherwise interesting devices or inscriptions on the gravestones of the Churchyard, it would be well to add them in an Appendix. Should the Parish Register contain any entries of interest, let them be copied out, and as far as possible, let a correct list of the Vicars, Rectors, or Curates of the Parish be made.* The Register, or where that fails, monuments or traditions will often aid in this particular. It would be interesting too, supposing the Register or Churchwarden's Account Book is of an age anterior to that of the Reformation, to learn something of the lists of ancient plate, vestments, ornaments, &c., which appear to have been tolerably accurately made, when Henry VIII's Commissioners came round to steal them. The present Church plate might be described also, and the inscriptions on the bells rubbed and preserved, and any thing else given which the judgment of the compiler might lead him to consider interesting.

"I would suggest that all these descriptions and drawings be carefully and clearly copied out on a uniform sized foolscap paper,† and then forwarded to the Secretaries for preservation. They might afterwards be bound up in volumes. * * * * *

"Of the value and interest of such a collection of information, as I propose should be made, no one can doubt; and at the present time, when a better taste is prevailing in Ecclesiastical Architecture, such notes would be particularly interesting, as many Church fittings, monuments, &c., and other examples of bad style and bad taste are happily being removed, and probably being destroyed. Surely, then, some record of them, however frightful they may be, would be valuable. The labors of Weever, Browne Willis, Hearne, and others, which benefit us, should stimulate us to follow their example, for the sake of future generations.

"Some will say, of course, that they know but little of Architecture, and are quite unable to use the pencil; but surely a sister or relative would come to one's aid, and render the needful assistance in the latter point; and a very limited knowledge of architecture would suffice, to enable a clergyman to describe his own Church. It is not at all necessary—though, where it can be done, it is desirable that it should be—to have the papers drawn up with scientific precision. Ordinary language can easily be made available, if common care is taken and tolerable accuracy made use of, satisfactorily to describe our ancient Parish Churches, and so to form useful and valuable MSS. available at any future period for producing an authentick Ecclesiological History of the County."

These suggestions, *with the aid* of the ample materials collected by Dr. Lipscomb, will not be found so difficult to carry out as might at first appear. Photographic drawings of the Churches, &c., will be most serviceable.

* This has been done by Dr. Lipscomb, whose lists will *usually* only require correcting to the present time.

† Ruled paper will be supplied for the purpose; but ordinary foolscap paper (whole sheets) will suffice, if a margin is left.

The Herald and Genealogist.

“ Neither was it a bare ornament of discourse, or naked diversion of leisure time, but a most weighty piece of knowledge, that he could blazon most Noble and Antient Coats, and thereby discern the relation, interest, and correspondence of Great Families, and the most successful way of dealing with any one family.”

David Lloyd's Character of Sir Henry Killebrew.

SOME knowledge of Heraldry, as skill in “the blazonry of Noble and Antient Coats” is now popularly called, was formerly esteemed a necessary part of the accomplishments of a gentleman. In modern times this art has attracted fewer students and received less attention. Though its use is still recognised by the world at large as a badge of social distinction,—and by the republicans of the New World quite as devotedly as by the patricians of the Old,—its pursuit, beyond that personal appropriation, has been latterly regarded by very few in any more serious light than as an exercise for the pencil and the colour-box.

Its professional practice has, in successive generations, passed through many phases and fashions, in which its ancient principles were scarcely known or recognised, and its primitive simplicity and true significance nearly passed out of view, obscured by the fancies and bad taste engendered by continual innovations. With the fashion or practice of the present day very few are acquainted beyond those who are professionally concerned; but, whilst it is believed to be much chastened and corrected from former eccentricities and absurdities, the multiplication of coats still renders a certain amount of complexity necessary and unavoidable. Every period has doubtless had its peculiarities; and, throughout all these changes, there is a chronology and a history that have to be traced, and valuable facts that may be elicited as evidence for the biographer and the genealogist.

Notwithstanding the frequent appearance of many excellent works of Family History and Genealogy, and even several upon Heraldry itself as now understood, it must be admitted that the archæology of this art is considerably in arrear of the general advance of antiquarian science at the present day. It is a mine hitherto imperfectly worked, and from which, in consequence, much is yet to be brought to light. That comparative analysis and that chronological arrangement which, within the present century, have changed our ideas upon English architecture from confusion into system and order, may possibly be applied to Heraldry with similar success.

It has therefore been determined to establish a periodical miscellany, devoted, in the first place, to the antiquities of Heraldry, and next, to those branches of local and family history to which Heraldry lends material aid. It is not, however, intended that the work should contain nothing but what is new to those already well versed in the study. On the contrary, as one of its objects will be to increase and popularise an heraldic taste, it will be occupied with many matters already in some measure familiar and notorious; but upon each of which, it is conceived, by juxta-position and discussion, and by the removal of former errors, some *advance* may be made beyond the amount and accuracy of our present information.

The Genealogical articles will be of sterling value, and confined, as far as possible, to materials hitherto unpublished, after the plan which was adopted in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* and *The Topographer and Genealogist*, and which placed those miscellanies among the most esteemed stores of genealogical information.

It is proposed to bring forward for consideration, among others, the following subjects:—

The composition and development of Coat-Armour, and its various origins and derivations, whether feudal, historical, or canting (*i. e.*, echoing to the names of persons or places).

The invention and adoption of Cognizances, Crests, and Supporters.

Retrospective reviews of the old treatises on Coat-Armour,

written by Guilford, Upton, Legh, Bossewell, Ferne, Segar, Spelman, Carter, Dugdale, Guillim, and others.

Accounts of the Manuscript Collections of our old Heralds, with fac-similes of their Autographs for the purpose of identification.

Controversies for the use of Arms, and other proceedings of the Earl Marshal's Court.

Transfers of Arms by deed or agreement.

Fictitious Genealogies.

Heraldry of Religious and other Societies and Communities.

The Banners and Badges of Towns and Counties.

Arms granted to Foreign Ambassadors.

The Banners captured at Flodden and Musselborough.

The ancient grade of Knights Bannerets.

Collections on the Order of St. Michael of France.

The personal history of the old Heralds, including their public services and their professional contests.

Original Charters, Wills, and other documents affording evidence of Heraldry or Genealogy.

Heraldic and Genealogical Correspondence, Notes and Queries.

The following articles are now in preparation, and several of them will appear in the First Number:—

An Inquiry who were the earliest Writers on Armory, and which of their Treatises are extant.

An account of the progress made in the publication of the Heralds' Visitations of Counties.

On Change of Name, *proprio motu*, by deed enrolled in Chancery.

A review of Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armorie*, with biographical notices of the author.

What was a Cote-Armour originally, and what was a Tabard.

Mottoes used by the Royal Families of England.

The Will of John Writhe, Garter,—in correction of Mark Noble.

The descent of the Manor and Advowson of Hampton Poyle, in the county of Oxford, from the extinction of the family of

De la Poyle, in the families of Gaynesford, Bury, Dormer, Hawtrey, and Croke: with their pedigrees. By Benj. W. Greenfield, Esq.

A Roll of ninety-two Coats of the Arms of More, Moore, De la More, &c., compiled in the reign of James the First; from the original in the possession of James More Molyneux, Esq., F.S.A.

Notices of the Grants and Confirmations of Arms, Illuminated Rolls, Pedigrees, and other Heraldic Manuscripts exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in May, 1862.

How to print Armorial Blazonry.

Heraldic and Genealogical Notes and Queries.

THE HERALD AND GENEALOGIST will be published Quarterly, price Two Shillings and Sixpence. The First Number will appear in September; and Communications may be addressed to Mr. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, 25, Parliament Street, Westminster.

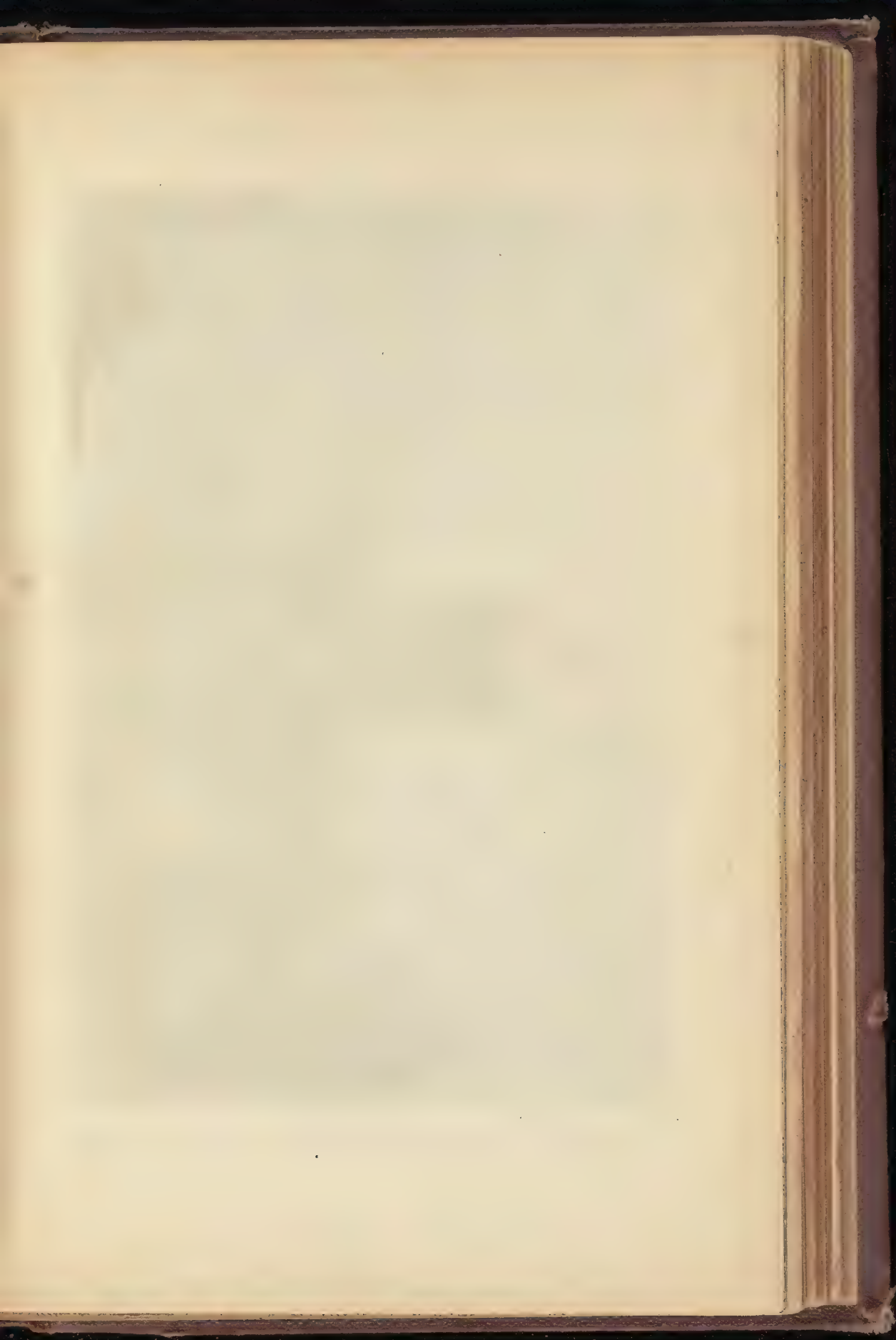
AN APPEAL
FOR THE RESTORATION

OF



Nantwich Church.

NANTWICH:
F. H. GRIFFITHS, HIGH STREET.





ST. LAWRENCE CHURCH, N. Y.

AN APPEAL
FOR THE RESTORATION
OF
NANTWICH CHURCH,
In the County of Chester.

ABOUT six years ago, an effort was made in Nantwich, by some zealous inhabitants, worshipping at the Parish Church, to raise a Fund for the Faithful Restoration of this ancient edifice—one of the most beautiful ornaments of the County of Chester—to its original character, and for increasing the number of free sittings.

This first appeal was but feebly responded to by the promise of a few hundred pounds; and the project was therefore reluctantly abandoned, save by a few ladies in the town of Nantwich,

who from time to time laid up in store towards this good work, part of the proceeds of a Workbasket, to be ready for any future attempt. Meanwhile the attention of the Parishioners was drawn away to more urgent needs, created by the fearful ravages of the Cholera in 1849, and since that time by the costly machinery of the Public Health Act. But scarcely were they emerging from these trials and difficulties, when they were again awakened to a sense of the duty of restoring their Parish Church, by the munificent donation of £500, made by Miss Bennion, of Nantwich, towards this object; and also by the liberal offer of £50 by the Lord Viscount Dungannon, a nobleman in no way connected with the County, but moved by the present pitiable state of the Church, warmly to encourage its restoration. These bright examples were speedily followed by the Parishioners, and by their noble and wealthy friends and patrons in the neighbourhood, till the sum subscribed has nearly reached £3000, two thirds of which have been raised within the Parish itself. But this amount, though highly creditable to the zeal of the Parishioners and their friends, does not reach one half of the estimated cost—£8000.

Under these circumstances the Committee feel compelled to make a general appeal to their fellow-christians for pecuniary aid, earnestly inviting their attention to the following interesting Report drawn up by the eminent Architect, Mr. G. G. Scott, and also to the accompanying Engravings; from which, taken together, some notion may be formed of the importance and urgency of this pious undertaking.

Plate 1, presents the N. E. view of the Church when restored.

Plate 2 presents a view of the Nave of the Church, the only part at present available for the regular Sunday Services. It will be seen from this view, that the Transepts and Chancel are utterly blocked out by hideous galleries and staircases; and, what is worse, that they are at present unavailable for the use of the Parishioners.

Plate 3 presents a view of the Church as it will appear, when the present unsightly obstructions shall have been removed. By this alteration, the Transepts and Chancel will be rendered available, and 350 free sittings gained. How desirable this is, will be at once seen, when it is known that in a Parish of

nearly 6000 inhabitants, there are at present only 87 free sittings, which amounts to a virtual exclusion of the working classes from their Parish Church, and leaves them a ready prey to indifference and infidelity.

Plate 4 presents a view of the Chancel when restored,—a part of the Church at present only used, when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered.

“O Lord our God! Prosper Thou the work of our hands upon us, O prosper Thou our handy-work.”

A List of Donations to the present time, is appended to the Report.

To suit the convenience of Subscribers, it is proposed, if so desired, that their contributions be paid by two equal instalments, which will be thankfully received by the REV. A. F. CHATER, the Rector; Mr. CAWLEY and Mr. MASSIE, the Churchwardens; also at the DISTRICT BANK, Nantwich; and by

E. H. GRIFFITHS,

July, 1854.

Honorary Secretary.

REPORT
OF THE PRESENT STATE, AND OF THE PROPOSED
RESTORATION
OF THE
PARISH CHURCH OF NANTWICH,
BY
GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, ESQ.,
ARCHITECT.

THE Church of Saint Mary and Saint Nicholas, at Nantwich, is allowed to hold the first place among the Parish Churches of Cheshire, and is an eminently beautiful specimen of the architecture of the 14th century, though with some portions of later as well as slight traces of earlier date.

It is a cruciform church of very perfect and symmetrical plan, having a nave and aisles of four bays, a chancel of three bays, and transepts, each of three smaller bays in length. The internal dimensions of the nave are about 70 feet by 57 feet; those of

the chancel about 52 feet by 24 feet 6 inches; and those of the transepts respectively about 37 feet 6 inches, and 39 feet 9 inches by 27 feet 6 inches; the central tower occupying an area of about 34 feet square. The whole internal length is about 156 feet, and that of transepts, from north to south, about 111 feet.

There are in the west end, some small remains of a church of anterior date, consisting of the west doorway and the parts immediately around it; these are of the 13th century, and though much decayed and mutilated, have clearly been very fine, and richly moulded. From these remains, being of a date only preceding by a century that of the remainder of the church, it would appear probable that they were merely an interpolation in a much older church, and that on the rebuilding of the earlier church in the 14th century, this one portion, being a comparatively recent insertion, was allowed to remain and to become the oldest feature of the newly constructed Building.

The structure, as it now stands, may be considered to date with some minor exceptions from the 14th century, and to have been in the main, built on one plan, though it would appear that the nave was erected a little earlier than the transepts, and these again a little earlier than the chancel. Probably the older structure was gradually removed as funds were found for the rebuilding.

There must at first have been a slight discrepancy between the two transepts, each having probably been about 24 feet long, but that on the north having been from the first lengthened out to its present size by the addition of a chapel, distinct in some degree from the transept, but continuing its general form; while the south transept would appear to have been without this feature, but to have been increased to a corresponding length early in the following century: or, it may be that it had a similar chapel, but that it had given way and was rebuilt in its present form.

The Nave was at first without a clerestory, the aisles having roofs of moderate slope, and the nave itself, a high pitched roof, springing only two or three feet higher than the top of the aisle roofs. The Transepts had high roofs like that of the nave, but the chancel had a very unusual form of roof; the pierced parapet continuing horizontally across the east end, while the roof behind it is of low pitch, with a gable of open work rising between two and three feet behind the parapet.

The Chancel generally is of exceedingly rich design, having magnificent pinnacles, in two ranges, to the buttresses, a rich pierced parapet, and windows of great beauty. It is however, internally, that its greatest beauties appear, it being covered with stone vaulting of exquisite design.

The east window is a remarkable instance of the transition from flowing to perpendicular tracery. It would appear to be of the same age with the purely flowing windows in the sides of the chancel, yet is at first sight a perpendicular window, though on examination, the tracery is found to consist of a repetition of small windows of flowing tracery, so combined, as to give the whole the appearance of perpendicular work. It is crowned externally with a beautiful crocketed canopy, which intersects the pierced parapet above, over which it is continued in open work. This window, with its canopy, taken in combination with the exquisite buttresses and groups of pinnacles which flank the east end of the chancel, form a design extremely beautiful and unique.

The gradual change of style from the west to the east gives us, combined in one design in the main uniform, the transition from the later variety of geometrical tracery, through the whole period of the "flowing," and touching in the east window upon the "perpendicular;" while the buttresses and other features shew that these were only minor varieties admitted into a design which had from the first been laid down, and in all important features strictly adhered to.

The details throughout are exceedingly beautiful and well studied. The buttresses in particular are of most graceful and in some instances of unique

design, and it would be difficult to find any Parish Church displaying altogether a more perfect and interesting development of the style of the 14th century.

The central Tower is one of the most characteristic features of the exterior; its great peculiarity being its falling off immediately above the roof of the church, from the square form into an octagon, while on one side the stair turret runs up as a projection, giving it altogether a very picturesque outline.

Since the first completion of the church, it has however undergone many changes by no means conducive to its beauty. Several of the windows, including the great west window, have been renewed during the perpendicular period. The high pitched roofs both of the nave and transepts, have been removed, probably during the 16th century. The former was supplanted by a clerestory of poor design and a flat roof, while for the two latter, low roofs were substituted on the level of the old walls, thus reducing the transepts to a very low and dull form.

Internally, the church must originally have been throughout exceedingly fine. The nave was simple, but of fine proportions; the four arches carrying the tower exceedingly fine and bold; the chancel exquisitely elegant and beautiful. The space under the tower and the chapel forming the extremity of

the north transept, had stone vaulting which no longer exists.

We have no remains of the ancient fittings of the nave, but the chancel has magnificent canopied stalls of most excellent workmanship. These are said to have been brought from Combermere Abbey, but they fit their place so well that I should think this very doubtful. There is a fine low screen of stone between the chancel and nave—whether this has ever been higher I have not yet been able to discover, though it would seem probable. The arrangement of the chancel is somewhat singular. The stalls do not return against the screen in the usual manner, but merely slope off at an angle of 45 degrees against the clustered pier of the chancel arch; an arrangement particularly well suited to our present uses. At the northern angle of the screen are steps leading from within the chancel into a noble stone pulpit, which stands against the north east pier of the tower.

The chancel contains good sedilia, and has had very fine canopied niches on either side of the east window. There are considerable remains of its encaustic tile pavement, though unfortunately quite disarranged.

At the north east angle is a large sacristy of the same date with the chancel, and formerly of two stories, or rather with a crypt, only partly underground, below it.

There are, irrespectively of the chancel, three entrances to the church. The great west doorway of early English date. The south porch, which is in the westernmost bay, and is chiefly of the 15th century, is vaulted, and has a chamber over it. And the north door, which is of beautiful and uncommon design.

The present state of this noble church is melancholy in the extreme. The exterior, besides the deliberate infringements upon its design, which have been before-mentioned, is much decayed and dilapidated, particularly as regards the pinnacles and pierced parapet of the chancel. Internally, however, its appearance is quite distressing, for besides ordinary dilapidations, mutilations, whitewash, and other insignia which characterize the modern condition of our churches, it has been treated with unusual barbarity in the way in which it has been crowded up with pews, galleries, staircases, and other monstrous obstructions. The space below the tower is filled with a monstrous gallery, which is so close down upon the beautiful pulpit, that a person could not stand upright in it! It has therefore been long disused, and a modern wooden one placed in the nave.

The present object is to restore the church so far as possible to its original beauty and completeness. The principal works aimed at are,

1st. To restore both external and internal stonework, by renewing decayed and mutilated parts

which are unfortunately of great extent; to restore high pitched roofs and gables to the transepts; to improve the modern roof of the nave, so as to bring it into proper character; to restore the stone vaulting where deficient, and generally to put the fabric into a perfect state of repair.

2ndly. To clear away all internal obstructions, and to refit the nave and transepts in an uniform manner, consistent with the proprieties and convenience of divine worship, and suited to the character of the church; and to clean and thoroughly repair the stallwork of the chancel, the stone pulpit and screen, and other ancient features, thus bringing the whole into a condition worthy of the beauty of its original design, and of its position as the finest Parish Church in Cheshire.

List of Subscribers.

	£	s.	d.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Cholmondeley ...	100	0	0
The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster ...	100	0	0
The Right Honorable Lord Viscount Dungannon	50	0	0
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester ...	50	0	0
The Right Honorable Lord Crewe	200	0	0
The Rev. Chancellor Raikes	25	0	0
Chester Diocesan Society, per the Rev. Chancellor			
Raikes	200	0	0
John Tollemache, Esq., M.P., <i>Peckforton Castle</i> ...	50	0	0
Mrs Tomkinson, <i>Dorfold Hall</i>	50	0	0
Wilbraham Tollemache, Esq., <i>Ditto</i>	25	0	0
Miss Lewis, <i>London</i>	20	0	0
Samuel Sproston, Esq., <i>Wrenbury</i>	10	10	0
Mrs. Hewitt, <i>Wrenbury Hall</i>	10	0	0
Rev. Francis Storr, <i>Acton</i>	10	0	0
H. Rich, Esq., M.P., and Mrs. Rich, <i>London</i> ...	10	0	0
Mrs. Humberston, <i>Chester</i>	10	0	0
Rev. T. France, <i>Davenham</i>	5	0	0
Edward Deane, Esq., <i>Liverpool</i>	5	0	0
W. Purser, Esq., <i>Dublin</i>	1	0	0

				£	s.	d.
Henry Fisher, Esq., <i>Liverpool</i>	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. Charles Dutton, <i>Chester</i>	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. Dore, <i>Huddersfield</i>	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. F. Lloyd, <i>Birmingham</i>	...	...	...	1	0	0
Mrs. F. Lloyd, <i>Ditto</i>	...	...	...	1	0	0

Parishioners.

Bennion, Miss	...	...	...	...	500	0	0
Bardin, Miss	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Beckett, the Misses	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Bellyse, Dr.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Bower, Mr.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Bowyer, W. & T.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Bolton, Mr.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Broadhurst, James Esq.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Broughton, Mr. B.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Cartwright, Mr. sen.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Cawley, Mr.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Chater, the Rev. A. F. <i>Rectory</i>	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
Chater, the Rev. D. S.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Clegg, Mr.	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Cliff, Mrs. Ann	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Cooper, Mr. T.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Davies, Mr. W.	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Day, the Rev. T. T.	...	...	...	...	15	15	0
Deane, Miss	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
De Riemer, Mr.	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
De Riemer, Mrs.	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
De Riemer, Miss	...	...	...	...	10	0	0

					£	s.	d.
Downes, the Misses	...	...	...	...	52	10	0
Downes, John Esq.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Edleston, the Misses	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Edleston, Robert C. Esq.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Elwood, Mrs.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Eyton, John Esq.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Friend, A	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Friend, A	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Gaman, Mr.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Garnett, John Jasper Esq.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Geoghegan, the Rev. E.	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Griffiths, Mr. E. H.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Hall, Mr. W.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Harrison, Messrs. E. & E.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Hockenhull, Mr. James	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Hollingworth, Mr.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Johnson, Mr. W.	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Kent, J. H. Esq.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Kent, Miss Eliza	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Kent, Mr. William	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Laxton, Mr. J. E.	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Leigh, Miss	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Lovatt, Mr. W. jun.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Lowe, T. P. Esq.	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Mainwaring, Miss	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Martin, Mr. E. H.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Martin, Mr. R.	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Massie, Mr. Samuel	...	...	...	...	25	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Massey, Mr. R.	0	5	0
Moss, Mr. J... ..	2	10	0
Mills, John Esq.	3	0	0
Mingay, Mr... ..	5	0	0
Nixson, Mr... ..	25	0	0
Nixson, Mrs. & Miss Sutton.	25	0	0
Nixson, Mr. J. S.	25	0	0
Nantwich Charity Basket ...	50	0	0
Poor Man's Friend. Lodge of Odd Fellows,			
Nantwich	13	7	6
Parkes, Mr. Henry, jun.	1	1	0
Pratchitt, Miss	21	0	0
Purser, the Rev. S. P.	6	10	0
Richardson, Mrs. & Mr. J. E. ...	20	0	0
Robinson, Henry <i>Almshouse</i>	0	2	0
Salmon, Mrs. & Master	50	0	0
Sharratt, Thomas	0	5	0
Whittles, Mr..	11	0	0
Williamson, T. Esq... ..	25	0	0



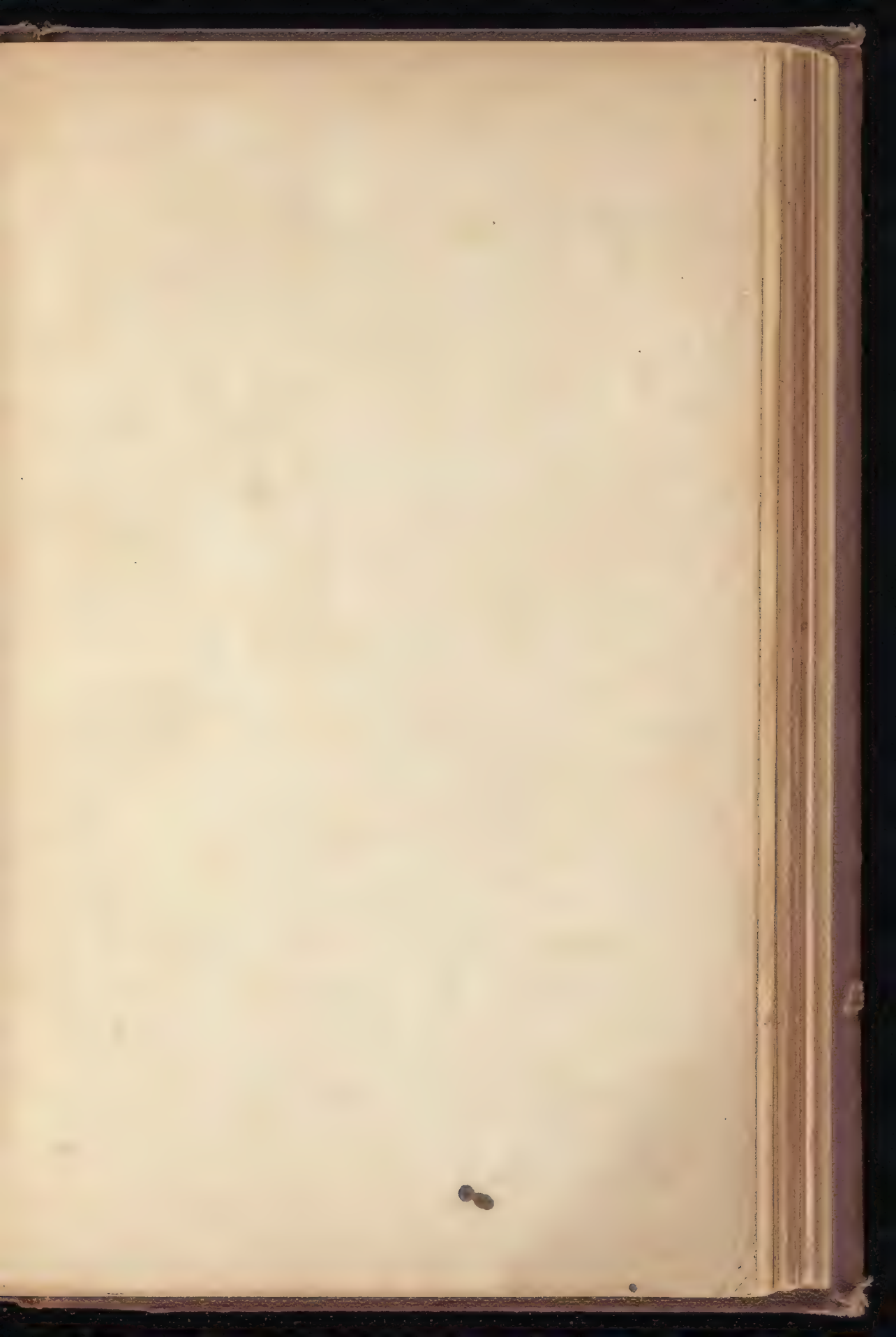
INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL



NANTWICH CATHEDRAL
THE INTERIOR VIEW



NASTAPUR CHURCH





Ewan Christian Archt

J.K Colling lith

The Parish Church of St. Mary, Scarborough.

INTERIOR VIEW LOOKING EAST SHOWING THE PROPOSED RESTORATIONS.

REPORT
UPON
THE PRESENT CONDITION
OF THE
ANCIENT CHURCH OF ST. MARY,
SCARBOROUGH,
UPON THE MEANS PROPOSED FOR ITS PERMANENT STABILITY,
AND
FOR ITS RESTORATION
TO A STATE OF
ECCLESIASTICAL PROPRIETY, AND FITNESS FOR THE
PURPOSE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

SCARBOROUGH:
S. W. THEAKSTON, PRINTER, 31, ST. NICHOLAS-STREET.

MDCCCXLVII.

INTRODUCTION.

The Committee entrusted with the Restoration of St. Mary's Church, have pleasure in presenting those who are interested in the work with the following Treatise, as expressive of their own views on this subject. Their feeling is that the Restoration should be carried out with strict regard to ecclesiastical propriety; and, though the sum required for this purpose is found to be large, (not less in fact than £7000,) yet they are not without hope that they will meet eventually with such support from Churchmen as will enable them to execute the work at no distant period. They conceive, however, that it would be imprudent in them to commence operations while the subscriptions amount, as at present, to no more than about £3300. Should £5000, however, be raised by the end of the present year, they would then feel themselves at liberty to begin in the following spring, but not otherwise.

The Committee are strongly of opinion that the contemplated alterations, inclusive of the scheme for sweeping out all the existing pewage and galleries, will have the same practical effect as creating a number of additional sittings would have. Those who are well acquainted with the Church in its present state cannot but be aware that a very considerable portion of the existing area is at present useless for purposes of worship, being shut out from all hearing, and therefore deserted on all occasions. The central portion of the Church is at present the only one which it is considered by the congregation desirable to occupy; so that, though the area may appear large, and the sittings numerous, number and size afford, in this case, no criterion of real utility.

The Committee believe therefore, that on the score of better accommodation for Divine worship, as well as on other grounds more obvious at first sight, the intended Restoration will be a public benefit. They had hoped in the present autumn to have received such support from friends, whether residing in Scarborough or coming occasionally to its shores, as would have enabled them to have commenced the execution of the plans at once; but, being disappointed in that hope, they earnestly desire that the delay may not be extended beyond the next year, when they trust the efforts of true friends will have strengthened their hands for carrying out this important work.

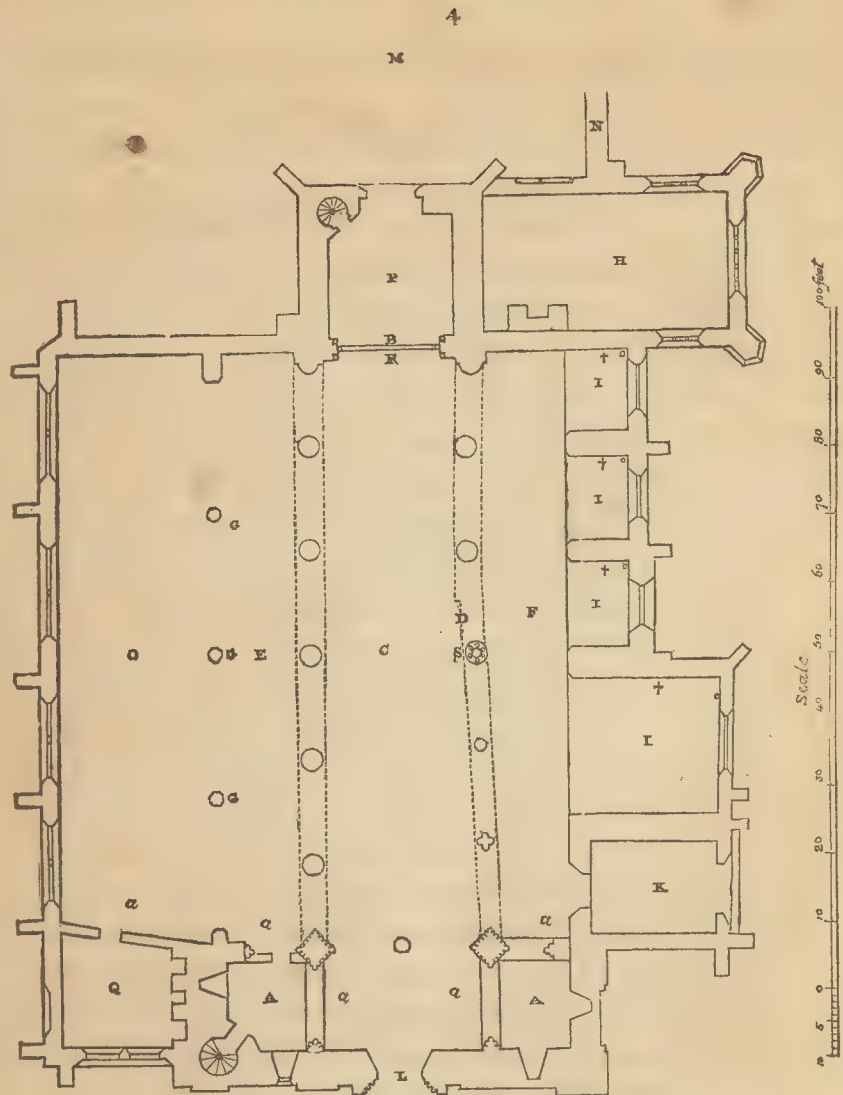
W. L. METCALF, M. A.,

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

Scarborough, August, 1847.

REPORT.

It may perhaps be interesting, before entering upon the main subject of the Report, to give, as far as it may be learned from the character of its architecture, a brief History of the Church, which at one time must undoubtedly have been a most noble structure, every way worthy of the splendid site which it occupies ; and although the ravages of civil war have very grievously marred its beauties, and curtailed its fair proportions, yet there still remains enough to make an examination of its parts highly interesting to the Architect, and its restoration a work to be earnestly desired, and heartily engaged in, by all who care for the preservation of the ancient ecclesiastical edifices of the country. A reference to the sketch of the Ground Plan here given, will materially assist in the elucidation of the subject.



REFERENCE TO THE PLAN.

- A A The Western Towers—Twelfth Century.
- B Ancient Arch of Central Tower.
- C The Nave—Thirteenth Century.
- D Fracture in Clerestory Wall.
- E North Aisle.
- F South Aisle.
- G G Pillars of the North Aisle—Fourteenth Century.
- H The South Transept.
- I I South Chapels or Chantries. One dedicated to St. James, was founded by Robert Galon, 1380; one dedicated to St. Stephen, was founded in 1394, by Robert Rillington; one dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was

founded in 1396, by the bailiffs and commonalty of Scarborough; another was dedicated to St. Nicholas.

- † Altars. ○ Piscinæ.
- K The South Porch—Fifteenth Century.
- L The West Doorway.
- M Site of the Ancient Choir.
- N Fragment of one of the Piers of the South Aisle of the Choir. The distance from the east wall of the Bell Tower to that of the Choir, internally, is about 89 feet.
- O The Great North Aisle—Seventeenth Century.
- P The Bell Tower.
- Q The Vestry—1784.
- R The present Communion Table.
- S The Pulpit.

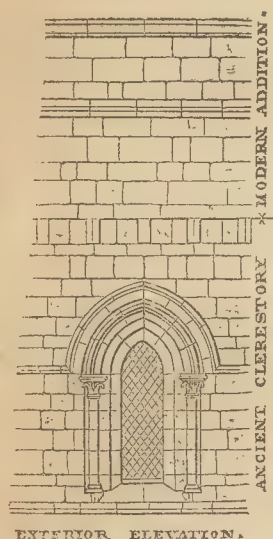


PILLARS IN THE
NORTH-WEST TOWER.

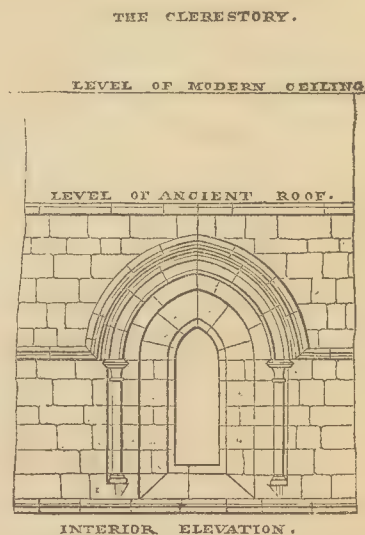
The oldest parts of the Church are the still remaining portions of the two Western Towers, (A A) which, semi-Norman in their character, date probably as far back as the latter part of the twelfth century. These, it is believed, as well as the Central Tower, (which the still remaining Arch (B) belonging to it at the east end of the Nave indicates to have been built at the same or at a little later period,) were all standing before the time of the siege of the Castle, but were then destroyed.

Dating next in point of time, are the lateral walls of the Nave and Clerestory. These appear to have been erected without any constructive connection either with the two Western Towers, or Eastern wall, and this may perhaps assist in explaining a singular break which exists in the South wall. The North wall is perfectly straight, and was probably carried up simultaneously from end to end, but on the South side it would appear that the work had been commenced from either end, at a later period from one, than from the other, the Western half having pillars with shafts of varied form and a less thickness of arch than that to the eastward, the Pillars and Arches of which correspond with

those on the North side. It would seem also that an error had been committed in setting out the work, as the line of the pillars inclines northwards from both ends, causing an imperfect connection of, and break in, the masonry in the centre next the nave, although the surface of the wall next the South Aisle is perfectly flush. This mode of accounting for a very curious point in the construction of the building, may perhaps not be thought perfectly conclusive, and it would certainly imply a most unusual carelessness in the original Builders; but after repeated examination and consideration of the subject, it is to the Writer's mind the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty involved in it.



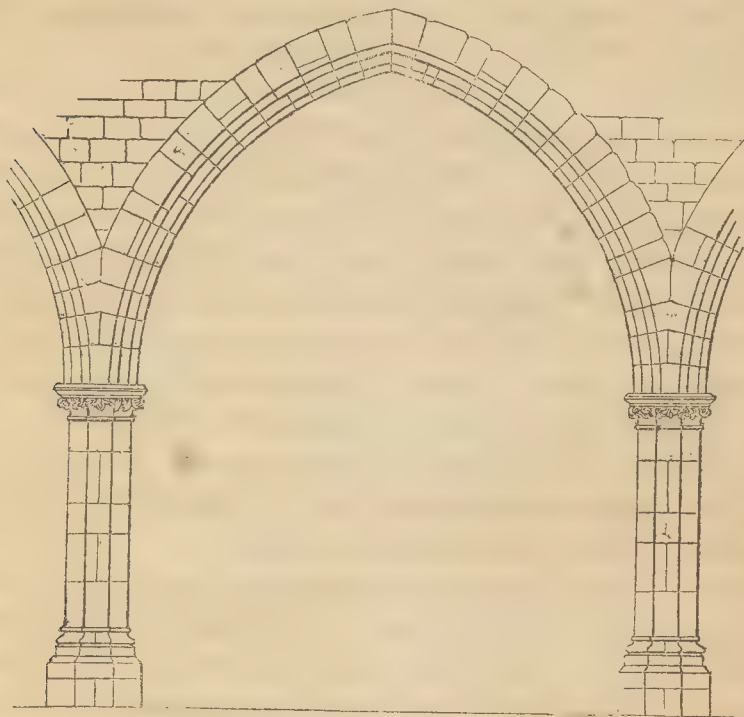
EXTERIOR. ELEVATION.



INTERIOR. ELEVATION.

The original walls of the Nave terminated a little above the Clerestory windows, as is indicated by the remains of the corbels or blocks of the eaves-course, one only of which is still perfect. All above that level is of later, but still early date, and was probably erected at the time when the second roof was fixed, of which traces still remain on the surface of the Tower.

Passing on next to the work of the 14th century, perhaps the earliest portion is the line of pillars and arches next the North Aisle. These are of good character, and doubtless the external



ARCADE NEXT NORTH AISLE

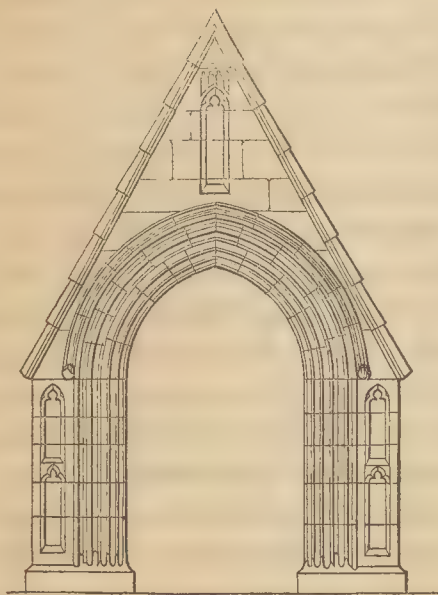
walls at one time partook of the same, and it is not improbable that together they formed a complete Church or large side Chapel, possibly separated by screens between the piers, from the main body of the building.

Next is the South Transept, which, graced with its beautiful South Window, must have been an exceedingly fine feature in the Church when in a perfect state, connected, as it doubtless was, with the great central Tower, and matched by a corresponding Transept on the North side.

Its roof was formerly a high one, the pitch of which is still marked by the joints on the surface of the masonry.



THE SOUTH CHAPELS.



WESTERN DOORWAY.

Following these in point of time, and belonging to the latter part of the 14th century, are the most singular features of the Church, the series of stone-roofed South Chapels or Chantreys, each having been once complete in itself, with its altar, piscina, &c. In two of them are still remaining the arches, which doubtless covered the tombs of their Founders.

Next to these in construction are the South Porch and West Doorway, which belong to the 15th century, of which period the latter is a good specimen, both in design and execution. The fragments still remaining of the Choir and Chancel Wall, show that that portion of the building also, which appears to have been very magnificent, belonged to the same period, and its destruction is indeed most grievously to be lamented.

Of later works; comprising the North Aisle, the Bell Tower, and part of the West Front, it is needless to say anything; their debased character and poor workmanship,

sufficiently bespeak the period of their erection, undoubtedly subsequent to the Restoration.

Having said thus much in elucidation of its History, it will be necessary now to proceed to report, in the first place, upon the present general condition of the fabric of the Church;—and first of the Nave.

The piers and arches on the north side, including the Clerestory, are in the main sound and substantial, but the same can only be partially said of the south side, of which the entire Clerestory, one of the pillars, and a portion of the arches appertaining thereto below, are in a very crippled state. In the Clerestory on the north side, the windows have been converted into doors to give convenient access to a Gallery which is suspended at that level, and the roof of the adjacent aisle has been raised above them, so that the whole of the light which should be derivable from that source is entirely lost. The walls of the Nave are at present encumbered by a superstructure raised upon the original Clerestory at a later period, and there can be little doubt that they have in some measure suffered by the additional weight thus laid upon them.

The Roof at present existing is of recent construction, and appears, by the marks left upon the tower, to have succeeded to one of higher pitch, which probably was coæval with the upper part of the Clerestory walls. The Eastern wall is quite sound, but the same cannot be said of the Western one, which is not in a satisfactory condition. Part of it appears to have been rebuilt after the destruction of the Towers, but as the window is large, and the piers on each side are small, and these have not much connection with each other, and moreover as the lateral arches of the Towers have been much fractured, there remains but little sustaining power for a wall, built at the first, upon a not very secure basement. The rich doorway in this wall is at present tolerably perfect, as regards its mouldings, &c., but otherwise is not secure.

Pursuing regularly the course of investigation into the present state of the building, it must next be observed that the remains of the two Western Towers are in an almost ruinous condition: the walls have been shattered, and afterwards neglected or only patched on the surface externally, and but few of their original features are clearly discoverable. The southernmost one is roofless and worse than the other, which has been partially kept together by the assisting walls of the North Aisle. Passing next to the South side of the Church, the lateral Chapels with their stone roofs are substantially sound, and in good condition internally, and with the exception of the lost mullions of the windows, and a few minor mutilations, they are quite perfect. Externally they need surface repairs, but having this done, they will probably last for centuries.

The Porch, though of more recent construction, is not so good, and has been altered in later times, but may be easily repaired.

The large North Aisle next claims attention. The masonry of the Pillars and Arches separating this from the small aisle north of the Nave is perfectly sound, although the whole of the wall above them inclines from the perpendicular inwards to the south, having apparently settled over without fracture; and it is not unlikely that this settlement has been caused by the construction of the Vaults, which have been permitted to be made close to the pillars. The North, East, and West Walls were erected after the Restoration, in the 17th century, with old materials, and although tolerably sound, yet their construction is such, as to render it a far more easy task to take down and rebuild, than to repair and remodel them with proper architectural features. To complete the description of the state of the building a few words must be given to the South Transept. This at present is not connected with the Church, but is entered from the exterior, is divided into two stories and appropriated for School Rooms. The walls are partially sound, but in some parts they have suffered from the mutilations of later

times, and will require to be rebuilt and covered with a new roof.

The Tower Walls appear to consist of excellent solid masonry and are perfectly sound.

On the internal state of the Church a very few remarks will suffice, to those who are acquainted with it, to describe its present most lamentable and unsightly condition. It is hardly possible to conceive anything worse. Repeated coats of whitewash have almost obliterated the remaining architectural features of the walls, &c. In many parts these have been cut away, and monuments erected in front of them, windows have been transmuted into doors, galleries, rough screens, staircases, and inclined planes have been studded about without regard to order or just arrangement; and, in short, the whole Church is filled with a mass of pewing of the most wretched description, a large proportion of the seats in which are quite useless, owing to their being placed beyond the bounds either of sight or sound. In consequence of the existence of these anomalies the finest features of the Church are almost wholly excluded, and the proportions of that, which is really a very noble building, are quite lost upon all who enter it.

Having then described its present condition, it will next be necessary to report upon the means best adapted for the purpose of ensuring the permanent stability of the Church, and restoring it to a state of architectural propriety. But previous to doing so, it may not, perhaps, be out of place to say a few words as to the worthiness of the structure to receive the proposed renovations. On this point the writer of these pages entertains a strong and favourable opinion, notwithstanding its present state of disorder and neglect. Viewed architecturally the Church is possessed of many features of exceeding interest, and a large area is contained within its walls, which, properly handled, may be made available for the purposes of Divine worship to as numerous a congregation as ought to be introduced into any Church.

When disencumbered of its present wretched fittings, and restored as it is proposed it should be, there can be little doubt

that it will prove to be as noble and useful a Parish Church as could possibly be desired; striking on account of its arrangements and numerous fine architectural features, and abundantly useful and worthy to be preserved on account of the large mass of worshippers that may be assembled within its walls to hear the sound of the Gospel, and offer their prayers where their fathers have knelt before them for so many generations. But while it is in the Writer's judgment very greatly to be desired that the Church should be fully restored, architecturally, substantially, and usefully, within its present limits, he is nevertheless quite as strongly persuaded, that to attempt to carry out the restoration of parts formerly existing, would be an expenditure of money not justified by the state of the existing Building, or the prospects and probable future wants and conveniences of the Inhabitants of the Town.

He therefore proposes that the restoration should be confined to the repair, re-fitting, and improvement of the Church within its present area, and will now proceed to describe the remedial measures proposed.

And first, in the Nave, it is proposed to take down the present roof and the lateral walls so far as they have been raised upon the original Clerestory, to take down and rebuild the whole of the unsound South Clerestory wall and the substructure so far as may be necessary, and accurately to restore all the windows and other features both in this and the North Wall to their original condition, throwing in arched buttresses and supports for the walls of the Nave where inclining outwards from the perpendicular, although sound as regards the condition of the masonry. Next it is proposed to take down the Western Wall to its base and to rebuild it in harmony with the architecture of the Nave, adding large constructional buttresses on each side to prevent the further settlement of the lateral Tower arches, carefully restoring, however, the Western Doorway as an introduced feature illustrative of the Church History. Upon the walls thus prepared, it is proposed to con

struct a powerful open roof of simple and appropriate character, which will serve to protect them ; and although commencing at a lower level, will give much greater additional height within the Nave than it has at present.

In the present state of the funds at the disposal of the Committee, it would be absurd to think of attempting the restoration of the Western Towers, and it is very questionable whether under any circumstances it would be worth while to do so ; but regarding them as historical records, it is considered that they ought to be preserved at least to their present extent, and with that view it is proposed thoroughly to repair them, rebuilding such parts as may be necessary precisely in their original form, and covering them with low roofs to protect them from the weather, and so as to make them serviceable in connection with the Church.

Passing to the South side of the Church, it is proposed to restore all the windows and other defective portions of the lateral Chapels, to repair the stone roofs and exterior masonry, to remove the existing roof over the Aisle between them and the Nave, and to replace it by another so constructed as to hide no part of the Clerestory windows, or of the arches of the said Chapels, and for the convenient reception of which a parapet wall already exists above the South side of the Aisle ; to repair the Porch, and to restore its mutilated architectural features in harmony with the style of its original construction.

It is proposed next to remove the present roof over the Aisle between the Nave and the large North Aisle, which at present encloses that side of the Clerestory, and to replace it with one so constructed as to leave the Clerestory quite open, and in no way to interfere with the arches of the main North Aisle, which now comes under consideration. Although the outer walls of this part of the Building are, as before stated, in the main, sound, yet regarded architecturally, they are so bad, that it would be vain to attempt, by inserting windows and remodelling other parts, to give a satisfactory character to them, without running into fully as much expense as would be incurred by taking them down and re

building them from the base upwards; this, therefore, it is proposed to do, and giving a simple character to the architecture, and harmonizing it with the internal pillars, to erect a valuable adjunct to the Church, such as may remain for ages to come one of its most useful and characteristic features.

In speaking next of the South Transept, it is presumed that its use for scholastic purposes may be dispensed with, and that, if available, it may be made to form part of the Church. This it is proposed should be done, and by forming an archway in the wall at the end of the Aisle to throw it open to the Church, and also by a similar archway to the Tower. Previous to doing this, it is proposed to restore the roof to its original and characteristic pitch, leaving it open in the interior; and externally, to restore the proper features to the walls, so far as they may be ascertained by the remains still existing.

With regard to the Tower, it is proposed to throw it open to the Church, to build up the present doorway, to insert a window in the East Wall above it, and to form a wooden groined ceiling below the floor of the Bell Chamber, to admit of which there is ample height; and the present Ringing Loft being thus appropriated, to construct a new one at a greater elevation, and to make a new entrance to the Belfry Staircase from below. It is also proposed to open the Tower to the South Transept by means of an archway, which will make the latter more completely available for the Church, and to place across it an open wooden screen as a means of separation from the space in front of the Altar.

All these operations may be easily and safely conducted without injury to the substantial character of the fabric.

The principal repairs having been thus treated on in detail, it must next be observed, generally, that it is proposed to clear out entirely every gallery, pew, and seat at present existing within the Church; to take up the floors, to cleanse the walls from their accumulated coats of whitewash, to restore all the defective portions and all missing parts of the masonry, and to repair and make good and sound every part of the Building, and then in the carcase thus

prepared and renovated, to re-fit and complete the Church in the manner which will now be described.

Before proceeding to this, however, it is important to remark, that much is most imperatively necessary to be done in altering the present condition of that part of the Church Yard in immediate juxta-position with the walls of the Building, without which it is quite impossible that the interior can be kept free from damp. Continual interments close to the walls, where none ought on any account to have been allowed, have raised the surface of the ground in some parts almost five feet above the surface of the Church floor; and the water pouring from the roofs, and sinking constantly into the earth, must, in the course of time, unless a remedy be applied, materially damage their stability.

But to proceed. On account of the large number of persons for whom accommodation is required, it will be necessary, in addition to the seats on the Ground Floor, to provide for a considerable number in a Gallery. The proper position for this is obvious, and a large one may be constructed in the Great North Aisle, and with most convenient access, without injuring the seats on the Ground Floor, or interfering with the general good appearance of the Church. This it is proposed to construct in a strong, handsome manner, but not so as to make it appear an integral part of the Building.

On the Ground Floor, and entering at the South Door, it is proposed to make a spacious cross Aisle, and to place the Font in the South-west Tower, which it is proposed should be used as a Baptistry, open to the Church on two sides, and giving ample space for the accommodation of all those who have to assemble round the Font. The other Tower it is proposed to partition off by screens from the Church, and to form therein an useful receptacle for biers, ladders, and other necessary articles. Turning Eastward, the Church is to be divided into three Bays of sittings, separated by spacious aisles; that in the centre being of considerable width, and across at the East end is another Bay with a similar

arrangement, which is also adopted in each of the South Chapels. At the East end it is proposed to place the Pulpit on the South side, and the Reading-desk on the North of the Nave, adjoining the Easternmost pillars ; and between these and the semi-pillars next the wall, to fix open screen-work, within which, on the Nave side, would be a series of handsome stalls for the Authorities, and seats in front for a Choir. It is then proposed to make use of the interior of the East Tower as a Chancel, placing therein, in the East wall, a handsome window, and raising the floor above that of the Nave, giving ample space for communicants to assemble in front of a railing to be placed across it. Within the South Transept, which, as has been before stated, it is proposed should be thrown open to the Church, it is proposed to place the Organ, with seats for Children of the Schools in front of it ; and behind, in the space which could not by any means be made available for for purposes of worship, to make a Vestry, which in this position would be exceedingly convenient. There would be no danger of the Organ being insufficiently heard in all parts of the Church when thus placed in the Transept, but on the contrary it is believed that its effect would be far finer than from its present position ; and no other place in the Church has so many advantages to recommend it for a preference.

Generally it may be remarked, that the arrangement will be simple and straightforward, and as correct, ecclesiastically, as it is possible to make it under the circumstances ; and it only remains to be observed that it is proposed to give a solid, strong, and Church-like character to all the seating in accordance with the best ancient examples, to give a floor of stone or tiles to the Aisles, and to furnish every part of the building in a thoroughly good and substantial manner, such as will be most proper to fit it for the purposes to which it is to be devoted.

With a few remarks upon the architectural treatment proposed to be pursued in the several restorations, this paper may be appropriately concluded.

It is the opinion of the Writer, that in restoring an ancient building the most scrupulous attention should be paid to the minutiae of the work, that the new should be as nearly as possible an exact re-construction of that which may be found, or may reasonably be supposed to have been the work of the original Builders, and that no deviation from their plans is allowable which is not strictly defensible on good and solid grounds. In the case of Scarborough Church, however, the work of the original Builders has in many parts been wholly destroyed, and in others overlaid and encumbered by subsequent erections. These it is proposed to remove, and this more particularly in the case of the Nave, in the lateral walls of which, most fortunately, sufficient of the ancient features remain to indicate their original form, the style of which it is proposed to carry on into the Western front, which must be rebuilt, and may thus be completed in harmony with them. In acting thus it is not necessary to remove good features of later date, such as the Western Door (as that may be fairly considered an erection of equal value with the former one), but only to take away excrescences which, while they neither improve nor enrich, may perhaps tend to confound, not to say destroy, better work. Lastly it may be remarked that, in the introduction of new work for present convenience in a building like Scarborough Church, in which walls and features of all ages exist, and some in immediate connection of very incongruous character, it is almost impossible to avoid some minor inconsistencies in point of style; but it will be the Writer's study to make every part correct and harmonious, and to restore the Building as far as may be possible within its present limits to its ancient state of integrity and completeness.

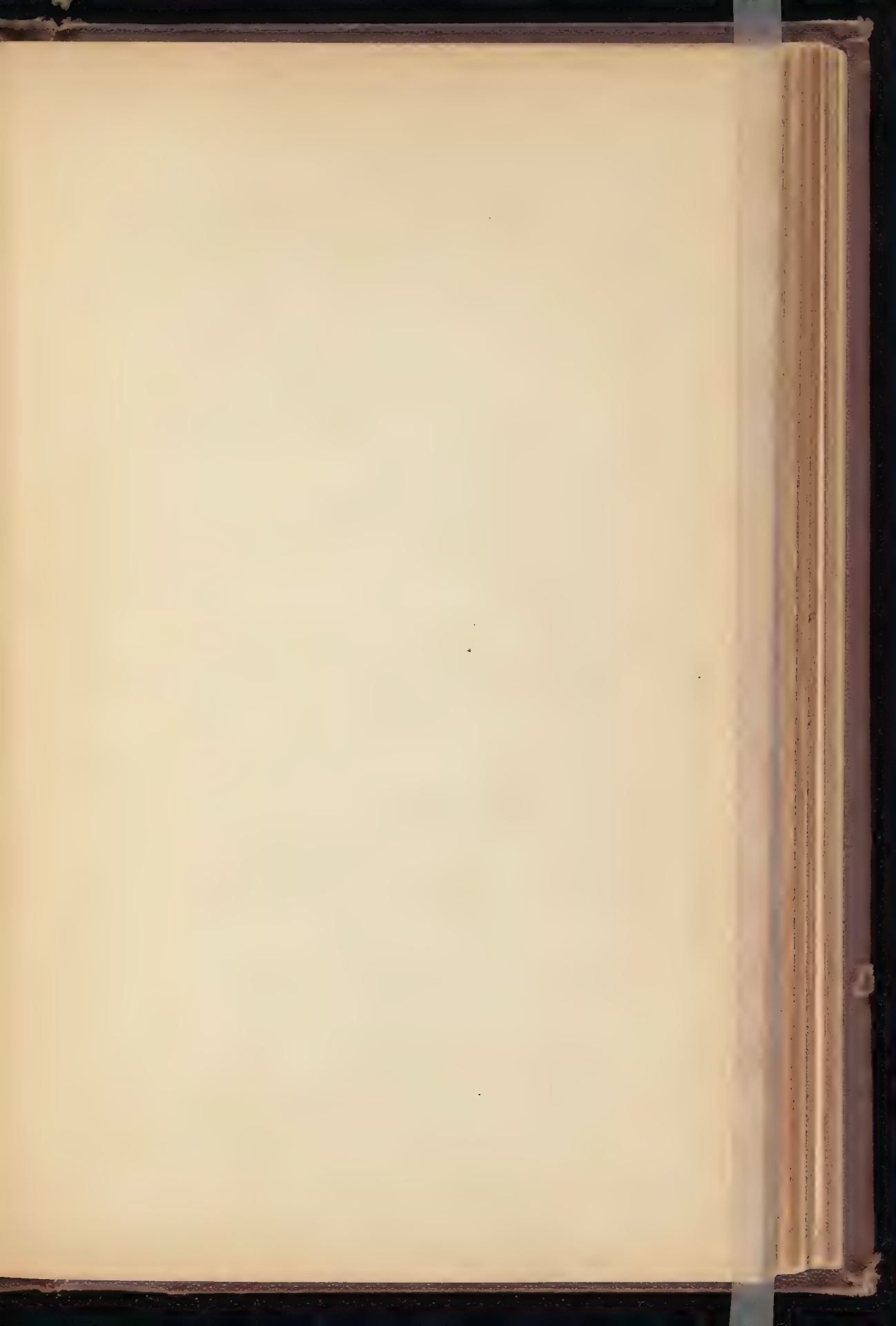
EWAN CHRISTIAN,

ARCHITECT.

6, *Bloomsbury Square, London,*

June, 1847.

S. W. THEAKSTON, PRINTER, SCARBOROUGH.





BRANIE



MEIGLE



GOVAN



GOVAN



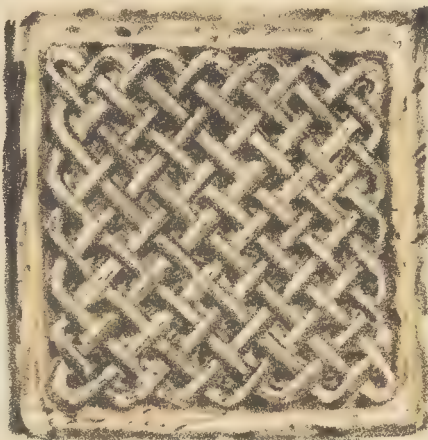
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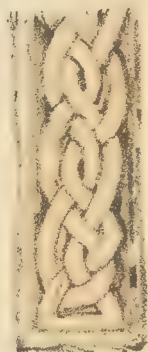
GOVAN



CLONMAENOISE



MOUNGBLOW HOUSE



CLONMAENOISE



MEIGLE



CLONMAENOISE



MONASTEROISE

AN ATTEMPT
TO EXPLAIN THE ORIGIN AND MEANING
OF THE EARLY INTERLACED
ORNAMENTATION

FOUND ON THE

Ancient Sculptured Stones

OF

SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND THE
ISLE OF MAN.

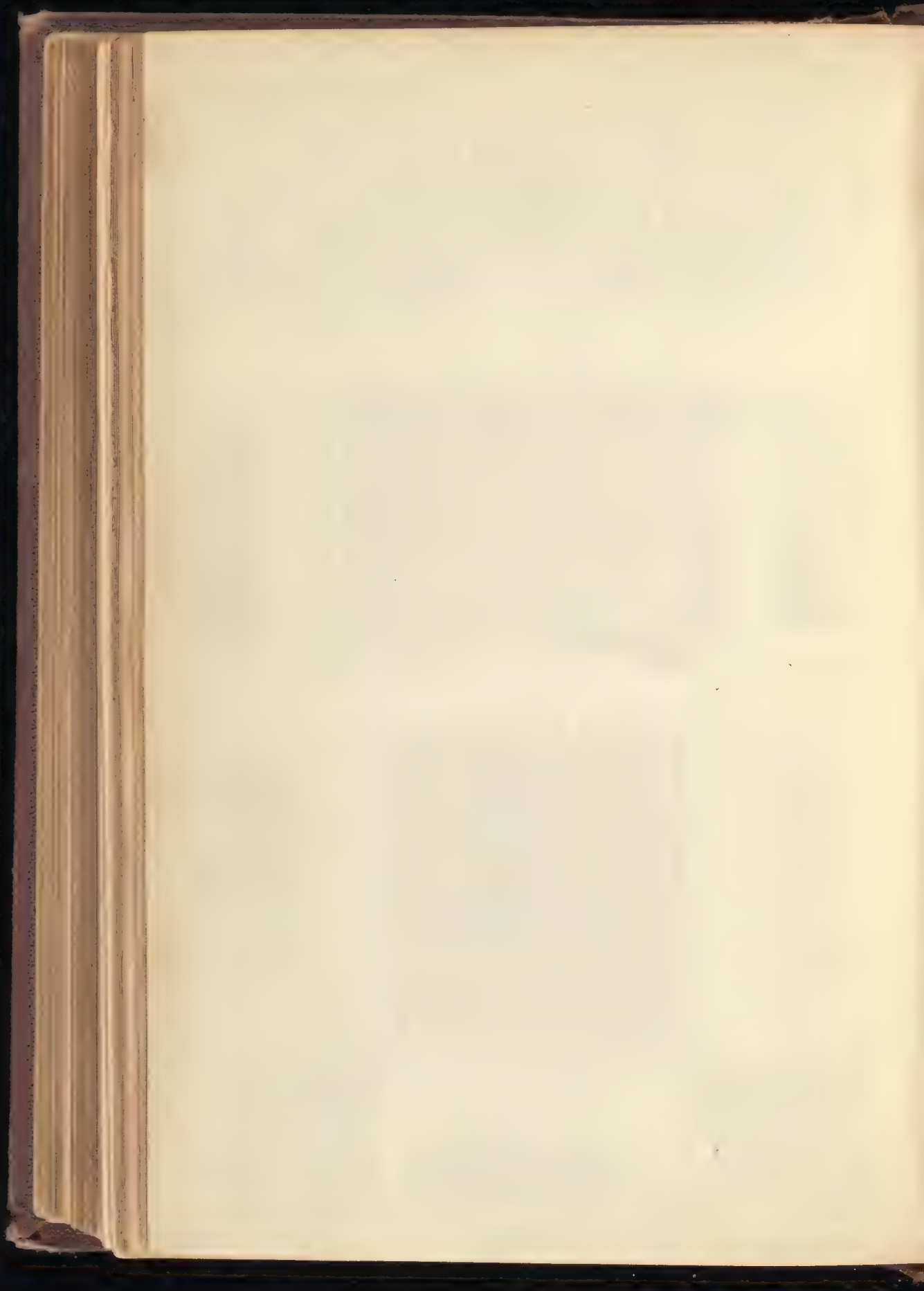
BY

GILBERT J. FRENCH,

OF BOLTON.

PRINTED FOR PRESENTATION ONLY.

MANCHESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES SIMMS AND CO.
1858.



AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN,

&c.



ANY reasonable and honest attempt to explain the origin of the singularly elegant interlaced ornamentation, familiar to archæologists as the very earliest style of artistic decoration known in the British islands, must be entitled to, and I feel assured will receive, favourable consideration. Even should the attempted explanation fail to obtain entire sanction, it will at least lead to attentive and accurate observations upon an interesting subject, which may at some future time refute or establish the theory which I venture to propound.

The style of interlaced ornament to which I refer is found in an infinite variety of devices on the earliest sculpture, whether of stone or metal, and in the oldest manuscripts and illuminations of Britain and Ireland. It retained its peculiar distinctive character throughout the Roman occupation of Britain, slightly modified by, and often mixed with, classical ornaments. These, however, in a great measure disappeared during the Saxon period, a circumstance which induces the belief that, whatever its origin and purpose, interlaced ornamentation was equally familiar to the Saxon invaders and to the British aborigines. It entered largely into Norman

architecture; but from the time of the Conquest it gradually became less used, though traces of it are to be met with at nearly every period in the history of British art. Thus it was revived with the introduction of printing, when many beautiful capital letters, copied from ancient manuscripts, were reproduced as wood-cuts. It reappeared in the strap-work peculiar to the architecture and ornamentation of the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. It is found in the bone-lace patterns of this country and of Northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was retained in almost its original purity for the decoration of the dirks, targets, brooches and powder horns of the Scottish Highlanders within the last hundred years.⁽¹⁾

Very striking examples of interlaced ornament are met with on the ancient sculptured stones and crosses so plentifully scattered over our islands. They have been of late brought into prominent notice by three invaluable publications which graphically represent and accurately describe these interesting relics of ancient art as they are now found in Scotland⁽²⁾ Ireland⁽³⁾ and the Isle of Man⁽⁴⁾. It is to be regretted that those of England and Wales — though many of them have been separately engraved — have not yet been collected in a well-edited volume, since a careful comparison of their details would prove an immense assistance to antiquaries, bringing before them a new and delightful chapter, richly full of pre-historic suggestions.

My remarks are confined to sculptured stones only, though the subject would be greatly elucidated and my argument enforced by references to manuscripts and metal ornamentation. This ground, however, is so well occupied by gentlemen who

⁽¹⁾ *Archæological and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, pp. 221, 504, 505.

⁽²⁾ *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, privately printed by the Spalding Club, and liberally presented to many antiquarian societies.

⁽³⁾ *The Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland*, by Henry O'Neill.

⁽⁴⁾ *The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*, by the Rev. J. G. Cumming.

have made palæography and metallic art their peculiar study that I decline intruding upon it, even had it been possible to treat it satisfactorily within the limits of this paper.

The aborigines of this or any other country of corresponding climate, after discovering some natural cave, or making for themselves a rude hut, would probably take their next step in constructive art by attempting to form such utensils as might contain, and enable them to preserve, the fruits and-seeds necessary for food. Assuming that they were then unprovided with even the rudest tools, — for we refer to a time before our far-off ancestors knew the use of bronze or iron, — they would form these utensils by twisting together the long, pliant osiers with which the land abounded, and of which, by the unaided action of the fingers, they could form baskets excellently adapted for the required purpose.

No other branch of art is even now so independent of tools, and none has been so universally diffused or so long and uninterruptedly practised as basket making. It is the humble parent of all textile art, the most elaborate tissues produced by the loom or the needle being but progressive developements proceeding from the rude wattle-work of unclothed savages. Basket making is the first natural step in the path of civilization. To this day the earliest effort of infantile ingenuity among the rural population is directed to making (as it were by intuitive instinct) personal ornaments of plaited rushes, and that, too, in patterns, some of which are identical with the devices engraved by our pre-historic ancestors on their old sculptured stones.

The earliest authentic records of Britain refer to its inhabitants as expert basket makers; their houses were made of willows and reeds; their fences and fortifications were living trees, with intertwined branches; their boats were baskets, covered with skins; their domestic furniture, defensive armour, even the images employed in their erroneous religion, were each of wicker-work; and though we have no

absolute proof that such was the case, it is at least probable that those famous chariots so formidable to the Roman invaders were similarly constructed, for it appears altogether impossible that the feats recorded of these celebrated charioteers could have been performed with carriages of wood and iron; though if we can suppose them to have been of small size, constructed of elastic wicker-work, and placed upon low wheels, the accounts of their marvellous movements become reasonable, and within the bounds of credibility.

The monastic historians of the succeeding ages continue to mention wicker-work as the principal architectural material used in Britain and Ireland, not only for the rude dwellings of the inhabitants, but also for their more important public edifices and churches. Thus we find that so late as the sixth century Dermot MacKervel assisted "the Abbot St. Keyran to make a house to dwell in" by "thrusting down the peirs or wattles" of which it was made.⁽¹⁾ The monastery founded by St. Columba in the same century, though of much theological repute, must have had little material grandeur, as it is known that the great apostle of the Scots "sent forth his monks to gather twigs to build their hospice," and the abode of St. Woloc, a bishop of the same age, was "a simple hut of wattles." / Glastonbury, supposed to have been the earliest Christian church in England, was, on the authority of William of Malmesbury,⁽²⁾ "a mean structure of wattle-work;" and there are numerous other references to churches and monasteries constructed altogether or in part of the same material. Vestiges of such structures are now occasionally met with, which verify the records of the Roman and Mediæval historians. / Recently, on the Etive in Argyleshire, the progress of agricultural improvement has uncovered rough pavements of stone,

⁽¹⁾ *Annals of Clanmacnoise*, quoted in notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 181.

⁽²⁾ *William of Malmesbury*, book i. c. 20.

bearing marks of fire strewn with charred ashes, surrounded with the remains of hazel stakes, the relics of the frame-work of ancient Caledonian hearths, which have been concealed for centuries under a cover of eight or ten feet of moss.⁽¹⁾

Many of the purposes to which the ancient Briton applied his manufacture of baskets were singularly useful, and so well were they adapted to their peculiar purposes that they are employed almost unchanged even to the present day. The coracle of basket and hide is still used by sportsmen and poachers on the waters of North Wales.⁽²⁾ The bothies of the Scottish Highlanders are yet constructed of wattles; and even in the cottages of a better kind the doors and sleeping cribs are frequently of the same fabric: so also are their rude little sledges and carts; and until of late their horse harness also.⁽³⁾ Modern civilization does not now disdain to use for drags, dog-carts, and German waggons the same strong yet light and elastic materials which the ancient Briton probably employed for his formidable war-chariot; and our ancestors of the last century knew well the value of the stage-coach "*basket*" as a convenient means of conveyance over their rough roads.

"*Hanapers* (or *hampers*) of *twyggyss*" were long the official receptacles for certain documents connected with the Court of Chancery, and the name is still, or was recently, applied to an officer of that court.

The firm hold with which long-established customs, combined with convenience, fix themselves upon the reason of men, and the pertinacity with which nations cling to their old habits, refusing, for the sake of old associations, alterations of the most obvious utility, is altogether marvellous. Speaking of this power and permanency of custom, Lord Bacon curiously illustrates this subject by an anecdote

⁽¹⁾ *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, p. 76.

⁽²⁾ Information from Mr. Hughes, of Chester, 1858.

⁽³⁾ *McIan's Highland Clans* — *McNiel*.

pertinent to the matter before us. "I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the Deputy that he should be hanged in a withe, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels."⁽¹⁾ Another author, in his version of the same story, says that this "favour of being hanged in gads (twisted withes, so called after the manner of the country), was not refused."⁽²⁾ This, though probably an extreme, is by no means an unique prejudice in favour of ancient modes of execution, a prejudice which extends beyond life, influencing nations in their adherence to old-established sepulchral customs.

A manufacture which was probably progressing for many centuries before the Romans invaded Britain, must necessarily have acquired a certain amount of refined ornament as a result of so much experience and practice. We have, indeed, direct evidence that the Romans greatly admired the ornamental baskets of the British, which were exported in large quantities to Rome, and became fashionable appendages among the extravagantly luxurious furniture of the imperial city. Juvenal, writing about A.D. 120, mentions the popularity of these baskets;⁽³⁾ and that they were productions of the British islanders is distinctly stated by the epigrammatist Martial,⁽⁴⁾ who wrote about the end of the first century. It is not improbable that these British baskets were enriched with colour, and even gilding. The former we know was profusely and permanently applied to the persons of the aborigines; the latter—probably one of the earliest discovered metals—was used in the middle of the

⁽¹⁾ *Essay on Custom and Education.*

⁽²⁾ Thomas Dinley's *Journal of a Tour in Ireland: Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. i. p. 180, New Series.

⁽³⁾ Adde et bascaudas et mille escaria.

Juvenal, Sat. 12, v. 46.

⁽⁴⁾ Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis

Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam.

Martial, lib. 14, epig. 99.

fifth century for so common a purpose as decorating the roofs of important buildings.⁽¹⁾ It is not, therefore, likely that they were denied as additional means of ornament to these highly valued baskets.

When the aboriginal Briton had made his first step in domestic civilization by constructing useful baskets, he would still be subjected to a great inconvenience from the absence of any suitable vessel of sufficient size to convey or store a supply of water. Nature in this country did little to assist him, denying even the slight aid of the gourd and calabash common in warmer climates. To invent a water vessel would thus become to him a necessity; without it he must have been compelled to reside on the bank of some river or brook, in which he and his family could quench their thirst in the same manner and as frequently as the wild animals of the surrounding forests. Nor is it improbable that many generations of people were restricted to such localities for this reason.

There appears at first sight to be no possible analogy between baskets and water vessels; yet I apprehend that they are in reality almost twin inventions. The same reasoning which induced the naked Briton to line the wicker walls of his hut with clay for the purpose of excluding cold, would, after some experience, lead to an application of the same material as a coating to the inside of his baskets, which, when dried in the sun or hardened by fire applied to the inside, would then be enabled to retain liquids at least for a time, and consequently permit the desired migration from the immediate margin of a river. This is of course a gratuitous assertion, of no value without proof; but it is also a reasonable induction, and one which is, I venture to think, worthy the considerate attention of archæologists.

(¹) In the Saxon poem *Beowulf*, translated by the late Mr. Kemble, there occurs this passage:—"He went to the hall, stood on the steps, and beheld the steep roof with gold adorned." Line 1844.

Fortunately vessels of this description have been preserved in the ancient burial places of the Britons, and are occasionally exhumed in a state of tolerable preservation. They are for the most part not turned on the potter's wheel, but moulded by the hand, and marked on the exterior by ornaments, not in relief, but always depressed or incised, having the appearance of indentations made in the soft clay by plaited osiers, rushes, or strips of hide, more or less distinct, but, so far as I know, all referrible to such an origin.⁽¹⁾ In some the coating of clay appears not to be carried to the mouth of the basket, but the plaited rushes seem to have been folded inside, and thus the interior of the urn is on its upper portions indented with the same pattern of basket-work as that on the outer side. All British urns are, comparatively with Roman or with Saxon examples, wide-mouthed, a condition essential to their being made by hand on an exterior frame-work of plaited rushes or willows; and some appear to have been constructed on two separate baskets, one inverted over the other. There is rarely any attempt at *ansation*, the nearest approach to handles being heavy perforated knobs placed a little beneath the mouth, for the evident purpose of attaching to them the twigs, withes, or thongs, which served both to protect and to suspend these fragile vessels.

I must not be supposed to assert that the ornaments found on British, occasionally on Anglo-Roman, and abundantly on Anglo-Saxon urns, were in all cases real impressions of basket-work; but merely that the use of that style of ornament probably originated in the manner I have described, and that it was continued after the introduction of the potter's wheel by force of habit and long-continued custom. This induced the potter to stamp or incise on the surface of the vessels he made ornamental devices similar to

⁽¹⁾ See on Plate No. 6, examples of British urns, copied from Plate iii. of the *Archæological Index*, by J. Y. A. Kerman Esq., F.S.A.

those on the honoured urns of an earlier people; for that they were honoured and held in high estimation is apparent from the sacred purposes to which they were applied as receptacles for the ashes of the dead. In absence of all direct proof of this assumed origin of urn ornamentation, I have thought it right to test the possibility of the process; — with a result entirely satisfactory. Taking such small baskets as I found used by my family for ordinary domestic purposes, I have roughly coated them inside with different clays, subjecting some to the action of fire in the kiln, while others I have left exposed to the sun, and to a few I have applied heat inside only. On all the indentations of the basket-work are sufficiently marked; but they are best defined on the sun-dried specimens, since the shrinking of the clay under the action of fire in the kiln obliterates some of the more salient ridges. A comparison of these jars with ancient British urns will, I apprehend, be more satisfactory and convincing than any elaborate argument, leaving little doubt that both have been produced by similar processes, and that the British urn is, in truth, a secondary application of the British basket.

Mr. Birch, in his learned and most valuable *History of Ancient Pottery*, applies the term "*bascaudæ*," employed by Juvenal and Martial, not to baskets but to sepulchral urns with basket-like ornamentation.⁽¹⁾ Though most unwilling to hazard a contrary opinion, I still cannot avoid suggesting that such urns, judging from the specimens which have been preserved for our inspection, were not likely to be acceptable ornaments on the tables of the luxurious Romans, accustomed as they must have been to elegant products of high art in the plastic manufactures of Etruria, Greece, and Egypt. It is, I think, greatly more probable that ornamental baskets to contain fruit or flowers were indicated by that name.

⁽¹⁾ *History of Ancient Pottery*, vol. ii. pp. 381-384.

Though there is good proof that the Britons had acquired much skill in the art of basket making at the time of the occupation of this island by the Romans, it is equally certain that they were ignorant of the art of constructive masonry; for when the legions left the British to their own resources, they advised them to build a wall between the two seas across the island, to keep off their northern enemies. They, indeed, "raised the wall as they had been directed," but "not of stone *as having no artist capable of such work*, but of sods [which] made it of no use."⁽¹⁾ From this it is apparent that the British people at that time, and probably for some centuries afterwards, were unaccustomed to the use of building materials of a kind more permanent than wood, wattle-work and clay. Such an arrangement quite accords with the manners of the people and the state of the country at that period, covered as it was with extensive forests, and swamps abounding with osiers. A people of migratory habits, occupied in perpetual warfare, and depending in a great measure on the chase for their food, must have had little inducement to build residences of great durability; and this would happily lead to the more rapid clearing of the country, and consequently to its earlier civilization.

Such was the condition of art in Britain and Ireland at the time that the first Christian missionaries commenced their labours in these countries. So signal was their success that Tertullian, writing of his own time (the third century), tells us that "some countries of the Britains that proved impregnable to the Romans are yet subjected to Christ." It was the custom of those earnest and indefatigable men (so pious in their lives that after their death they were usually honoured with the title of Saint) to place crosses in every place where they succeeded in making converts, or in which they planted a church, chapel, or monastery; and it becomes

(¹) Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, book i. chap. 12.

a question of some interest to ascertain the materials of these early symbols of the Christian faith, which must have been extensively spread over the land.

Clearly they were not of stone, since we know that even after the Romans left England the natives had not sufficient skill to build a wall of that material; nor have we any reason to believe that they had the ability or the tools requisite for the construction of a cross of timber, which would demand the use of cutting instruments with finer edges than those necessary for stone. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the British convert would dedicate to the glory of God the products of that talent which had acquired for him a continental celebrity. The basket-work, so prized at Rome, was the most valuable oblation that the pious ancient Briton could offer to the services of his new religion, and thus it was that the first emblems of Christianity erected in England were (almost necessarily) constructed of basket-work.

The perishable nature of the materials forbids us to expect almost any other than inferential evidence that crosses of basket-work ever existed, but happily this is not denied to us. A careful examination of the admirable engravings of the sculptured stones of Scotland, the ancient Irish crosses, and the curious monumental remains of the Isle of Man, together with many existing carved crosses in England and Wales, cannot fail to convince any unprejudiced observer that the beautiful interlaced ornamentation so lavishly employed on these sculptures derived its origin from the earlier decorations of that British basket-work which the Romans had learned to value and admire.

Before attempting to describe the method by which such crosses may be, and probably were constructed, I beg to call attention to the fact that basket-work and the earlier Pagan or Druidical religion were closely connected.

Cæsar, writing of the Druids, states that "they have

images of enormous size, the limbs of which, formed of wicker-work, they fill with living men, which being set on fire, the men perish enveloped in flames⁽¹⁾;" and Strabo says, "having prepared a Colossus of hay and thrown wood upon it, they burn together oxen, all sorts of wild beasts, and men.⁽²⁾" It has been assumed that these wicker-work images were in the human form, but I apprehend that there is nothing in either text to warrant this conclusion. The word colossus implies a figure of large size, which may quite as probably have been that of some enormous animal.

On the Shandwick stone,⁽³⁾ one of the most interesting of the Scottish series, figures of men, horses, stags, birds, and other animals are carved with much spirit, and with more than usual attention to their relative proportions. The animals are represented in life-like attitudes, as if moving about. But there is one remarkable exception,⁽⁴⁾ a colossal four-legged creature, of a form peculiar to these Scottish stones, differs from the others as much in figure as in size. Compared with two sheep and a dog which occur on the same panel,⁽⁴⁾ its height, if erect, would be about thirteen feet, its length about eighteen feet, while its ungainly leaning posture is singularly suggestive of its being a sculptured representation of some huge beast built up of wicker-work. Certain marks on its surface warrant this supposition, which is strengthened by the fact that other representations of a similar animal, which occur on the same series, have the most distinct indications of a basket-work origin. Well marked examples are to be found on the stones at Brodie and at Glenferness.⁽⁵⁾ Resembling no known animal, these curious figures — which are represented above twenty times on the Scottish stones and are nowhere else to be met with — have a general likeness to each other; they are all in postures

(1) *De Bell. Gal.*, lib. vi.

(2) *Strabo*, lib. iv.

(3) Plate xxvi. *Sculptured stones of Scotland*.

(4) Plate No. 3.

(5) Plate No. 4.

by no means indicating life or motion, and all distinguished by the striking peculiarity of having no feet; the limbs terminate in long wands rolled up after the manner of volutes, obviously suggesting the idea that if opened out they would serve, on being thrust deeply into the ground, to keep the colossus in a standing attitude. Similar volutes are represented terminating the base of the well-known cross at the gate of St. Michael's church yard in the Isle of Man. They were probably used in the same way to fix to the ground an earlier cross of wicker-work, of which the existing monument is a copy engraved on stone.

I dare not of course take it upon me to assert that there is any positive connection between the huge animal on the Shandwick stone and the colossal images mentioned by Cæsar and Strabo, as being employed by the Druids in their human sacrifices, but the coincidence (if indeed it be not something more) is sufficiently curious and interesting to demand a passing notice. It is supposed that these and some other as yet inexplicable devices found on the same stones are symbols of a religion prior to Christianity; a circumstance by no means improbable, as it is known that convents among the Saxons and probably the Britons also, clung with much pertinacity to some of their Druidical and Pagan customs long after they had assumed the outward emblems of Christianity. This may account for the juxtaposition of the cross with devices of unknown meaning, and explain in some degree the remarkable circumstance that Pagan and Christian emblems both derive their ornamentation from the same source — basket-work.

Having shown that at the time when Christianity was introduced into Britain the native population, totally unacquainted with practical masonry, were yet expert and experienced manufacturers of highly ornamental baskets; and suggested the reasonable probability that they would employ their best talents in the service of their new religion, as

they had previously devoted them to their earlier Pagan or Druidical superstitions, I proceed to offer some reasons for believing that the first crosses erected by Christian missionaries in Britain, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were constructed of plaited osiers.

Many of the Mediæval biographers narrate with much minuteness the particulars of stone crosses set up by Christian bishops; but no such notices occur before the sixth century, and from the great importance attached to them by the monastic historians, it is evident that they were objects of extraordinary interest, and moreover, of *exceptional material*. Such crosses were erected by St. Columba, St. Oswald, St. Cuthbert, Bishop Ethelwold, and other holy men. Of St. Kentigern — better known in Scotland as St. Mungo — it is said that, among many crosses which he put up, one in the city of Glasgow was taken from the quarry by his orders, and, by the united efforts of many men, erected in the cemetery of the Church of the Holy Trinity, in which his episcopal throne was set up. That this particular cross was of more than usual importance may be inferred from the statement of his biographer, that it was the custom of St. Kentigern to erect a cross in any place where he had converted the people, or had for a time resided. Such crosses, therefore, must have been executed by some less laborious process than was used for the one which he erected near his cathedral about the end of the sixth century, and which is said to have still marked the spot where the original edifice stood, when the Cathedral of the West was reconstructed five hundred years afterwards.

But St. Kentigern erected one other cross, which demands the attention and consideration of archæologists. We are informed that at Locherward, a parish in Mid-Lothian now called Borthwick, he set up a cross constructed of *sea sand*. There is no hint of any miraculous assistance in the erection of this cross, and therefore we are constrained

to look for some mechanical appliance by which sea sand could be made to cohere in the form of a cross.⁽¹⁾

But first I may be permitted to suggest a possible motive for the adoption of a material so unstable, and apparently so little fitted for the purpose.

Locherward (now Borthwick) is a considerable inland property in the east of Scotland, and for some reasons, not requisite to be inquired into here, this parish was appended to the Western Diocese of Cumbria, which comprised the valley of the Clyde and much of the west coast of Scotland during the episcopate of St. Kentigern. It is not improbable, then, that this cross-rearing Bishop would commemorate so important an event, in his accustomed manner, by sending to Locherward a cross of baskets made of the osiers and filled with the sea-sand of his western diocese, which, having been sanctified by his episcopal benediction, would be appropriately set up in his new territory as a visible sign of the transfer, and a practical assertion of his accession to the property. Here again, however, I am compelled to say that I have not a shadow of proof to offer in support of my surmise. St. Kentigern may have set up the sea-sand cross by other means, and for another purpose. I have only endeavoured to suggest a reason in accordance with possibility and the customs of the times in which he lived.

Before asking you to believe that the earliest existing stone crosses were reproductions of still earlier crosses of twigs, I may well be expected to offer some evidence that any such basket-work crosses ever existed.

Of all the superstitious legends of the middle ages, none was more widely popular than that of St. Patrick's purgatory. The little island in gloomy Lough Derg, in which it was believed that both the pains and advantages of purgatory could be anticipated, and the duration of its torments abridged, was

⁽¹⁾ *Pinkerton's Vitæ Sanctorum Scotiæ*, pp. 286-7, quoted in the preface to the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, p. 5.

visited by great and powerful pilgrims, who enriched its clerical guardians by their offerings. Suppressed at the Reformation, and its rude buildings more than once demolished by the orders of government, it nevertheless still retains so strong a grasp on the superstitious feelings of the poor and ignorant of the present day, that, actuated by religious enthusiasm, crowds of such pilgrims at certain seasons pour themselves upon this miserable little islet, consisting of three roods of barren surface; and so numerous are these visitors that the tenant pays the landlord a yearly rent of £300 (the greater part in sixpences), derived from a small charge imposed on them at the ferry toll.⁽¹⁾

In this place, where ancient superstitious practices still linger, the remembrance of its founder and his imputed miracles would naturally be longest retained, and any relics appertaining to him preserved with pertinacious care. None such can now be found; but it is recorded that about or before the year 1630, a certain Lord Dillon visited the island, accompanied by a government surveyor, and they gave a detailed description of the place, which was published by the then Bishop of the Diocese. In their report it is stated that "at the east end of the church there is a heap of stones, on which there is *a cross made of interwoven twigs*; this is known by the name of St. Patrick's Altar, on which there do lie three pieces of a bell, which they say St. Patrick used to carry in his hand," &c.⁽²⁾ This is the only record I have met with of any actual cross of twigs or basket-work. It was probably the last of innumerable crosses of the same kind, and was found in the place where, of all others, the latest example was likely to be met with. Doubtless it was a many times

⁽¹⁾ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v. p. 81.

⁽²⁾ From *Patricius His Purgatory*, attributed to Spottiswood Bishop of Clogher, and also to his successor Bishop Jones, quoted in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v. p. 71, and in Carleton's tale of "The Lough Derg Pilgrim."

repeated copy of some ancient cross attributed originally to the hands of the patron saint of Ireland.⁽¹⁾

The devices sculptured on a majority of the Scottish and Manx monoliths must have been executed before the artists possessed such skill or such tools as would enable them to cut the outline of the stone itself to any required form; they do not appear at that time to have *set up* crosses, but they engraved representations of that symbol on the surface of huge stones many of which were already fixed in an erect position and most probably had been for a long series of years employed in the services of an earlier religion. Upon such stones they imitated the ornamentation of wicker-work by innumerable reiterated blows of their small celts of flint, bronze, or iron, working out the design in low relief, and showing one half of the round, or as much only of the osier wands as could be seen when plaited together. It is only in the later examples that the outline of the stone assumes the form of the cross; and this change is accompanied by a considerable alteration in the ornamental details, the interlacings become less elegant but more complicated, and terminate in the heads, tails, and limbs of various animals, often grotesque in expression; or, the wands burst into buds and leaves, or give place entirely to sculptured representations of men and animals of the rudest execution. It is a curious proof of the earlier use of the interwoven ornamentation that it may be found in elegantly arranged and highly-finished devices on the same

(1) Though a poetical authority is of no weight in antiquarian argument, it would be wrong to omit quoting Sir Walter Scott's account of the famous fiery cross formed of twigs.

"The grisly priest, with murmuring prayer,
A slender crosslet framed with care,
A cubit's length in measure due;
The shaft and limbs were rods of yew.

* * * * *

The cross, thus formed, he held on high,
With wasted hand and haggard eye."

The Lady of the Lake, canto iii. stanza viii.

stones with representations of the human figure so rudely carved as to appear to be the work of mere children.

It may be objected, that the British or Saxon artisan, when working on a new material, would adopt a style of ornament appropriate to it, and discard the totally irrelevant system of decoration which had been used by his ancestors; but it must be remembered that he had many inducements to adhere to the ancient patterns. The force of custom and education would be a powerful motive, and no other style of ornament was then known to the people, who were accustomed to and well understood these endless intricacies which appear to us a mass of confusion; probably, however, the best reason was an earnest desire to perpetuate in durable material those crosses of perishable basket-work, before which he and his ancestors had bowed themselves in worship in the depths of their primæval forests,—crosses, which had been sanctified by the holy men who at first erected them, and to many of which miraculous powers were undoubtedly attributed.

A majority of the Irish examples differ from those of Scotland and the Isle of Man, in being elaborately carved in their outline to the form of richly ornamented crosses. This argues either an earlier developement of art in Ireland, or a later execution of the work; but the plaited ornaments are found to prevail in each locality, though they probably gave place to sculptured representations of men and animals somewhat earlier in Ireland than elsewhere. The usual form of these crosses is fairly expressed by the example engraved⁽¹⁾ representing the interesting Irish cross at Kilklespeen.

It may at first sight be supposed that crosses of timber would precede those of stone, the material being abundant and the workmanship apparently more easy; but a little consideration will show that timber required tools of a higher order than stone; the blunt celt would be far from efficient as an instrument to carve wood, and sharp-edged tools were

(¹) Plate No. 2.

not then attainable. Irrespective of this, the superior durability of stone would of itself induce the choice of that material.

There is a common arrangement in most of the Scottish and Irish crosses to which I desire to call attention; whether sculptured into true crosses, or merely engraved on the surface of the stone, they are divided into irregular compartments, each for the most part ornamented with a different device of interlaced work, or, in late examples, subjects in sculpture. These compartments are usually broad at the base and gradually decrease in size towards the apex of the cross, as would be the case with a series of baskets piled upon each other, and then firmly bound together by continuous bands of twisted withes. A wheel or ring, connecting the horizontal with the perpendicular limbs almost invariably accompanies the interlaced ornamentation on these early crosses. This ring I long supposed to represent a nimbus or glory, but remembering that that usual symbol of divinity is of Eastern origin, and that it is commonly met with on crosses where there is no representation of the figure of our Lord, I was induced to seek for some other meaning, and have now no hesitation in saying that its original purpose was not symbolical, or even merely ornamental, but that it was a necessary appliance in the construction of the earlier wicker-work crosses, reproduced on the stone crosses for the same reasons which induced the retention of the interlaced ornaments.

It is obvious that the horizontal arms of a basket-work cross must require some extraneous aid to enable them to retain that position even for a short time. For this purpose the ring seemed to me to have been adopted; but I was quite unable to discover the manner in which it was applied, until on application to a practical basket-maker I was at once told that he could not construct a cross of willows without the ring, which he must make first, and then work the cross upon it. That such was its use is confirmed by the arrange-

ment of some of the rude crosses in the Isle of Man. On the sculptured stone in the church-yard of Kirk Michael⁽¹⁾ is a cross of interlaced work without any ring; but to compensate for its absence another contrivance has been adopted. The horizontal arms are sustained by a series of plaited twigs hung over the top of the upper limb, and interwoven with the arms. On the reverse of the same stone⁽¹⁾ the cross has a ring composed of one thick and two slender stems, which last appear to pass through and fasten together the limbs and the ring by a curious and ingenious knot. Another example of a similar fastening may be observed on the fragment of stone also at Kirk Michael⁽²⁾ sculptured with a rude representation of the crucifixion. These knots are doubtless the origin of the richly ornamented bosses often covered with basket-work, so frequently met with in exactly the same positions on the Irish and Scottish crosses.

Some of the human figures sculptured on the Scottish and Manx stones, are so executed as to suggest that they also are reproductions from originals formed of twigs. This is particularly the case with a fragment at Forteviot,⁽³⁾ the ancient Celtic capital of Scotland, on which four men, some animals and a cross are carved with curious rudeness; and with a portion of another crucifixion from the Isle of Man.⁽⁴⁾ Both of these have a considerable resemblance to the rustic work of rough twigs with which many gardeners of the present day delight to ornament their summer houses and garden seats. These examples suggest a common origin with the extraordinary illuminations which Mr. Westwood has reproduced from ancient manuscripts, particularly with those engraved

(¹) Plate No. 5. I am indebted to the Rev. George Cumming M.A. for permission to re-engrave this and plates Nos. 6 and 8 from his interesting work on the crosses of the Isle of Man; and to my nephew and assistant, Mr. W. E. Brown, for drawing all the illustrations of this brochure on stone.

(²) Plate No. 6.

(³) Plate No. 7. From *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.

(⁴) Plate No. 8.

in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*,⁽¹⁾ it being remembered that the sculpture and the illuminations were both probably enriched with colour and gilding.

I have made careful copies of very numerous examples of ancient interlaced ornaments, and placed them in the hands of various artisans, particularly basket-makers, straw-plaiters, wire-workers, and plaiters of ornamental hair. They all inform me that with a few exceptions the devices may be worked out in their respective materials, and several thanked me for putting new patterns before them, which they said would be useful in their business. Some of these drawings I gave to my own workpeople, who reproduced the devices very effectively in braid-work and embroidery. They tell me they could, with time and patience, copy many of the most elaborate devices.

I must guard myself, however, against being supposed to assert that *all* the interlaced devices found on the old crosses may be reproduced in modern plait work; such is not the case. Many of them may claim some other and very different origin, and there are others which the sculptor has doubtless modified and altered. The first Corinthian capital is said to have been modelled from a flower-pot covered with a tile between which the leaves of an acanthus had forced themselves, an arrangement which skilful architects have varied a hundred different ways, though retaining still the expression of the original idea. In the same spirit the ancient Briton treated the panels of basket-work, when he reproduced them on his crosses of stone.

There are many other branches of British and Irish art which may have been influenced in their origin by the long established basket-work of these islands, such as the early enamelling of metals, the Norman arcades, especially those found on very early fonts, the branching arrangement of the oldest window glass, as well as the reticulated manner of

 (1) Vol. vii. pp. 17-19, 23, 24.

placing glazing quarries, and very numerous varieties of mediæval diapering; but I omit farther notice of these. My purpose in this paper is merely to call attention to the probable origin of one branch of ancient art which I believe to have escaped previous notice. If I have in any degree established my position, or even excited curiosity respecting it, it will doubtless induce further inquiry and discussion, since it is beyond doubt a subject of very considerable interest.

FINIS.



RILLESPEEN

№ 3



SHANDWICK

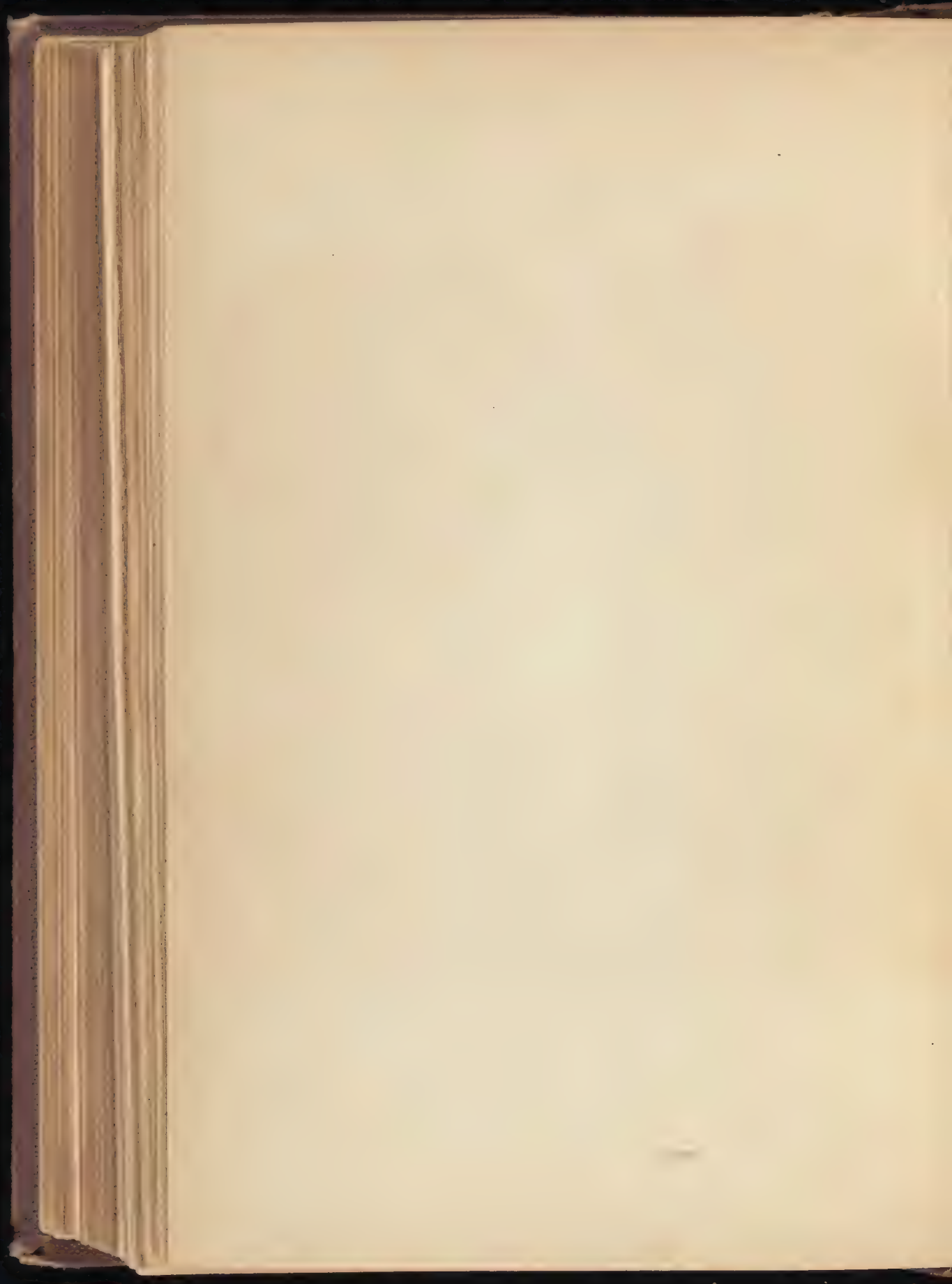
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BRIDIE



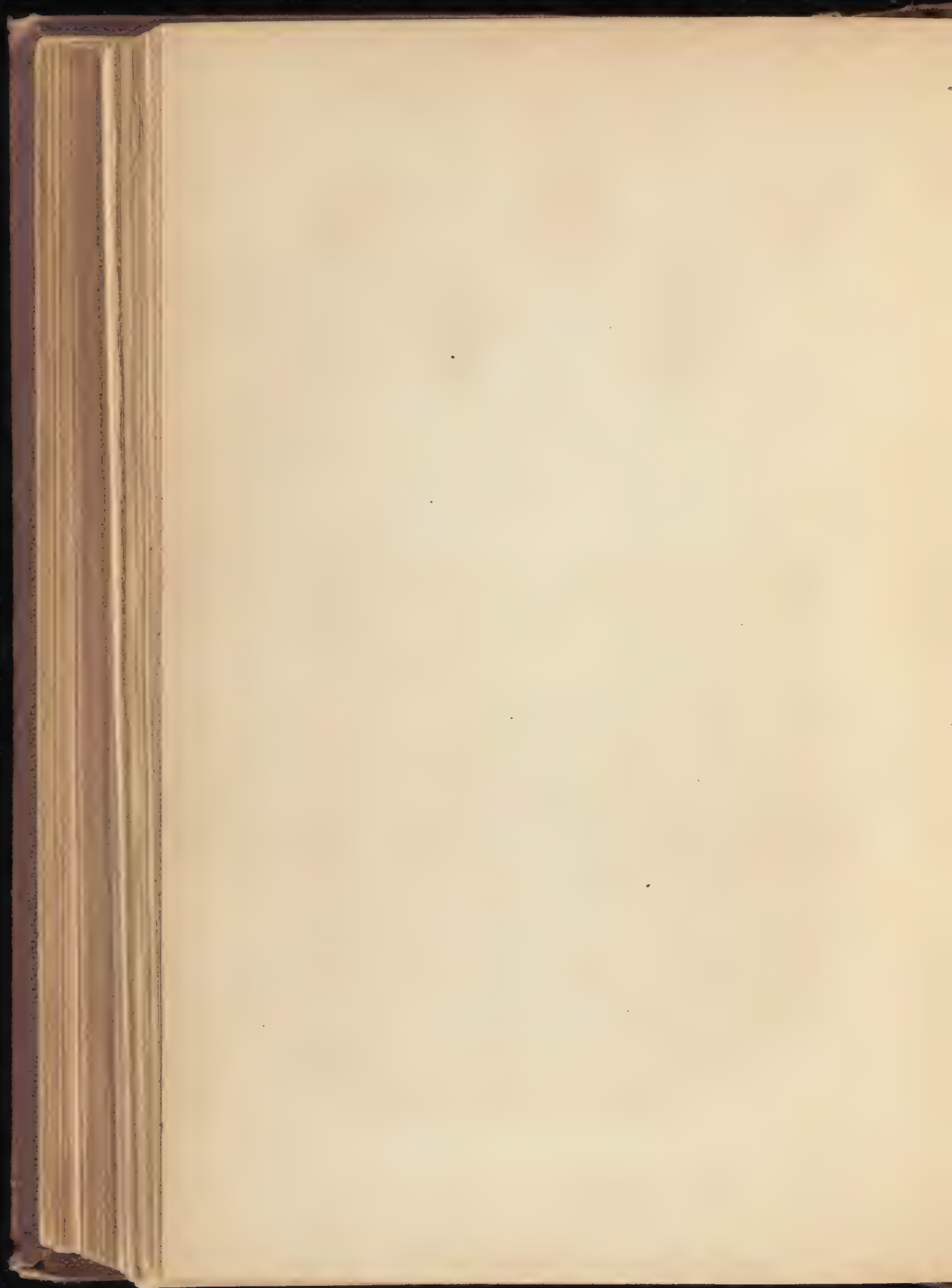
GUENFERNESS



Nº 5



IN THE CHURCHYARD OF RIRK MICHAEL
ISLE OF MAN



No 6



BRITISH URNS



FRAGMENT OF A CROSS AT KIRK MICHAEL



Крѣмъ а свѣдѣнъ естъ аѣ корѣеиоѣ



FROM THE OLD CHURCH, CALF OF MAN

HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT SEALS OF ENGLAND.

BY
ROBERT WILLIS,
JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

OXFORD.

MDCCCXLV.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT SEALS OF ENGLAND, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF EDWARD III.

BY ROBERT WILLIS, JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

IN the elucidation of the history of architectural decoration, seals are particularly useful; more especially with respect to tabernacle-work, with which they are often most profusely decorated, and they exhibit the progress of this class of ornament through all its different stages. Of course this help to history can only be made available when the date of the seal is known: monastic and cathedral seals fail in this respect, they rarely correspond to the original foundation of the establishment to which they belong, and were evidently renewed from time to time, at unrecorded periods, as the art of seal-engraving advanced. Personal seals, such as the seals of kings and bishops, may generally be assigned to the time at which the office in question was undertaken by the individual, and thus their date is fixed, with some few exceptions where two or more were employed by the same person; still the date lies within the limits of the assumption of the office and the death of the official. My immediate object is with the great seals of England. Warton^a shewed their use in elucidating the history of architecture, but without entering into any particulars, and he seems to have had no better authority than the rude woodcuts of Speed, who gives one seal to each monarch, with the exception of Edward III., and some others, to whom he assigns two. This is not the real state of the case, some of the kings adopted their predecessor's seal, either taking the identical matrix with some small alteration, or else copying it. Others had several seals, so that to use the seals for our purpose it is necessary to investigate their history. A principal source of information respecting this is to be found in the dates of the documents to which these seals are appended, and from which the periods during which they were used, are directly ascertainable. Sandford^b has engraved good representations of the seals, and generally gives the date of the documents from which he has taken them. Excellent engravings are also

^a Observations on the Fairy Queen of
Spenser, edit. 1762. vol. ii. p. 184.

^b Genealogical History of the Kings of
England.

to be found in the French work entitled "*Tresor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*," but without the dates of the documents. The most complete account of the English seals is by the French author Wailly^c, who writes from the authority of seals preserved in the French archives, and always gives dates when the document can be dated. Mabillon and the Benedictines in their diplomatic works may also be consulted. Still much remains to be done before the complete knowledge of this branch of the history of art can be attained, and I have therefore drawn up the following sketch, in which, although I have endeavoured to make some steps in advance, yet my principal object has been rather to solicit through the medium of the *Journal*, information upon the subject, by directing attention to its interest and to its present imperfect state.

Our kings, from Edward the Confessor to John, are represented sitting upon a mere stool with ornamental work about it, but not contributing much to architectural decoration. Henry III., in his second seal, has a back and sides added to his stool, with pinnacles and arcade-work; and the seal of Edward I. is a copy of his father's but of better execution. Edward II. employed the identical matrix, merely engraving two castles at the sides of the throne. The legend already containing the name "*Edwardus*" required no alteration.

But we are indebted to the reign of Edward III. for the most considerable and important contribution to the history of design in seals. During his reign he used, as I shall presently shew, no less than seven seals of different design, and gradually increasing in richness and beauty.

It becomes necessary therefore to assign the exact date to these various designs, and to enquire how it happened that this monarch departed so widely from the practice of his predecessors. And as far as I know, no reason has ever been assigned, neither has the fact itself been correctly stated. Speed engraves two seals only, Sandford says that King Edward made use of three several great seals, which he engraves, and gives the date of the documents from which he copied them. Wailly enumerates six which are preserved in the archives of France, and endeavours to ascertain the periods during which they were used, from the dates of the documents, but as it will appear below not always correctly.

In Rymer's *Fœdera* however there are a multiplicity of

^c *Elements de Paleographie*, Par. 1838.

public documents relating to or alluding to the great seals; some are proclamations of new seals, others are formal recitals of the surrender of the seal by one chancellor and its formal delivery to another, and so on. By means of these I shall shew that Edward III. employed at least seven great seals, and also that he had good reasons for doing so. As the respective documents do not explain the design of the seal in question, that must be picked out from the other sources already mentioned, and a little difficulty sometimes occurs in this respect, but I will first give the history of the successive seals as far as I can make it out from Rymer, and then proceed to identify them with the known impressions. And for the sake of clearness I shall designate the seven seals by the letters A B C D E F G in order, and append these as letters of reference to each seal as it occurs. Although other seals than the great seals of the Chancery are occasionally named in these documents, my sole purpose is with the great seals, and of them only and their history I must be understood to speak in my remarks.

Also the king is usually represented on one side of the seal seated on a throne, and on the other he appears on horseback, but as he is accompanied by no architectural adjunct in the latter case, I have confined myself solely to that side of the seal which represents him seated, and which is termed the reverse.

In the first year and on the fourth day of the reign of Edward III. (namely, Jan. 28, 1327) he gave his great seal (A) to the bishop of Ely as chancellor, and two flowers of the arms of France having been engraved at the under side of the said seal, the bishop caused certain documents to be sealed therewith^d. This sealing was the usual mode of confirming the possession of the great seal, and as such it is always recited in the various passages of Rymer which I shall have occasion to quote, although I shall not think it necessary to repeat it upon every occasion.

The seal here mentioned is in fact the seal of Edward I., to which Edward II. had already added a castle on each side, and

^d Rymer, tom. ii. p. 683. (I quote throughout from the new edition.) "*Sculptis in inferiori parte prædicti sigilli duobus floribus de armis Franciæ.*" This may be translated either at "the lower part" of the seal or "the under side." But as the fleurs-de-lis were really added above the

castles, and therefore at the upper part of the design, it has been pointed out to me that this expression, which must be translated the "under side," shews that the seated figure was considered to be the reverse of the seal, and therefore the horseman the obverse.

which now received the farther addition of a small fleur-de-lis above each castle. An impression, appended to a charter, dated Feb. 27, 1 E. III. (1327), was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1799, by Mr. Samuel Lysons; and Wailly describes another in the archives of France, dated April 11, 1327^e. And as the next paragraph shews that the matrix was broken in October, its history is complete from its first employment by Edward I. to its destruction by Edward III.

In the October of the same year, the king issued a proclamation stating that he had made a new great seal (B) differing both in circumference and in design on both sides from the seal which he had hitherto used, which new seal was to have authority from the 4th of October, the old seal to be broken. Impressions of the new seal in white wax were despatched to the proper authorities, together with the proclamation. It is also recorded that the old seal (A) was broken into small pieces in the king's presence, in his chamber in the castle of Nottingham^f.

This seal (B^g) makes its appearance so soon after the king comes to the throne, that it is clear that his father's seal was merely adopted in the first instance to give time for the formation of this new one, which exhibits considerable advance in style, and a complete difference of design. The king is seated like his predecessors upon a chair, but this chair has four pinnacles, and a high back, which terminates upwards in an ogee arch. On each side is engraved a large and distinct fleur-de-lis. An impression of this seal is annexed to a document dated Roxborough, Scotland, Jan. 16, 1335, according to Sandford, who engraves it, and to another in the archives of France, dated March 30, 1331^h. And I have met with several others, of which the latest is in the treasury of Ely cathedral, dated Oct. 7, 1336.

On the 10th of July, 1338ⁱ, a proclamation was issued setting forth that the king was about to leave the country

^e Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 271, and pl. xlvii. Wailly, tom. ii. p. 113.

^f "Antiquum sigillum ruptum fuit in minutas pecias." Rymer, p. 718.

^g In the Issue Roll published by Sir Frederick Devon (p. 142.) is a payment of 5*l.* (on June 2, 1332) to "a certain goldsmith of London in money paid to him for making a certain great seal for the chancery of our Lord the King." This must apply to seal B, and shews that the goldsmith had

to wait six years for his money, or at least for part of it, as this might be an instalment as usual. In 1350 there occurs "June 2 to John de Grymstede a goldsmith of London in part payment of 4*l.* paid to him for engraving a certain seal for the Lord the king for Ireland, by order of the council 2*l.*" Ibid., p. 154.

^h Sandford, p. 157. Wailly, p. 113.

ⁱ Rymer, p. 1048.

upon certain great and weighty matters, (namely, to prosecute his claim to the throne of France,) and intended to take with him his great seal (B.) And that he had provided another seal (C^k) which was to be used for the rule of the kingdom during his absence, of which he sends impressions^l. There are also formal documents to shew that the new seal was sent by the king, on July 11, to John de Saint Paul, and Thomas de Bamburgh, who then officiated as keepers of the great seal^m; and that they delivered the old seal to the king on the 14th of July, he being then at the port of Orwell, on board the ship "la Cristofre." They afterwards delivered the new seal to the chancellor, the bishop of Londonⁿ.

This seal C, Sandford engraves from an impression dated Windsor, September 20, 1339, and therefore during the king's absence. It is in the same style as the second seal B, with slight differences for distinction sake. The chair has no high back with ogee arch, and instead of one fleur-de-lis on each side, there are three lions. The fleur-de-lis was introduced into the other two seals, in assertion of his right to the throne of France. But the seal C being intended solely for English affairs, the lions of England were employed to distinguish it from the seal B, which he took with him.

Wailly imagines the seal B to have been the third seal, and C to have been the second, but he had no date to guide him in assigning this place to the latter seal, which he knew only from the engraving in the new edition of Rymer. The dates which I have given, combined with the extracts from Rymer, are sufficient to justify my statement, which agrees with Sandford, and is also confirmed by an allusion to the fleur-de-lis, in a letter from Edward to the chancellor of Ireland, dated October, 1327, and accompanying the announcement of the new seal B, already quoted at p. 17 above.

This letter states^o that the king is desirous to make some alteration in the seal then used in Ireland, and therefore commands "*two images of two flowers like those contained in the new seal (B),*" (an impression of which accompanies the letter,) to be added to the Irish seal.

^k In the Issue Roll published by Sir Frederick Devon (p. 145.) we find a payment Aug. 12, 1335, "to Nicholas de Acton, one of the chamberlains of the exchequer, sent by the council with two clerks from York to London to order a certain great seal for the rule of the realm of England

to be newly made." This must apply to seal C, which was therefore made three years before it was published.

^l Rymer, p. 1049.

^m Ibid. p. 1050.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 1051.

^o Ibid. p. 718.

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The new seal B therefore could not have been the lion seal. Nevertheless, in the new edition of Rymer, seal C is marked No. 1. of Edw. III., and seal B, No. 2.

When Edward arrived in Flanders he found his allies backward in assisting him, and was obliged to spend the whole year in negotiations. To remove the scruples of the Flemings about fighting against their liege lord the king of France, he assumed the title of King of France. He had in fact occasionally styled himself King of France from the 7th of October 1337, but it was not until the 25th of January, 1340, the anniversary of his accession, that in dating important public documents, he added the year of his nominal reign over that country to the year of his reign in England^p. A proclamation against his rival, Philip of Valois, dated Gaunt, Feb. 8, 1340, is said to be sealed with a new seal^q (D.)

Edward returned to England on the 21st of February, 1340, and remained there until the 22nd of June, leaving his queen and his son at Antwerp, as hostages to his allies for his return. A proclamation^r dated Harwich, Feb. 21, announces to the English his assumption of the title of King of France, and declares that he has therefore provided two seals, namely, one great seal (D) for the rule of the kingdom, and one small one called the privy seal. Impressions of which for publication accompany the document as usual.

On the first of March^s the king at Westminster delivered to John de Saint Paul the said seal (D,) which is styled^t a certain great seal, newly made, for the government of the kingdom, which the said king had brought with him from foreign parts; and at the same time the aforesaid John de Saint Paul delivered up the other great seal (C) which was made for the government of the kingdom in the king's absence, which seal the king delivered to William de Kildesby, to be kept in the king's wardrobe^u.

On the 28th of April the archbishop of Canterbury was made chancellor, and received the great seal (D) from John de Saint Paul^x. And on the 20th of June, the king being then on board the ship called la Cogge Thomas, at Orwell,

^p Sir Harris Nicolas, Chronology of History, p. 299. Henry VII.

^q Rymer, p. 1109.

^r Ibid. p. 1115.

^s Ibid. p. 1115.

^t "Quoddam magnum sigillum, pro re-

gimine regnorum, terrarum, et dominiorum, ipsius regis, de novo fabricatum, quod idem dominus rex secum à partibus transmarinis ad partes Angliæ detulit."

^u Ibid. p. 1116.

^x Ibid. p. 1122.

ready to return to Flanders, the archbishop resigned the chancellorship and the great seal (D.) The king took the seal and caused it to be broken, and ordered another seal (E) newly made for the government of the kingdom, to be delivered into the custody of John de Saint Paul, to keep and use until the coming of the bishop of Chichester, whom he had appointed to be the new chancellor^y.

And the said seal was accordingly delivered to the bishop of Chichester on the 12th of July, after the king's departure^z.

The new seal D had but a short existence. It was used, as far as we know, for the first time, on the 8th of February, 1340, and was broken to pieces on the 20th of June.

The impression which corresponds to this history is a coarse, plain, and ill-engraved seal, in which the king's throne is flanked by two towers, and has a clumsy canopy over his head. A shield of France and England quarterly hangs on each side, and the title "*Rex Francie et Anglie*" appears in the legend.

An impression was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1834^a, annexed to a charter, dated Ipswich, June 8, 1340, which date identifies the design in question with the seal D of the history. Mr. Doubleday has an impression of this seal on sale, and an engraving was made for the French "*Tresor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*." The clumsy design may be accounted for by supposing it to have been made in a hurry, in consequence of Edward's assumption of the title of King of France. It must also have been of foreign workmanship; and its ugliness seems to have condemned it to its rapid destruction.

As to its successor E, "newly made for the government of the kingdom during the king's absence," we must postpone its history until our narrative has given us some farther information. Four seals, A, B, C, D, have been already passed under review, and identified with their respective impressions upon the clear evidence of dates and documents. There remain three seals, E, F, G, whose history is so mixed together, that the historical narrative must be carried to the end of this reign before their respective designs can be examined.

^y "Rex dictum sigillum . . . frangi fecit et præcepit quod quoddam aliud sigillum pro regimine hujusmodi de novo fabricatum domino Jⁱ. de S^o. Paulo . . . liberaretur

custodiendum &c. . . ." (Rymer, p. 1129.)

^z Ibid. p. 1129.

^a Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 461.

It may be remarked, that in consequence of the king's long absence from England for the prosecution of his designs upon the throne of France, he was driven to the expedient of adopting two great seals, one which was used during his *presence* in England, and which he always took with him to employ abroad; and another which was used during his *absence* from England, and upon his return was always laid up in the treasury or elsewhere, until his next departure. The great seals of his reign are thus divided into two classes, which I shall for the sake of distinction call the seals of presence and the seals of absence; and the designs of each of them were changed several times, as we have partly seen already. Thus after the destruction of his grandfather's matrix A, B the first seal of presence was made. C was the first seal of absence; D, the second seal of presence, made in assertion of his new title, was destroyed when he left the kingdom to return to Flanders; and we now resume the narrative immediately after a second seal of absence, E, has been by him put into the hands of the new chancellor.

On the 30th of November of the same year, 1340, the king returned to England, and the next morning the bishop of Chichester came to him, and delivered up the great seal E, committed to him for the government of the kingdom of England during the king's absence, which seal the king received and gave in charge to William de Kildesby, his keeper of the privy seal, to keep in the mean time. And on the following Saturday, William brought this seal E, and another great seal F, *which the king had brought with him from foreign parts*, and delivered them to the king, who commanded that from henceforth the said seal F, which he had brought from abroad, should be used in the kingdom of England^b.

After this, the king, upon five several occasions during the next twenty years^c, left the kingdom in prosecution of his designs; and, upon his quitting it, a document always occurs in Rymer noting the formal exchange by the chancellor of the great seal made to be used when he is in the kingdom, for that which is made to be used in his absence;

^b "Aliud magnum sigillum dicti domini regis quod idem dominus rex secum à dictis partibus transmarinis detulit . . ."
"Et etiam idem dominus rex præcepit quod dicto sigillo, quod sic de prædictis

partibus transmarinis delatum fuit extunc in regno suo Angliæ uteretur." (Rymer, p. 1141.)

^c Vide p. 25. below.

and another document records the contrary exchange of the seal of absence for the seal of presence on his return^d. Nothing in these documents, however, indicates the making of a new seal; and the last of them, which belongs to the return of the king, ten days after the peace of Bretigny, states that he delivered to the chancellor his great seal (F) which he had taken with him from England to France^e, that the chancellor sealed certain documents with it, (as usual,) and delivered the other great seal (E) used in the king's absence, to the treasurer, to be kept in the treasury^f.

In 1369 the treaty of Bretigny was set aside, and the king resumed the title and arms of King of France^g. A memorandum in Rymer^h sets this forth, and adds, that "the king of England and France caused to be brought to him at Westminster on the 11th of June, all those seals which were kept in his treasury, the circumscription of which had the words 'Edwardus Rex Anglie et Francie,' or 'Francie et Anglie;' that is to say, as well the seals for the rule of the kingdom of England, as those for the benches and for the exchequer, and for the office of the privy sealⁱ. Of these he delivered to the venerable William, bishop of Winchester, his chancellor, two great seals, each in two pieces, one of which (E) contained the words 'Rex Anglie et Francie,' and on the other (F) 'Rex Francie et Anglie.' Also one seal in two pieces was delivered to John Knyvet, chief justice of the King's Bench; one seal in two pieces to Robert de Thorp, chief justice of the Common Bench; a third seal in two pieces to Master William de Askeby, archdeacon of Northampton, chancellor of the exchequer; and another in one piece, made for the office of privy seal, to Peter de Lacy, clerk of the privy seal^k.

^d Thus for example, on the 2nd of July, 1346, when the king was at the Isle of Wight ready for his voyage outwards, John de Offord his chancellor "liberavit magnum sigillum ipsius domini regis pro regimine regni Angliæ dum idem dominus rex infra idem regnum fuerit, deputatum et statim recepit quoddam aliud magnum sigillum regis pro regimine dicti regni Angliæ dum idem dominus rex extra dictum regnum fuerit ordinatum." Rymer, tom. iii. p. 85.

^e "Magnum sigillum suum, pro regimine Angliæ ordinatum, quod secum a dicto regno Angliæ, ad dictas partes Franciæ deferri fecit." (Rymer, tom. iii. p. 494.)

^f Ibid. p. 494.

^g June 3.

^h Rymer, vol. iii. p. 868. June 3, 1369.

ⁱ Although I have confined my remarks to the great seals, yet this document contains so curiously useful an enumeration of all the king's seals, that I have translated it nearly at length.

^k "June 19, 1361. To John de Chycheester, a goldsmith of London, in money paid to him for making two silver seals for the privy seal of the Lord the king, 7l. 18s. 8d." (Devon, Issue Roll, p. 175.) This appears to belong to the seals made after the peace of Bretigny. The only other entry of this class for this reign, except those already given, is in 1356. "Aug. 2. To Will. de Morton, a goldsmith of London,

But that great seal (G) in two pieces, upon which 'Edwardus Rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et Aquitanie' was inscribed, and *which was made in accordance with the peace (of Bretigny)* for the rule of England, was returned to the treasury, together with the four other seals for the benches, the exchequer, and privy seal office, which bore the same inscription, and which since that peace had always been used."

In 1371 Robert de Thorp was made chancellor, in the place of the bishop of Winchester who is recorded in the usual form¹ to have delivered the great seal (E^m) to the king on the 14th of March, on Monday, and on the succeeding Wednesday the king delivered the said seal to Robert de Thorp. But on the 28th of March "the bishop of Winchester, late chancellor, delivered to the king at Westminster two great seals and two private seals", which the king lately used, and which had remained in the custody of the said bishop. The circumscription of the said seals were as follows; upon one of the great seals, (F), 'Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Francie et Anglie et dominus Hibernie;' and upon the other great seal, (G), 'Edwardus Dei Gratia, Rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et Aquitanie.' Also upon one of the said private seals, 'Secretum Edwardi Regis Francie et Anglie et dominus Hibernie,' and upon the other private seal, 'Secretum Edwardi Regis Anglie et dominus Hibernie et Aquitanie.' Then the king caused the said two great seals to be put into two leather purses sealed with white wax, and the two private seals into two linen bags sealed with red wax, each bearing the signet of the king and the seal of the aforesaid bishop, and delivered the four to his treasurer to be kept in his treasury^o."

On June 29, 1372, Robert de Thorp died, and the great seal was given to John Knyvet^r, and on January 11, 1377, he surrendered it to the bishop of St. David's. Upon the last occasion it is termed "the great seal for the *rule of England* ^a." And this is the last document in Rymer on this subject in the

in money paid to him for making a certain seal for the king's use, 3*l*." (p. 163.); which it is impossible to appropriate.

¹ "Liberavit magnum sigillum ejusdem regis." (Rymer, p. 911.)

^m Why I have inserted E in this place will be explained below.

ⁿ "Duo magna sigilla et duo privata

sigilla quibus idem rex nuper utebatur et quæ in custodiâ prædicti episcopi, ex commissione regis remanserunt." (Rymer, p. 912.)

^o Rymer, p. 912.

^p Ibid. p. 951.

^a Ibid. p. 1069.

reign of Edward III., with the exception of a short memorandum, which is not to our purpose^r.

The above extracts from Rymer contain the history of the seals E, F, and G, and I have affixed the respective letters to them whenever they appear in the narrative; but the grounds upon which I have thus identified them remains to be explained. Seal G, "*which was made in accordance with the peace of Bretigny,*" is the richest and handsomest of them all. It is engraved in Rymer as appended to a document dated July 19, 1362; and is also described by Wailly, and said by him to be employed for sealing a great number of acts relating to the treaty of Bretigny in 1360 and following years, which are preserved in the archives of France^s. Its legend omits the title of France altogether; but differs in the latter half from those of the seals B C, which also omitted France; for B has "Dns Hybernie Dvx Aquitanie," C has "Dominus Hibernie et Dvx Aquitannie," but G has "Dns Hibernie et Acquitannie," omitting "Dvx;" and thus it is shewn that the great seal mentioned in the last page, which was delivered by the bishop of Winchester on the 28th of March, as one that had been laid aside but had been in his custody, was this Bretigny seal G, and not one of the other seals B or C, both of which also omitted France in their legends. It is true that the Bretigny seal was returned to the treasury on the 11th of June 1369, but it seems to have been afterwards taken out for some purpose or other not recorded, and put in possession of the chancellor. The same matrix, however, was again used by Edward III. in the latter years of his reign, with the new legend "Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Francie et Anglie et Dns. Hibernie." I am indebted to the politeness of Sir Frederick Madden for pointing out this fact to me, and for shewing me four impressions of the matrix in this state annexed to Harleian charters in the British Museum, the earliest of which is dated Feb. 18, 1374. As the document just quoted shews that the legend of this seal remained in its original state on March 28, 1371, the change must have been made between these two dates. Edward's immediate successors used the same matrix, with the simple substitution of "Ricardus" and "Henricus" for "Edwardus."

There remain only the seals E and F to be described.

^r Rymer, p. 1077.

^s Wailly, p. 114, Rymer, vol. iii. p. 667.

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F is the seal of presence which the king brought with him from abroad on the 30th of November, 1340, and commanded that it should from henceforth be used in the kingdom of England^t. Its history is accurately recorded by Rymer^u, according to whom it regularly accompanied him in his different absences, until he finally returned on the 18th of May, 1360, after the peace of Bretigny; shortly after which it must have been put away to make room for the Bretigny seal, although this fact is not formally recorded. It is the first great seal of England in which tabernacle-work is introduced, and its design is therefore richer than the preceding ones. Sandford engraves an impression from a deed dated Westminster, May 2, 1341, a time when the king was in England. This identifies the impression in question with our seal F, and I have enumerated several other impressions in the Appendix, all of which correspond in the same way to his residence in England. Its legend is, "Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Francie et Anglie et Dominus Hibernie."

As to the seal E, I have not been able to discover any engraving or specimen of it. It was made for a seal of absence, and as such left behind by the king when he departed for Flanders on the 20th of June, 1340. When he returned he brought with him the seal of presence F, and the two continued to be used in their respective functions until they were both superseded by the Bretigny seal.

As E and F were undoubtedly the two great seals which were taken out of the treasury on the 11th of June, 1369, the document above quoted teaches us the curious fact that E had "Rex Anglie et Francie" in its legend, for as we know that F had "Francie et Anglie," E must be the other so named. And this in fact is all we know about the seal, for its design remains to be ascertained.

But a new mode of distinguishing the seals of presence and absence is thus explained, namely, by putting England first in the seal of absence, and France first in the seal of presence.

Moreover, as the document of the 28th of March, 1371^x, shews by the legend, "Francie et Anglie," that seal F was one of those which the king had disused, it follows that the seal E, having "Anglie" first, and which was made for a seal

^t P. 21 above.

^u The exact periods during which the

seals were used are given in the Appendix.

^x P. 23. above.

of absence, was, after the resumption of the title of France in 1369, occasionally^y used as a seal of presence for a few years, until the Bretigny seal, with its new legend, was substituted, as above explained. And perhaps now, instead of distinguishing the seals into seals of presence, which always accompanied the king, and seals of absence, which were used only during his absence, a new rule was tried, (which was afterwards observed by some of his successors^z), namely, that the seals should be divided into those which were appropriated to English affairs, having "England" first in the legend, and those which were used for French affairs, and which had "France" put first in the legend.

Another curious question arises upon this occasion. Did Edward take seal F with him to Flanders from England at the same time that he left E behind, or did he get it made in Flanders? It makes its first appearance in the documents as the new seal which the king had brought with him from abroad. (Nov. 30, 1340). This question is of great interest for the history of art, for the tabernacle-work first appears in this seal; and can only be decided by discovering the seal E. If the latter has tabernacle-work, these two, E and F, of absence and presence, were probably made during his short stay in England; but if E resembles the designs of B and C, we must decide against the fact of the seal F belonging to the arts of our own country. This fact can only be ascertained by the discovery of some document sealed and dated during one of Edward's absences, and bearing the legend which has "Anglie et Francie." As such documents probably exist in the numerous depositories of records, private and public, I venture to request, through the medium of this Journal, that if possible the guardians of these treasures will ascertain the fact, and kindly communicate to me the desired information. A table at the end of this paper contains the dates of Edward's absences and other particulars.

The rich Bretigny seal, however, was probably made in England after his return, for he brought with him the old seal of presence F, and continued to use it for a little while,

^y Occasionally only, for Wailly says that F occurs in a document in the archives of France, dated in 1372, and I have found impressions in Pembroke college dated 1369, 1371, and 1372.

^z This distinction is mentioned by the

Benedictines, in their *Traité de Diplomatie*, t. iv. p. 212, and by Wailly. The previous distinction into seals of presence and absence, seems to have escaped notice hitherto.

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probably until the complete ratification of the treaty. Thus time was given for the making of the seal.

I may add, that of these seven seals, Sandford engraves and assigns to Edward three, B, C, and F, only. Wailly describes A, B, C, D, F, and G, and is entirely unconscious of the existence of E, which is easily accounted for, for this seal was wholly confined to English affairs, and is only mentioned, as I have shewn, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, which Wailly apparently did not consult.

I will now endeavour to pursue the history of the succeeding seals.

Richard II. employed the Bretigny seal of his father, merely substituting in the same matrix, "Ricardus" for "Edwardus." Speed and Sandford in fact engrave this Bretigny seal as the seal of Richard, not being aware of its previous employment by Edward. In the Appendix I have quoted impressions from 4 R. II. to 21 R. II. Wailly, however, says, that Richard employed the two last seals of Edward, namely F and G; and F with "Ricardus" in the legend is engraved in the French "*Tresor de Numismatique*," (pl. viii.) Wailly adds that the seal G appears to have been exclusively used for acts dated from Calais. This of course is true only for the French archives, and it may be concluded that G was the seal for English affairs, and F generally for French affairs, although in both legends we find "Francie" before "Anglie." Rymer has abundant documents concerning the delivery of the seals from one chancellor to another, but they contain no information on this point. There is however a precept from Richard to the chancellor of Ireland in 1 R. II. (1377.) commanding him to change the circumscription of the great seal of his father Edward, and to put "Ricardus" in the place of "Edwardus^a." A similar order to the Irish chancellor in the first year of Henry IV., commands him to erase "Ricardus" and insert "Henricus" in the great seal and other seals of that country^b.

The legend of the Bretigny matrix appears therefore in four states; (No. I.) as it was first engraved in 1360. omitting

^a Rymer, tom. vii. p. 174. The new edition was stopped at the end of Edward III., and I must therefore quote from the old in future. "31 Jan. 4. R. 2. To William Geyton, the king's engraver in the tower of London, for alterations by him made as well on the great seal used in the chancery, as upon the king's seals used in the King's

Bench, Exchequer, and Common Bench at the commencement of the king's reign, 2l. 10s." Devon's Issue Roll, p. 214. This evidently refers to the substitution of one name for the other in the English seals, and is another case of the retardation of the payments.

^b Rymer, tom. viii. p. 114.

France; (No. 2.) with "rex Francie" and "Edwardus;" (No. 3.) with "Ricardus;" (No. 4.) with "Henricus." In this fourth state it is called the seal of Henry IV. by Speed and Sandford. But Henry IV. also made a seal (I) which is the richest and largest of all the medieval seals of England. It is engraved by Speed and Sandford as the seal of Henry V., and therefore needs no minute description. However its distinguishing characteristics are that there are three vertical compartments of *equal* breadth on each side of the central one, and that the arms, which in all the other seals after D inclusive are placed on shields, are in this seal placed on square banners sustained by guards. It has no less than eighteen figures including animals. Its legend contains "Anglie et Francie." Wailly was the first to assign it to Henry IV. on the authority of an impression, dated 1408, in the French archives. And I have found one in the archives of Corpus Christi college, dated 1409, (11 H. IV.,) which confirms this statement. This is the first English seal in which the fleurs-de-lis semée of France are changed for the three fleurs-de-lis; the latter appeared for the first time upon the French seal of Charles V., to which Wailly assigns the date 1364.

The seals of our three Henries (IV. V. VI.) are so mixed together that I must pursue the history of them all in Rymer to the end of Henry VI., before I can explain the whole of their devices.

In the 11 H. IV. one of the usual documents in Rymer recording the delivery of the great seal terms it the golden seal, "Magnum Sigillum Aureum," and the same phrase is used in 5 H. V.^c But in the other similar documents before and after we find only "Magnum Sigillum" as usual. Immediately after the death of Henry V. it is recorded that the chancellor, bishop of Durham, delivered up the great Golden seal of the late king on the 28th of September, 1422, (1 H. VI.) which was finally deposited in the treasury on the 20th of November^d. The bishop of Durham, however, was made chancellor to the new king and received the great seal^e on the 17th

^c Rymer, tom. viii. p. 616; xlix. p. 472. In the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie* we are told "that Henry V. took his seals with him to war. In the history of the House of Auvergne it is related that the Seigneur de Haucourt was made prisoner by the king of England in 1415, and having ob-

tained permission to return to France he recovered the seals of the English Chancery, which the English king had lost with many jewels at the battle of Agincourt." Tom. iv. p. 212.

^d Rymer, tom. x. p. 253.

^e *Ibid.*, p. 262.

November^f. Upon his surrendering it in 1424, (2 H. VI.,) it is styled the Silver Seal, "Magnum Sigillum Regis de Argento^g." This "Silver Seal" again changed keepers in 1426^h, when the bishop of London, John Kemp, was made chancellor. But it is also recorded that the treasurer, bishop of Bath and Wells, delivered the Golden great seal to the duke of Bedford, upon the 18th of March, 4 H. VI., (1426,) and that the duke gave it to the chancellor, the bishop of London. This golden seal had been apparently reserved in the treasury since the 20th of November, 1422ⁱ. John Kemp afterwards became archbishop of York, under which latter title he resigned his office on the 25th Feb., 1432, (10 H. VI.,) and delivered "two great seals, that is, one of gold and one of silver^k." These two seals were given to the bishop of Bath, who in the usual form opened the bag containing the *silver seal* and sealed documents therewith. The silver seal therefore was still the one commonly employed for English affairs, and this is confirmed by a memorandum in 1433^l, stating that as the bishop is about to leave England on certain negotiations, the great silver seal, "Magnum Sigillum Regium de Argento," is committed to the charge of the keeper of the rolls to use in his absence.

No fresh information to our purpose occurs until the 32 H. VI., (1454,) when upon the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, late chancellor, a wooden box locked and sealed was

^f As there is some apparent confusion between the two documents just quoted, it may be as well to state their contents more minutely; the first document (Rymer, p. 253.) states that the golden seal of Henry V. was delivered by his late chancellor, the bishop of Durham, on the 28th Sep., and given into the custody of Simon Gaunstedde, the keeper of the rolls, who accordingly sealed divers letters patent with it, and kept it until the 20th of November, when he delivered it up, and it was deposited in the treasury. The second document (Rymer, 262.) states that the great seal of Henry VI. had been delivered to Simon Gaunstedde on the 28th of September, and by him surrendered to the bishop of Durham, the chancellor, on the 17th of November. There is an apparent ambiguity here, but two seals must be alluded to, although the making of a new one for Henry VI. is not mentioned, the series of documents not being complete. For the golden seal is distinctly said to have been delivered by Simon on the 20th of November, three

days after the great seal of the second document was by him delivered to the new chancellor, so that the latter seal was not the golden one, and was probably the silver seal which the same chancellor delivered up to the king in the following year. In the first parliament of H. VI. the bishop of London, chancellor of the late king in his duchy of Normandy, declares that he had delivered up the two great seals of the said king, namely, the one ordained for the said duchy to the duke of Bedford, and the other similar to his great seal of England to the king himself, at Windsor. "deux Grandes Seals du dit Roi le pierre, un pur le dit Duchee ordeine, et l'autre semblant a son grande Seal d'Engleterre." (Rot. Parl., vol. iv. p. 171.)

^g Ibid. p. 340.

^h Ibid. p. 353.

ⁱ Rot. Parl., vol. iv. p. 299.

^k Rymer, p. 500. "Duo Magna Sigilla ipsius Domini Regis videlicet unum de Auro et aliud de Argento."

^l Ibid. p. 548.

delivered up, which had been in his custody as chancellor at the time of his death. This box contained *three great seals* of the king, to wit, one of gold, and two of silver, which were all given to the new chancellor, the earl of Salisbury. He took out the great seal of silver and sealed documents as usual^m.

The next recorded delivery of the seals, Oct. 11, 35 H. VI., (1456,) describes the three more minutely, as "three royal seals in three leather bags, to wit, one great golden seal, another seal of silver of a large form, and a third seal of silver of a smaller formⁿ," and the new chancellor seals his first document with the aforesaid silver seal of the large form.

Also the chancellor is said to be appointed to the safe custody of all the said seals, and to seal the proper documents therewith for the convenience of the king and of his kingdom, dominions, and people.

Finally, however, on the 25th July, 38 H. VI., 1460, in the bishop's palace at London, the three above-mentioned seals were delivered up to the unhappy king (then in the hands of the duke of York, immediately after the defeat at Northampton) and by him given to the bishop of Exeter, who returned to the king two of them, namely, one of gold, and one of silver, and kept the other, with which he sealed documents as usual^o. And within eight months Edward IV. ascended the throne and Henry VI. took refuge in Scotland, probably taking the seals with him.

It now remains to identify the seals of the above history with the known matrices. A new distinction, however, is presented to us in the material of the seals, for we have a golden seal and silver seals. Henry IV. paid, in the first year of his reign, "to John Edmunds, citizen and goldsmith of London, for the price of 10lbs. weight of silver used in a great seal for the chancery, and for a white seal for the office of privy seal, made by the said John for the king's use, according to the form of a certain pattern remaining in possession of the same John, delivered to him by our lord the king aforesaid, 13*l.* 10*s.*"^p But this king appears to have employed, as already stated, only two great seals, of which one was the old Breigny matrix with "*Francie et Anglie*," and the other the

^m Rymer, tom. xi. p. 344.

ⁿ "Tria Sigilla Regia in Tribus Bagis de Corio . . . unum videlicet magnum sigillum Aureum, ac aliud sigillum Argenteum de magna forma, et Tertium Sigillum Argen-

teum de minori forma." Rymer, tom. xi. p. 383.

^o Rymer, tom. xi. p. 458.

^p Devon, Issues of the Exch., p. 279, (Aug. 14, 1 H. IV. 1400.)

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new large rich seal (I) described in the former page, having "Anglie et Francie." This new seal may therefore be identified with the seal made by John Edmunds, and was a *silver seal*. The *golden seal* must have been the old Bretigny matrix (which he also employed, according to Speed and Sandford). Henry V. is known to have used the same seals as his father, for the great rich seal is given to him alone, by Speed and Sandford, and Wailly tells us that the treaty of Troyes in the French archives is sealed with the seal which I have termed the Bretigny matrix (G, No. 4). By this treaty (May 21, 1420) Henry's style was changed from "Rex Francie" to "heres Regni Francie." The impression annexed to this treaty is so much defaced that Wailly was unable to ascertain whether the legend had been altered to this new style, which is adopted in the treaty itself. But this, however, was not necessarily the case, as the style of a seal and its document frequently differ. Rymer^a furnishes a precept to the chancellor of the exchequer, commanding this alteration of style to be made in the seals which were in his custody, and therefore it is probable

^a June 14, 8 H. V. "Mandamus quod . . . de Stilo sigilli nostri, in custodia vestra existentis hunc Dictionem *Francie* deleri & loco ejusdem istas Dictiones *Heres Regni Francie* vel *Heredis Regni Francie* secundum exigentiam Sigilli illius imprimi et inculpi faciatis." Rymer, vol. ix. p. 915. Wailly indeed says that after this treaty Henry adopted another and plainer seal with this new style (p. 402), and this he asserts upon the authority of the Benedictines. (*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, iv. 212.) Their expressions appear to me, however, ambiguous, and principally relating to the coins. For these coins see Ruding, 3rd Ed. p. 267, vol. i. The Benedictine editor, after describing them, merely adds, "Ce que nous disons ici des monnoies de Henri V. *peut s'appliquer* à ses sceaux." Until an impression of the great seal used from May 21, 8 H. V. to Oct. 21, 1 H. VI., is produced, we cannot tell whether a new matrix was used or an old one altered. I incline to believe that the golden matrix was altered, for then we get a very consistent history, as follows: (1.) The chancellor delivered a golden seal after the death of H. V., which was put away a month after the death of Charles VI. because its legend was wrong. (2.) The silver seal was taken into use, which had an unaltered legend.

It was ordered in the first parliament of

this reign, upon the occasion of the death of Charles VI., that in the seals of the king as well for England as in Ireland, Guyen, and Wales, this new style following shall be engraven, to wit, "Henricus Dei gratia Rex Francie et Anglie et Dn'us Hibernie." And that each of the king's officials who have the said seals in their keeping by virtue of their office, shall forthwith cause them to be altered. (Rot. Par. 1 H. VI. p. 171.) The following entry, from the smallness of the sum paid, may refer to these alterations, and not to the making of the new small silver seal (K) for France. "18 Oct. 2 H. VI. To John Bernes of London, goldsmith, in money paid to his own hands in discharge of 20s. which the present lord the king, with the advice and consent of his council, commanded to be paid to the said John for his labour, costs, and workmanship, in lately riding to the king's castle at Windsor, at his own costs, and there engraving the great seal of the said lord the king with the privy signet; and also for newly engraving an inscription around the king's privy-seal. By writ of privy seal 17." Devon's Issue Roll, p. 382. But the engraving of the new inscription is so distinctly stated in the last item, that the former appear to relate, after all, to the making of a new one. The question can only be settled by the discovery of an impression.

that the same was made in the great seals of England. An impression would settle this question. But this change of style was only employed for about two years, that is, to the death of Charles VI. of France in Oct. 21, 1422, (1 H. VI.) and therefore impressions must be rare.

Henry VI. was by virtue of this treaty King of France from this death. The seal (K) universally given to him is totally unlike the English seals, and resembles the usual form of the seals of the French kings: its diameter is less, and in lieu of the English mounted figure on the obverse, we find, as in the French seals, a small counter seal as it is called, not quite an inch and a half in diameter. The legend is "*Henricus Dei gracia, Francorum et Anglie Rex.*" Now I have shewn from Rymer and the Rolls of Parliament, that one golden and two silver seals, of which one was a small one, were employed during this reign. The golden seal was kept in the treasury during the four first years. The silver seal was commonly used throughout. The small silver seal only appears after the loss of the French dominions in 1451. On the other hand, documents in the archives of the colleges of Caius and Corpus Christi, dated 3 H. VI.^r are sealed with (I), which I have already shewn to have been a silver seal. Many documents in the University, dated from 15 to 34 H. VI., are sealed with G, No. 4,^s already shewn to be a golden seal; and lastly the seal (K) commonly given to H. VI. is considerably smaller than the others, and must therefore be that designated in Rymer as "the lesser silver seal," which its design and the history indicate to have been appropriated to French affairs as long as the English retained a footing in France. It is true that the silver seal I, seems to have been commonly employed throughout this reign, but as the chancellor also had the custody of the golden one G, after 4 H. VI. there seems to be no reason why he should not have used it. I see no better

^r Other explanations may be proposed. For example, if the so called "Golden seal" be supposed of silver gilt, the seal (I) made of John Edmunds' silver may have been the golden seal, and then G, No. 4. will become the silver seal. This is perhaps more consistent with the evidences, for the historical documents shew that the silver seal was used throughout the reign of H. VI., and the dated impressions, that G. No. 4 was used. More examples, and

the identification of the "*heres Francie*" seal will settle this difficulty. I have some doubts whether the impressions of (I) quoted above as in 3 H. VI., do not really belong to 3 H. V. The difference of material, of gold and silver, seems to have been only a contrivance by which readily to distinguish the two great seals from each other.

^s Sandford, p. 286, quotes another impression, 23 H. VI.

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mode of reconciling the historical statement, that a silver seal was used throughout the reign, and a golden one also given to the chancellor in the fourth year; with the evidence of dated impressions which shew that (I) was used in the third year, and (G) in the eighteenth and following year; than by supposing that I was the "silver seal" and that G was the "golden seal," and was occasionally used for English affairs in lieu of the silver one.

The remaining reigns will not detain us long, for Rymer contains no more information to the purpose.

Edward IV. began his reign with a new seal (H) made of gold, "*Magnum Sigillum de Auro factum*," his predecessor having carried off the old ones. This seal is an imitation of the Bretigny matrix, and is the same in the arrangement of the figures and shields. But the turrets of the canopies, instead of resting each on a trefoil arch, spring from three arches of equal height, and are each in two stories. Also the side guards have canopies in lieu of pent-houses. The legend has "*Anglie et Francie*." It is the only seal which Speed engraves for this king; and an impression dated 8 E. IV. in the treasury of Caius College, shews that it was used in the first part of his reign. Mr. Doubleday has also a cast of another seal (GG) of this monarch, which is a copy, in inferior workmanship, of the Bretigny No. 2, with the same legend, and differs only in some of the tracery of the panelling, and in having three fleurs-de-lis in the French arms. A specimen of this, dated 1 E. IV. is in Pembroke college. As the legend has "*Francie et Anglie*," this and H may have been a pair of seals made at the beginning of his reign.

Another pair of seals, of an entirely new design, are also due to Edward IV. The first (L) is much plainer than the preceding ones; it is divided into three broad compartments for the king and his shields, and two narrow ones at the edges for the guards as usual. The guards have no canopies, and the shield compartments, in lieu of a canopy, have only an ogee arch supporting a roof, with lead lines marked upon it, which indeed enables us at once to recognise this seal. The king has a projecting canopy. The legend has "*Anglie et Francie*."

Speed gave this seal to Edward V. Sandford^u shewed it to belong to Edward IV., upon the authority of a dated ex-

^t Rymer, tom. xi. p. 473.

^u Sandford, p. 381.

ample in 22 E. IV. In Caius College I find three others, in the 15th, 17th, and 21st of the same reign. Edward V. however, seems to have also used it as well as Richard III., who merely substituted his name in the matrix for Edward's^x.

The remaining seal (M) of Edward IV. is of coarser execution, but resembles the former (L) in its general arrangement. The guards have an ogee arch over them; the roofs of the shield compartments are replaced by an arrangement of ogee panelling; slight panels are introduced at the back of the king, and the legend has "Francie et Anglie."

This seal is engraved in the French "*Tresor de Numismatique*," and is unnoticed by our English writers. Wailly, who assigns two seals "at least," to Edward IV., describes them as those which I have designated by H and M, but quotes no documents.

The last seems to have been used for the affairs of France, and as the dated examples of L all lie in the latter part of Edward's reign, it appears that it was used after his resumption of the throne in 1471 (11 E. IV.) Did he lose his first seals by his hasty flight in the previous year, and get L made on the continent to bring back with him? Again I repeat, dated examples can only answer this question.

There exists a small seal (N) which is engraved in the French "*Tresor de Numismatique*," and is by the editors assigned to Henry VI., but by Wailly, who describes it, to Henry VII., no dated impression being quoted. Its diameter is small, being the same as that of the small silver seal (K) of Henry VI., and like that it has the small French counter seal, instead of the horseman of our obverse. Its design is imitated from the L and M of Edward IV., but the lateral guards are removed, leaving no figures upon the seal except the king and his lions. Thus the eighteen figures of Henry the Fourth's great seal (I) have dwindled down to three; the back ground of the seal is diapered or powdered with fleurs-de-lis on the left half where the arms of France alone occupy the shield, and with roses on the right half, where France and England quarterly are on the shield. The canopies and their turrets are in a heavy late style, and the legend has "Francie et Anglie."

^x Sandford's engraving of Richard's seal introduces roses only in the shield compartments, instead of the alternate sun and rose of Edward. But from the authority

of casts by Mr. Doubleday, of the two seals in question, they appear both to have had the alternate sun and rose. (Vide Sandford, pp. 353, 354.)

Henry VII. made a copy of Edward's seal (M) so close, that it requires a comparison of the two impressions to detect the difference; however, Edward's has the "rose en soleil," beneath his footstool, and Henry VIIth's a rose on its stalk. The former legend has "*frâcie et anglie*," and the words are separated by fleurs-de-lis. The latter has "*anglie et francie*," the words being also separated by common colons. Henry the VIIIth used the same matrix, adding according to Wailly (p. 116.) a great fleur-de-lis before the horse's head on the right side of the obverse, and different dated specimens exist in the French archives up to 15 Apr. 1533. (24 H. VIII.) Impressions in the archives of Caius College and Catharine Hall, shew that a lion was also added on the left side. After the title of Defender of the Faith was conferred on him in 1521, he adopted a seal of a new and handsome design, which is described but not engraved by Sandford, (p. 449,) but of which a figure occurs in the "*Tresor de Numismatique*."

Lastly, the title of "Head of the Church," conferred on him in 1534, and that of "King of Ireland" in 1541, produced a seal which is remarkable for being designed in the style of Francis I., thus for the first time abandoning the pointed style of architecture. But as my object is solely to illustrate the latter, I may here close my remarks.

I am perfectly aware that in the above conjectural history, for it deserves no better name, I have sometimes been compelled to make assertions upon slight grounds. But be it remembered, I do not profess to write a complete history, but merely by directing attention to the interest of the subject, to shew how much remains to be ascertained.

The safest data upon which to proceed are the dated impressions of the seals. Let me conclude, therefore, by requesting, that those members of the Association who have access to collections of documents, whether college or cathedral treasuries, private or public libraries, or depositories of title deeds, will kindly forward lists of their medieval great seals, only mentioning the type of each seal, and the date of its document, to the editors of the Journal, or better perhaps to myself individually, and thus in a short time such a mass of evidence will be brought to bear upon the subject, that the ambiguities will disappear.

The principal points for investigation are—the design of Edward IIIrd's seal (E.)—the seal of Henry V., which bore the

style "heres Francie."—the periods of Edward IVth's seals—the periods and complete identification of the gold and silver seals of Henry VI.

I will conclude with an Appendix containing tabular lists of the different matrices, which have formed the subject of the above paper.

In the following table of the matrices I have not attempted to describe the several designs minutely, but merely to point out their distinctive characteristics. Every matrix has a different letter of the alphabet given to it, as in the paper. When the legend only has been altered, or some addition made to the design, the same letter is employed for the matrix in its several states, which are termed No. 1, No. 2. A mere copy is indicated by doubling the letter of the original, as MM copied from M. I have also given references to engravings, but the casts of the great seals, which Mr. Doubleday has on sale, are much more useful for identifying the seals than engravings. Dates and lists of impressions, as far as I at present know, or have seen them, are added for each. The first seal of Edward III., however, is so well known in all its states, that I have not inserted it. It was originally copied by Edward I. from the second seal of Henry III., which he adopted in A.D. 1259; and as this design remained in use till 1327, without following the changes of architectural style during that period, it will not assist our present purpose. B, the second seal of Edward III., is the first architectural seal, and with this, therefore, my table begins. The legends are very useful for identifying the seals, and their minute variations and abbreviations are therefore carefully preserved. The original date and duration of each matrix, when known, is added to its distinctive letter. The works referred to are as follows, and the abbreviated reference is appended to each in a parenthesis:—Speed's History of Great Britain. 1650. (Sp.)—Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England. 1677. (San.)—Tresor de Numismatique et de Glyptique, Sceaux des Rois et Reines d' Angleterre, et de France. *Par.* 1834-5. (Tres.)—Wailly, Elements de Paléographie. (references are all to the second vol.) *Par.* 1838. (Wa.)—Knight's Pictorial History of England. 1837-9. (P. H.)—Rymer's Fœdera, new edition. (Rym.)—Devon, F. Issues of the Exchequer. 1837. (Devon's Issue Roll).—Under the head of *impressions* I have referred to the seals preserved in the Archives that I have been kindly permitted to inspect.

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TABLE I.

*A List of the several Matrices of the Great Seals of England,
from Edward III. to Henry VIII. inclusive.*

B. Published Oct. 4, 1 E. III. (1327), taken to Flanders, July 14, 1338.
(Diam. $4\frac{2}{10}$ in.)

King's throne, has four pinnacles and an ogee arch over head; a fleur-de-lis on each side.

EDWARDUS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLIE DNS HYBERNIE DUX AQUITANIE.

Engravings. Sp. 577. San. 123. Rym. iii. 1. Tres. vi. 1.

Impressions. 1 E. III. 4 E. III. 8 E. III. (Brit. Mus.) 7 E. III. (Durham). 8 E. III. (Sandford). 5 E. III. (Wailly). 9 E. III. 10 E. III. (Ely).

C. Published July 10, 12 E. III. (1338), as a seal of absence. Used to Feb. 21, 1340. (Diam. $4\frac{2}{10}$.)

King's throne, with four pinnacles, no arch, three lions on each side.

+ EDWARDUS : DEI : GRACIA : REX : ANGLIE : DOMINUS : HIBERNIE : ET :
DUX AQUITANNIE.

Engravings. San. 122. Rym. ii. 683. Tres. vi. 2.

Impressions. Sep. 20, 13 E. III. (Sandford, 157).

D. From Feb. 8, 14 E. III. (1340). Published in England Feb. 21, 1340.
Broken Jun. 20, 1340. (Diam. $4\frac{2}{10}$ in.)

King on throne, flanked by two towers, and having a triple canopy over his head, supported by four slender pillars; the whole of the most clumsy design; the lions hitherto under his feet now sit one on each side, and are very large: a shield of arms of France and England quarterly is suspended from each tower by a rude hook and loop.

EDWARDUS : DEI : GRACIA : REX : FRANCIE : ET : ANGLIE : DNS :
HYBERNIE : ET : DUX : AQUITANIE.

Engravings. Tres. (Sceaux de France) ix.

Impressions. Ipswich, June 8, 14 E. III. (Lancaster Duchy. Archæologia, xxvi. p. 461.)

E. Used alternately with F, as follows.

Design unknown.

EDWARDUS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE ET DOMINUS HIBERNIE.

F. Used in England as follows, alternately with E and G. (Diam. $4\frac{4}{10}$ in.)
(June 22, 14 E. III.) E (Dec. 1, 14 E. III.) F (Oct. 4, 16 E. III.) E.
(Mar. 4, 17 E. III.) F (July 3, 19 E. III.) E (July 30, 19 E. III.) F
(July 2, 20 E. III.) E (Oct. 15, 21 E. III.) F (Oct. 29, 22 E. III.) E
(Nov. 17, 22 E. III.) F (Oct. 14, 33 E. III.) E (May 19, 34 E. III.) F for

ON THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT SEALS OF ENGLAND,

a short time, then G to (June 3, 43 E. III.) E and F (47 E. III.?) then G No. 2 to end of the reign^y.

King on throne, rich triple canopy over his head, and seven compartments of tracery panelling behind, lions on each side and a shield quartering France and England suspended under a pointed arch.

.+ : : EDWARDUS : DEI : GRACIA : REX : FRANCIE | ET : ANGLIE : ET :
DOMINUS : HIBERNIE : :

N.B. The vertical line that divides this and the following legends in the middle, marks the place where the ornamental corbel cuts the legend of the actual seal.

Engravings. Sp. 584. San. 124. Rym. iii. 597. Tres. vii. 1.

Impressions. 15 E. III. (Sandford, 157). May 20, 20 E. III. (Durham). Feb. 14, 22 E. III. (Brit. Mus.) Jan. 28, 22 E. III. (Caius Coll.) 25 E. III. (Wailly, 113). 26 E. III. (Caius). 28 E. III. 29 E. III. (C.C.C.^z) also 32, 43, 45 and 46 E. III. (Pembroke) and many others.

F. No. 2. Apparently by Richard II. for French affairs.

RICARDUS, &C.

Engraving. Tres. viii. 1.

Impressions. None quoted.

G. The Bretigny matrix, used from about May 20, 34 E. III. (1360) to June 3, 43 E. III. (1369). (Diam. $4\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Tabernacle-work divides the seal into three large compartments and four narrow compartments alternately; king in the centre on throne, with lions seated on each side, a large corbel below, St. George and the Virgin Mary on each side of him in the narrow compartments, then the shields of arms as before suspended in the large compartments, and lastly two warriors or guards in the small outside compartments.

Edwardus : Dei : Gracia : Rex : An | glie : Dns : Hibernie : et : Aquitannie :

Engravings. Rymer, iii. 667.

Impressions. 34 E. III. (Wailly, 114). 36 E. III. (Rymer, ii. 667). 38 E. III. (C.C.C.) 42 E. III. (Ely). 45 E. III. alluded to (Rymer, 951).

G. No. 2. From about 47 E. III. to end of his reign.

† Edwardus : Dei : Gracia : Rex : f | rancie : et : Anglie : et : Dns : Hibernie

Impressions. Feb. 18, 48 E. III. 48 E. III. 49 E. III. 51 E. III. (Harleian charters, Br. Mus.). 49 E. III. (Durham). 47 E. III. (C.C.C.)

G. No. 3. Reign of Richard II.

† Ricardus : &c.

Engravings. Sp. 603. San. 190. Tres. vii. 2. P. H. i. 781.

^y The pages of Rymer that furnish the authority for the above dates are vol. ii. 1129, 1141, 1212, 1220; vol. iii. 50, 53, 85,

139, 177, 452, 494, 868.

^z i. e. Corpus Christi College.

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Impressions. 4 R. II. (C.C.C.) 16 R. II. 17 R. II. (Caius Coll.) 21 R. II. (Ely).

G. No. 4. Altered from the last by H. IV. Used to the end of H. VI. (1461).

† *Henricus* : &c.

Engravings. Sp. 623. San. 238. Tres. viii. 3. P. H. ii. 5.

Impressions. 2 H. IV. (Pembroke). Treaty of Troyes, May 21, 8 H. V. (Wailly, 402). July 29, 23 H. VI. (Sandford, 286). 18 H. VI. 27 H. VI. 34 H. VI. (C.C.C.) Also 15, 18, 24, 25 and 30, H. VI. (Pembroke).

GG. A copy of the above, by Edward IV. Arms of France have three fleurs-de-lis.

Edwardus : *Dei* : *Gracia* : *Rex* : f | *rancie* : *et* : *Anglie* : *et* : *Dns* : *Hibernie*

Engravings. None. (Mr. Doubleday has a cast.)

Impressions. July 29, 1 E. IV. (Pembroke).

H. (A golden seal) from Mar. 10, 1 E. IV. (1461) to 10 E. IV. (1470)? Diam. $4\frac{3}{10}$.

An imitation of the Bretigny seal G. High turrets in two stories substituted for the canopies resting each on a trefoil arch, which characterize the original. The guards at the side also have turreted canopies in lieu of pent-houses. The turrets of the shield compartments rise into the annulus of the legend, and thus contract it.

Edwardus : *Dei* : *Gra* : *Rex* : An | *glie* : & : *francie* : & : *Dns* : *Hibnie*

Engravings. Sp. 686. Tres. x. 2. P. H. ii. 99.

Impressions. 4 E. IV. (Pembroke). 8 E. IV. (Caius Coll.)

I. From 1 H. IV. (1399) to about 3 H. VI. (1425.)? Diam. $4\frac{8}{10}$ in.

Large rich seal full of figures. Arms on banners instead of shields, as in all the other seals.

Henricus § *Dei* § *gra* § *Rex* § *Anglie* | § *et* § *francie* § *et* § *Dns* § *Hibernie*

Engravings. Sp. 635. San. 239. Tres. ix. Wa. pl. T. P. H. ii. 24.

Impressions. A.D. 1408. 9-10 H. IV. (Wailly, 373). 11 H. IV. (C.C.C.) 12 H. IV. (Pembroke). 3 H. V. or VI. (Caius and C.C.C.)

J. From the treaty of Troyes, May 21, 8 H. V. (1420) to the death of Charles VI. Oct. 21, 1 H. VI. (1422.) Design unknown.

Henricus. *Dei* *gracia* *Rex* *Anglie* *heres* *Regni* *francie* *et* *Dns* *Hibernie*

K. (The lesser silver great seal). Employed probably in France from 1 H. VI. to 29 H. VI. (Diam. $3\frac{3}{10}$ in., counter seal $1\frac{4}{10}$.)

Seal in imitation of the royal seal of France.

× HENRICUS. : DEI : GRACIA | FRANCORUM ET ANGLIE : REX.

Engravings. Sp. 662. San. 240. Tres. (Sceaux de France xi. 3.) P. H. ii. 53.

Impressions. None quoted.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT SEALS OF ENGLAND,

L. From 11 E. IV. 1471? to end of the reign of E. V. (Diam. $4\frac{3}{10}$ in.)
 + Edwardus * dei * gracia * rex * anglie | et * francie * et * dominus * hibernie
 Characterized by the lead roofs of the houses over the shields, words of the legend separated by roses.

Engravings. Sp. 705. San. 353. Tres. xii. 1. P. H. ii. 117.

Impressions. 22 E. IV. (Sandford). 15 E. IV. 17 E. IV. 21 E. IV. (Caius). 20 E. IV. (Pembroke.)

L. No. 2. Reign of Richard III.

Ricardus * &c.

Engravings. Sp. 722. San. 354. Tres. xii. 2. P. H. 123.

Impressions. None quoted.

M. Reign of Edward IV., probably for French affairs. (Diam. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

+ Edwardus † dei † gra † rex † francie † et † anglie † et † dominus † hibernie :

Similar to the last in general arrangement. But the lead roofs are replaced by flat high tracery-work. This is the only seal in which the lions are placed in the shield compartments. The words of the legend are separated by fleurs-de-lis, and this seal, as well as the last, is surrounded by a deep rising border studded with small roses.

Engraving. Tres. xi. 1.

Impressions. None quoted.

MM. Reign of Henry VII. (Diam. $4\frac{4}{10}$ in.)

Copied from the last, but the words of the legend are separated by common colons, and the legend has "Anglie et Francie." Below, the rose on a branch is substituted for the rose en soleil.

Henricus : dei : gra : rex : anglie : | : &c : francie : &c : Dominus : hibernie :

Engravings. Sp. 739. San. 426. Tres. xiii. 1. P. H. ii. 281.

Impressions. 17 H. VII. (Caius.)

MM. No. 2. From 1 H. VIII. to about 24 H. VIII. (1532.)

On the obverse side a lion is added on the left side, and a fleur-de-lis on the right.

Impressions. 15 Ap. 24. H. VIII. (Wa. 116). 1 H. VIII. (Caius and Pembroke). 4 H. VIII. (Cath. Hall and Pembroke).

N. Probably by Henry VII. in France. (Diam. $3\frac{3}{10}$ in., counter-seal $1\frac{4}{10}$ in.)

Henricus : Dei : Gracie : Rex : | Francie et Anglie et Dns hibe

Engraving. Tres. x. 1.

Impressions. None quoted.

O. From 13 H. VIII. or 23 H. VIII. to about 33 H. VIII. (Diam. $4\frac{8}{10}$ in.)

Lateral shields within garters. Legend words separated by alternate roses and fleurs-de-lis.

HENRICVS † OCTAV' * DEI † GRA * ANGLIE † ET * FRANCIE † REX * FIDEI †
 DEFENSOR * ET † DOMIN * HIBERNIE

ESPECIALLY THOSE OF EDWARD III.

Engraving. Tres. xiii. 2.

Impressions. Feb. 27, 23 H. VIII. (Cath. Hall.) 24 H. VIII. (Wa. 116.)
26 H. VIII. (C.C.C.) 29 H. VIII. (Caius Coll.)

P. From about 33 H. VIII. (1341) to the end of his reign. (Diam. $4\frac{8}{10}$ in.)

Pointed architecture abandoned for the first time in the great seals.

HENRIC' OCTAVS * DEI * GRATIA * ANGLIE * FRANCIE * ET * HIBERNIE *
REX * FIDEI * DEFESOR * ET * I * TERA * ECCLESIAE * AGLICANE * ET *
HIBERNICE SVPREMVCAVVT

Engravings. Sp. 765. San. 427. Tres. xiv. 1. P. H. 319.

TABLE II.

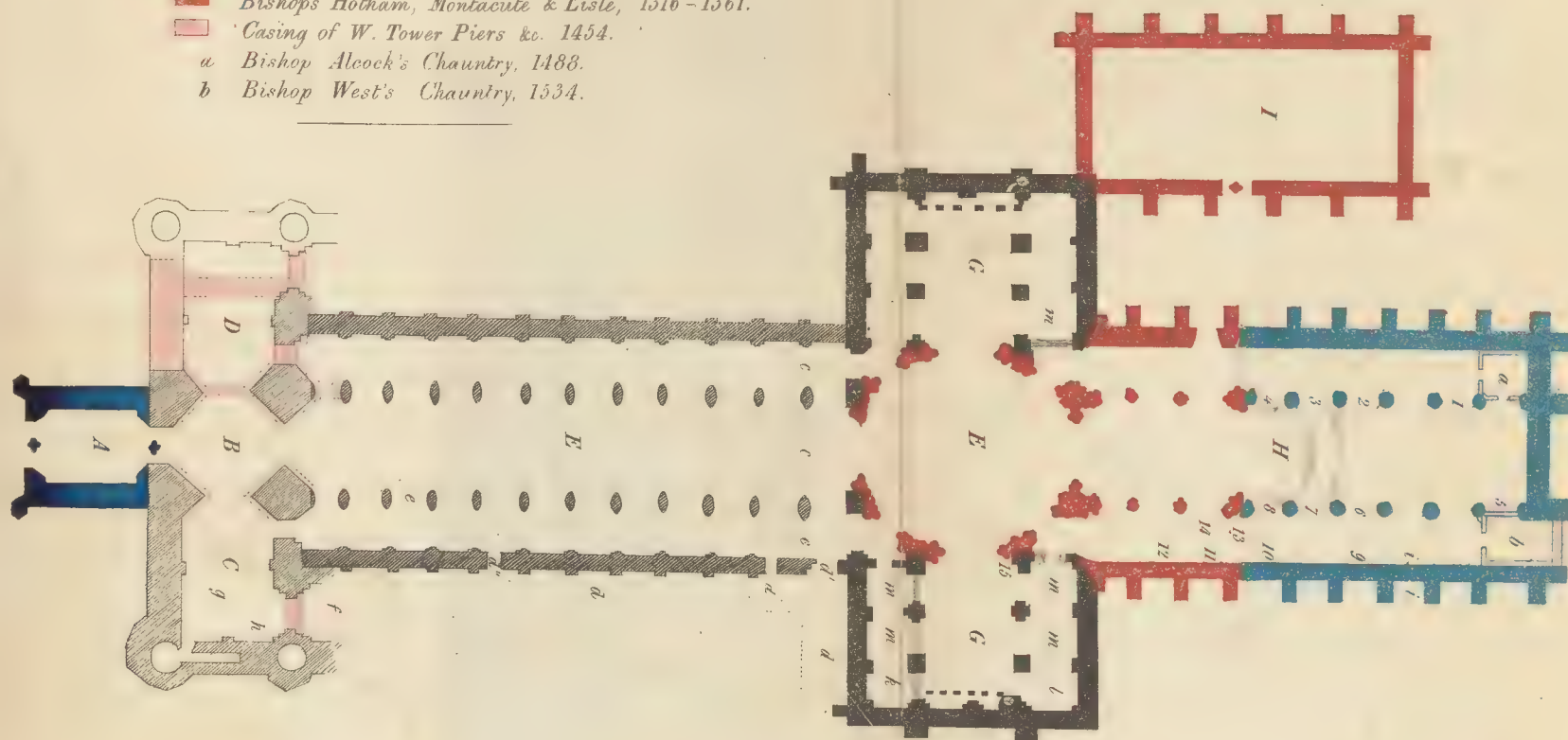
Matrices used by the succeeding Kings.

Kings.	Legend.			When first used.
	Anglie alone.	Francie et Anglie.	Anglie et Francie.	
Edward III.	B .....	.....	.....	Oct. 4, 1 E. III. (1327.)
	C .....	.....	.....	July 10, 12 E. III. (1338.)
		D .....	.....	Feb. 8, 14 E. III. (1340.)
			E	June 22, 14 E. III. (1340.)
		F .....	.....	Dec. 1, 14 E. III. (1340.)
	G .....	.....	.....	May, 34 E. III. (1360.)
		G. No. 2.	.....	46 E. III.
Richard II.		G. No. 3.		
		F. No. 2.		
Henry IV.		G. No. 4.	I	1 H. IV. (1399.)
Henry V.		G. No. 4.	I	{ After May 21, 8 H. V. (1420.) Legend, "heres. Francie."
			J	
Henry VI.		G. No. 4.	I?	
		K		1 H. VI. (1422.)
Edward IV.		H	GG	1 E. IV. to 10 E. 4? (1470.)
		L	M	11 E. IV. to end of reign.
Richard III.		L. No. 2.		
Henry VII.		MM	N	1 H. VII. (1485.)
Henry VIII.			N	
		O	13 or 23 H. VIII. (1532.)
		P		33 H. VIII. (1541.)

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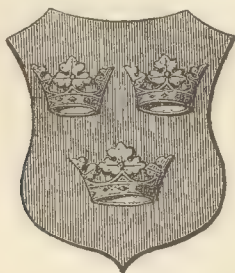
- Abbat Simeon, 1081-1093.
- ▨ Bishops Harvey & Neal, 1109-1174.
- ▤ Bishop Ridel, 1174-1189. *Long Chancel*
- Bishop Eustachius, 1197-1220.
- Bishop Northwold, 1229-1254.
- Bishops Hotham, Montacute & Lisle, 1316-1361.
- Casing of W. Tower Piers &c. 1454.
- a Bishop Alcock's Chantry, 1488.
- b Bishop West's Chantry, 1534.



Historical Ground Plan of Ely Cathedral.

A Brief History and Description
OF THE
CONVENTUAL AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF
THE HOLY TRINITY,
ELY.

"DIGNA DEI DOMUS: CUI NOMEN CONVENIT EJUS."



BY J. W. HEWETT,

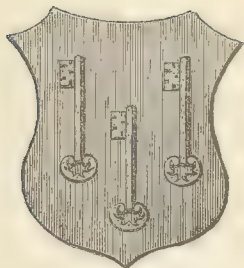
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE CAMBRIDGE
ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

"Keep thy foot when thou goest into the House of God."—*Eccles. v. 1.*

CAMBRIDGE: E. MEADOWS;
ELY: HILLS; LONDON: J. MASTERS; OXFORD: J. H. PARKER.

1848

CAMBRIDGE:
Printed by Metcalfe and Palmer, Trinity Street.



INSCRIBED

TO THE VERY REVEREND GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D.,

DEAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ELY,

AS A SLIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MANY ATTENTIONS

RECEIVED FROM HIM BY THE COMPILER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Compiler of the following pages cannot but be conscious of the disadvantage under which he lies, in writing on Ely Cathedral before the appearance of that valuable series of documents relating thereto, which is now in preparing for publication by the Rev. D. J. Stewart. He ventures nevertheless to hope, that though his present hand-book may be deficient in many particulars of information which might have been derived from those sources if within his reach, yet it will not be found erroneous in what it does contain, for this has been collected from the best authorities at present accessible; sufficient ones, it is conceived, to justify all that is here attempted, and which have been throughout referred to for the verification of every statement. And here it would be wrong to omit particular mention of Mr. Bentham, whose work on the Minster of Ely was the result of a long and most patient investigation of its recorded history, and a very discriminating survey of its actual condition. Since the appearance of that book, the lapse of three quarters of a century has done much to advance the science of Ecclesiastical Architecture, yet it cannot make us forget how much we are indebted to its Author as the first promoter of the study.

Should the present manual be of assistance to those who visit the Cathedral of Ely in a catholic spirit, proving neither too technical for the uninitiated, nor too meagre for the Ecclesiologist, its Compiler will be well pleased, and will consider that the Easter vacation, now closing as he writes, has not been unprofitably spent in the accomplishment of his task.

REFERENCES TO THE GROUND-PLAN.

- A Galilee Porch.
- B Tower.
- C South Western Transept.
- D Remains of North Western Transept.
- E Nave with Aisles.
- F Octagon.
- GG Eastern Transepts with Aisles.
- H Choir with Aisles.
- I Lady Chapel.

- a* Bp. Alcock's Chantry.
- b* Bp. West's Chantry.
- ccc* Site of the Ancient Rood-skreen.
- ddd* Remains of Cloisters, (*d'* Monks' entrance, *d''* Prior's ditto).
- e* Font.
- f* Remains of an apsidal Chantry.
- g* Remains of a Well or Baptistry.
- h* Ancient communication with the Episcopal Palace.
- i* Blocked doorway.
- k* Chapter-house and Muniment-room.
- l* Library.
- mm* Vestries.

- 1 Site of Bp. Gray's Monument.
- 2 Bp. Hotham.
- 3 Bp. Kilkenny.
- 4 Bp. Redman.
- 5 Cardinal Bp. de Luxemburgh.
- 6 Tiptoft E. Worcester.
- 7 Bp. Northwold.
- 8 Bp. de Luda.
- 9 Bp. Gunning.
- 10 Bp. Heton.
- 11 Robt. Steward, Esq.
- 12 Sir Mark Steward, Knt.
- 13 Brass of Bp. Goodrich.
- 14 Brass of Dean Tindal.
- 15 Ancient Bishop, supposed to be John de Fontibus, or Geoffrey de Burgo.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

	Feet	In.
Length from East to West, exterior	531	0
Length from East to West, interior	511	6
viz. Choir	154	0
Octagon	71	6
Nave	203	0
Tower	39	6
Galilee	43	6
Breadth of Choir within the first-pointed pillars	33	0
Breadth of Nave within the pillars	33	6
Breadth of Choir and Nave with their Aisles	78	0
Length of Eastern Transept	179	0
Breadth of same with its Aisles	74	0
Length of Western Transept, <i>restored</i>	131	0
Breadth of same	28	0
Length of Lady Chapel	100	0
Breadth of same	43	0
Height of Western Tower to the Turret Battlements	217	0
Height of Octagon to the same	170	0
Height of Octagon internally	145	0
Height of Choir	73	0
Height of Nave Vaulting shafts	70	0
Height of Roof-ridge, exterior	104	0

BISHOPS OF EAST-ANGLIA.

<i>See Dunwich.</i>	A. D.	A. D.
Felix ¹	631	Ob. 647.
Thomas	647	— 652 or 3.
Bonifacius	652 or 3	— c. 669.
Bisi	669.	

About the year 673, Bisi "being hindred by extreme infirmity from the administration of his Diocess, Æcci and Baduvini were elected and consecrated in his stead: from which time to the present the province of East-Anglia has been wont to possess two

1. According to the Monk of Norwich, in Wharton's *Angl. Sacr.* i. 403, St. Felix and his three immediate successors had their seat at Silthelstowe, on the East coast of Suffolk. Others say for a time at Soham.

Bishops."¹ Of these the former had his see at Dunwich, the latter at Elmham.

See Dunwich.

Etta (Æcci) 673, retired 675,
Easculphus,
Eadredus (Aldberct) occurs in
731 and 747,
Cuthwinus,
Albertus,
Eglafus,
Hardredus,
Alsinus,
Titefertus occurs c. 787, and in
798, 803, 816,
Weremundus dec. 870,
Wilredus.

See Elmham.

Bedwinus (Baduvini) 673, re-
tired 675,
Northbertus,
Etelatus occurs in 731,
Edelfridus,
Lamfertus,
Athelwlvus,
Wnferthus occurs c. 787,
Sibba occurs in 816,
Hunfertus occurs in 824,
Humbrittus² suc. bef. 826,
dec. 870.

Both Humbrittus, or Humbertus, and Weremundus deceased A.D. 870, and Wilredus succeeded them, having, as it would appear, his see at Elmham. The succession continued thus:—

See Elmham.

Adulphus, cons. after 938, occurs in 963,
Affricus occurs in 966,
Tedredus,
Tedredus,
Edelstanus, cons. before 975, dec. c. 996,
S. Algarus, dec. 1021,
Alwinus, dec. 1029,
Elfricus, dec. before 1035,
Elfricus *Bonus*, dec. 1038,
Stigandus, trs. to Winchester, 1047,
Grimketel,
Agelmarus, deposed 1070,
Arfattus, 1070. Soon after, viz. in 1075, the see was removed to Thetford.

See Thetford.

Arfattus, dec. 1084 or 5,
Willelmus de Belfago, Dec. 25, 1085, cons. the year after. Dec.
c. 1091,

1. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 5.

2. "On the 25th of Dec., 856, he crowned Edmund King of the East Angles, and with him suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Danes, Nov. 20th. 870."—*Wharton*.

Herbertus 1091. On April 10th, 1094, the see was transferred to Norwich.

Thus far we have followed the Monk of Norwich, in Wharton, who gives us no information as to when Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Lincoln, neither have we ascertained this point from any other source. Probably it was at the time when St. Remigius removed the see of Wessex from Dorchester to Lincoln, viz. A.D. 1088.

See Lincoln.

St. Remigius, 1088.

Robert Bloet, 1092.

During this episcopate the County of Cambridge was erected into a separate Diocess, having its see at Ely.

ABBESSES OF ELY.

St. Etheldreda, 673,	dec. June 23, 679.
St. Sexburga,	dec. July 6, 699.
St. Ermenilda,	dec. Feb. 13.
St. Werburga,	dec. Feb. 3.

ABBATS.

Brithnoth, 970,	martyred 981.
Elsin, 981,	dec. 1016.
Leofwin, <i>alias</i> Oschitel,	dec. 1022.
Leofric, 1022,	dec. 1029.
Leofsin, 1029,	dec. Nov. 15, 1044.
Wilfric, 1045,	dec. 1065.
Thurstan, 1066,	dec. 1072.
Theodwin,	dec. Dec. 4, 1075.
The administration of the Abbey granted to Godfrey a monk.	
Simeon, 1082,	Nov. 20, 1093.
Richard, 1100,	June 16, 1107.
Hervey, 1107,	

The Abbacy converted into a Bishoprick, Oct., 1109.

BISHOPS OF ELY.

Name.	Consecration or Appointment.	Decease or Translation.	Monarchs.
1. Hervey, fr. Bangor, <i>Confirmed</i>	Oct., 1106. June 27, —	Aug. 30, 1131. ¹	Hen. I., Stephen.
2. Nigel, <i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 1, 1133.	May 30, 1169. ¹	Stephen, Hen. II.
3. Ridel, <i>Elec.</i>	May 1, 1173.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	May 17, —		
<i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 6, 1174.	Aug. 21, 1189. ¹	Henry II.
4. Wm. Longchamp, <i>Elec.</i>	Sept. 15, 1189.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Dec. 31, —		
<i>Enthr.</i>	Jan. 6, —	Jan. 30, 1197. ²	Richard I.
5. Eustace, <i>Cons.</i>	Mar. 8, 1197-8.	Feb. 5, 1215. ¹	Richard I., John.
6. John of Fountains, <i>Enthr.</i>	Mar. 8, 1220. Mar. 25, —	May 6, 1225. ¹	Henry III.
7. Geoffrey of Burgh, <i>Cons.</i>	June 29, 1225.	Dec. 17, 1228. ¹	Henry III.
8. Hugh Northwold, <i>Cons.</i>	June 12, 1229.	Aug. 6, 1254. ¹	Henry III.
9. Wm. of Kilkenny, <i>Elec.</i>	Oct., 1254.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Aug. 15, 1255.	Sep. 22 or 23, 1256. ³	Henry III.
10. Hugh of Balsham, <i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 14, 1257.	June 16, 1286. ¹	Hen. III., Edw. I.
11. John of Kirkeby, ⁴ <i>Elec.</i>	June 26, 1286.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Sept. 22, —	March 26, 1290. ¹	Edward I.
12. Wm. of Luda, ⁵ <i>Elec.</i>	May 4, 1290.		
<i>Conf.</i>	May —		
<i>Cons. and Enthr.</i>	Oct. 1, —	March 27, 1298. ¹	Edward I.
13. Ralph Walpole, <i>trs. fr. Norwich</i>	July 15, 1299.	March 20, 1302. ¹	Edward I.
14. Robert Orford, <i>Elec.</i>	Apr. 14, 1302.	Jan. 21, 1310. ¹	Edward I., II.
15. John of Ketene, <i>Elec.</i>	Mar. 2, 1310.		
<i>Conf.</i>	July 10, —		
<i>Cons.</i>	Sept. 6, —	Mar. 14, 1316. ¹	Edward II.
16. John Hotham, <i>Conf.</i>	July 20, 1316.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 3, —	Jan. 14, 1337. ¹	Edward II., III.
17. Simon Montacute, <i>trs. fr. Worcester</i>	1337.	June 20, 1345. ¹	Edward III.
18. Thomas L'Isle, <i>Cons.</i>	1345.	June 23, 1361. ⁶	Edward III.
19. Simon Langham, <i>Cons.</i>	Mar. 20, 1362.	To Cant. 1366. ⁷	Edward III.
20. John Barnet, <i>trs. from</i> Worcester to Bath & Wells, thence hither	1366.	June 7, 1373. ¹	Edward III.
21. Thomas Arundel, <i>Cons.</i>	April 9, 1374.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	April 20, 1376.	To York, 1388. ⁸	Edw. III., Ric. II.

1. Buried in his own Cathedral.

2. In the Abbey of Pymy, or Pinu, Poitiers; his heart at Ely.

3. At Sugho in Spain; his heart at Ely.

4. When elected he was only a Deacon; he was ordained Priest the day before his Consecration.

5. When elected he was a layman, or at best had minor orders only; he was ordained a Deacon in May, and a Priest, Sept. 13.

6. Buried at Avignon.

7. He resigned Canterbury Nov. 17, 1368, being created a Cardinal. He deceased at Avignon, where he was buried, but afterwards his body was removed to Westminster Abbey and interred in St. Benedict's Chapel.

8. To Canterbury 1391, where he deceased Feb. 19, 1413-4, and was buried, but has no memorial.

Name.	Consecration or Appointment.	Decease or Translation.	Monarchs.
22. John Fordham, <i>trs.</i> From Durham	1388.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	Oct. 24, 1389.	Nov. 19, 1425. ¹	} Richard II., } Hen. IV. V. VI.
23. Philip Morgan, <i>trs.</i> From Worcester . .	Feb. 27, 1425-6	Oct. 25, 1435. ²	Henry VI.
24. Lewis de Luxemburg, <i>trs.</i> From Rouen .	1438.	Sept. 18, 1443. ³	Henry VI.
25. Thomas Bouchier, <i>trs.</i> from Worcester	1444.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	Mar. 27, 1447.	To Cant. 1454. ⁴	Henry VI.
26. William Gray, <i>Cons.</i>	Sept. 7, 1454.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	Mar. 20, 1458	Aug. 4, 1478. ¹	Hen. VI., Ed. IV.
27. John Morton, <i>Cons.</i>	Jan. 31, 1479.	Trans. to Cant. ⁵	} Ed. IV., V., Ric.
<i>Enthr.</i>	Aug. 29, 1479.	1486.	} III., Hen. VII.
28. John Alcock, <i>trs.</i> from Rochester to Wor- cester, thence hither	Oct. 1486.	Oct. 1. 1500. ¹	Henry VII.
29. Richard Redman, <i>trs.</i> from St. Asaph to Exeter, thence hither	1501.	Aug. 24, 1505. ¹	Henry VII.
30. James Stanley	1506.	Mar. 22, 1515. ⁶	Hen. VII., VIII.
31. Nicholas West.	1515.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Oct. 7, 1515.		
<i>Enthr.</i>	Feb. 21, 1516.	Apr. 6 or 28, 1537	Henry VIII.
32. Thomas Goodrich, <i>Elec.</i>	March 17, 1534.	May 10, 1554. ⁷	} Hen. VIII., Ed.
<i>Cons.</i>	April 19, 1534.		} VI., Mary.
33. Thomas Thirlby, <i>trs.</i> from Westminster to Norwich, thence hi- ther	Sept. 15, 1554.	Aug. 26, 1570. ⁸	Mary, Elizabeth.
34. Richard Cox, <i>Cons.</i>	Dec. 21, 1559.	July 22, 1581. ²	Elizabeth.
35. Martin Heton, <i>Elec.</i>	Dec. 28, 1599.		
<i>Cons.</i>	Feb. 3, 1599-60.	July 14, 1609. ²	Eliz., James I.
36. Launcelot Andrewes, <i>trs.</i> fr. Chichester . .	Sept. 22, 1609.	To Winch. 1519. ⁹	James I.
37. Nicholas Felton, <i>trs.</i> from Norwich. . .	March 11, 1519.	Oct. 5, 1626. ¹⁰	James I., Chas. I.
38. John Buckeridge, <i>trs.</i> from Rochester . . .	April 17, 1628.	May 23, 1631. ¹¹	Charles I.
39. Francis White, <i>trs.</i> fr. Carlisle to Norwich, thence hither	1631.	Feb. 1637-8. ¹²	Charles I.
40. Matthew Wren, <i>trs.</i> fr. Hereford to Norwich thence hither	April 24, 1638.	April 24, 1667. ¹³	Charles I., II.
41. Benjamin Laney, <i>trs.</i> from Lincoln	June 12, 1667.	Jan. 24, 1674-5. ⁷	Charles II.

1. Buried in his own Cathedral.

2. Buried in the Conventual Church of the Charter-House, London, but has no memorial.

3. His bowels buried at Hatfield, his heart at Rouen, and his body at Ely.

4. Made a cardinal Sep. 18th, 1464. Deceased Mar. 30th, 1486, and buried at Canterbury.

5. Deceased Sept. 15 or 16, 1500, buried at Canterbury.

6. Buried at Manchester.

7. Buried at Lambeth.

8. Buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark.

9. At St. Antholin's, London.

10. In Bromley Church, Kent.

11. In St. Paul's Cathedral.

12. In the Chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

13. In Thirfield Church, Herefordshire.

Name.	Consecration or Appointment.	Decease or Translation.	Monarchs.
42. Peter Gunning, <i>trs. fr.</i> Chichester	Mar. 4, 1674-5.	July 6, 1684. ¹	Charles II.
43. Francis Turner, <i>trs. fr.</i> Rochester	Aug. 23, 1684.	Nov. 2, 1700. ¹	} Chas. II., Jas. } II., Will. III.
44. Simon Patrick, <i>trs. fr.</i> Chichester	July 2, 1691.	May 31, 1707. ¹	Will. III., Anne.
45. John Moore, <i>trs. from</i> Norwich	July 31, 1707.	July 31, 1714. ¹	Anne.
46. William Fleetwood, <i>trs.</i> from St. Asaph	Dec. 18, 1714.	Aug. 4, 1723. ¹	George I.
47. Thomas Greene, <i>trs. fr.</i> Norwich	Sept. 24, 1723.	May 18, 1738. ¹	George I., II.
48. Robert Butts, <i>trs. from</i> Norwich	1738.	Jan. 26, 1747-8. ¹	George II.
49. Sir Thomas Gooch, Bt. <i>trs. from</i> Bristol to Norwich, thence hi- ther	Mar. 11, 1747-8.	Feb. 14, 1754. ²	George II.
50. Matthias Mawson, <i>trs.</i> fr. Llandaff to Chi- chester, thence hi- ther	Mar. 15, 1754.	Nov. 23, 1770. ¹	George II., III.
51. Edmund Keene, <i>trs. fr.</i> Chester	Jan. 2, 1771.	July 6, 1781. ¹	George III.
52. Hon. James Yorke, <i>trs.</i> from St. David's to Gloucester, thence hither	1781.	Aug. 26, 1808. ³	George III.
53. Thomas Dampier, <i>trs.</i> from St. Asaph	Nov. 22, 1808.		George III.
54. — Sparke		1845.	
55. — Allen			
56. Thomas Turton	1845.		

1. Buried in his own Cathedral.

2. In the Chapel of Caius College, Cambridge.

3. At Forthampton in Gloucestershire.

PRIORS OF ELY.

1. Vincent.
2. Henry.
3. William, 1133.
4. Tombert, or Thembert, occurs c. 1144.
5. Alexander, c. 1154.
6. Solomon, occurs in 1163, Abbat of Thorney, 1177.
7. Richard, 1177, was living in 1189.
8. Robt. Longchamp, occurs in 1194, Abbat of St. Mary's, York, 1198.
9. John de Strateshete,¹ Feb. 1197-8.
10. Hugh, occurs in 1200 and 1206.
11. Roger de Brigham, bef. 1215, dec. early in 1229.
12. Ralph, c. Mar. 25, 1229, occurs in 1235.
13. Walter, occurs in Easter-week, }
1241. } dec. May 13, 1259.
14. Robt. de Leverington, occurs Mar. }
6, 1259-60, } dec. Sept. 12, 1271.
15. Henry de Banccis, 1271, dec. Dec., 1273.
16. John de Hemmingston, Jan., 1273-4, dec. Nov. 9, 1288.
17. John de Shepreth.
18. John Saleman, occurs c. 1291, { Promoted to Bishoprick of
 { Norwich, July 15, 1299.²
19. Robert de Orford, 1299, Bishop of Ely, 1302.
20. William de Clare, 1303, dec. 1303.
21. John de Fresingfield, occurs Dec. }
1303, } res. Feb. 16, 1320-1.³
22. John de Crauden, May 20, 1321, dec. Sept. 25, 1341.
23. Alan de Walsingham, Oct. 25, 1341, dec. prob. in 1364.
24. William Hathfield.
25. John Bucton, occurs in 1366, dec., 1397.
26. Wm. Walpole, bef. Aug. 10, 1397, res. soon aft., Sept. 20, 1401.
27. William Powcher,⁴ 1401, dec., 1418.
28. Edm. Walsingham, occurs Aug. }
14, 1418, } and in 1424.

1. The first Prior that came in by election; for before that time the Bishops conferred that office according to their will.

2. His father was Salomon, a goldsmith at Ely. In 1319 he was made Lord Chancellor. Dec. July 6, 1325.

3. Dec. after Michaelmas, 1338.

4. Abbat of Walden, Essex. He, in 1413, obtained of Pope John XXIII. the privilege of wearing the mitre, and of using the pastoral staff, and other pontifical ornaments.

29. Peter de Ely, April, 1424, was Prior, July 10, 1429.
 30. William Wells, 1430, occurs May 3, 1460.
 31. Henry Peterborough, occurs July } res. July 26, 1478.¹
 10, 1462,
 32. Roger Westminster, July 28, 1478, occurs Nov. 15, 1499.
 33. Robt. Colville, occurs Oct. 30, 1500, and Aug. 15, 1510,
 34. William Witlesey, occurs Sept. 27, } and Mar. 20, 1513.
 1510,
 35. William Foliott, occurs in 1516.
 36. Joh. Cottenham, *Conf.* Apr. 1, 1516, dec. bef. 1522.
 37. Robt. Wells, *alias* Steward, 1522, { surrendered the Monastery and
 all its possessions, Nov. 18,
 1539.

DEANS OF ELY.

1. Robert Wells, *alias* Steward, Sep. } dec. Sept. 22, 1557.
 10, 1541,
 2. Andrew Perne,² 1557, dec. Apr. 26, 1589.
 3. John Bell,³ 1589, dec. Oct. 31, 1591.
 4. Humphrey Tindall,⁴ 1591, dec. Oct. 12, 1614.
 5. Hen. Cæsar, *alias* Adelmare, 1614, dec. June 27, 1636.
 6. William Fuller, July 14, 1636, deprived in 1642.⁵
 7. (William Beale, nominated but
 never instituted.)
 8. Rich. Love,⁶ instit. Sept. 6, 1660, dec. Jan., 1661-2.
 9. Henry Ferne,⁷ Feb., 1661-2, { *Cons.* Bishop of Chester, Feb.
 9, 1661-2.
 10. Edw. Martin,⁸ instit. Mar. 21, 1662, dec. April 28, 1662.
 11. Fras. Wilford,⁹ inst. May 20, 1662, dec. 1667.

1. Dec. Aug. 10, 1480.
 2. Master of St. Peter's College, 1554 ; buried at Lambeth.
 3. Master of Jesus College, 1579.
 4. Master of Queens' College, 1579.
 5. In March, 1646, the Deanery of Durham was granted to him, but he was
 never instituted to it ; buried at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane, London.
 6. Master of Corpus Christi College, 1632 ; buried in his own College
 Chapel.
 7. Master of Trinity College, Aug. 3, 1660 ; dec. March 25, 1662, and
 buried in St. Edmund's Chantry, Westminster Abbey.
 8. Master of Queens' College, 1631 ; buried in his own College Chapel.
 9. Master of Corpus Christi College, June 29, 1661 ; buried in his own
 College Chapel.

1. Master of Pembroke Hall, 1664 ; buried in his own College Chapel.
2. Buried in the Chancel of Wethamstead.
3. Head Master of Eton College, 1682, Provost of King's College, Sept. 4, 1689 ; buried in the " Library Vestry," on the South side of his own College Chapel.
4. Dean of Gloucester, 1723, Master of Sidney Sussex College, 1727 ; buried in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol.
5. Buried in the Church of Castle Camps, Cambs.
6. Master of Christ's College, Feb. 18, 1754.
7. Head Master of Eton College, May, 1743, Provost of King's College, March 25, 1772.
8. Master of the Temple, 1787 , of Jesus College, 1789.
9. Master of St. John's College.

PRESENT CATHEDRAL ESTABLISHMENT.

THE LORD BISHOP.

A. D.

Thomas Turton, D.D.	1845.
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THE DEAN.

George Peacock, D.D.	1839.
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CANONS OR PREBENDARIES.

Of the 1st Stall—

" 2nd Stall—John Henry Sparke, M.A., Chancellor of the						
Diocess	.	.	.	.	.	1818.
" 3rd Stall—Henry Fardell, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1819.
" 4th Stall—Edward Bowyer Sparke, M.A., Registrar	.	.	.	.	.	1829.
" 5th Stall—William French, D.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1831.
" 6th Stall—William Selwyn, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1833.
" 7th Stall—John Maddy, D.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1835.
" 8th Stall—John Ashley, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1841.

MINOR CANONS.

John Griffith, B.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1800.
George Millers, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1800.
Solomon Smith, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1833.
William Keating Clay, B.D.	.	.	.	.	.	1838.
David James Stewart, M.A.	.	.	.	.	.	1843.

HERALDRY.

Arms of the See. Gu. three ducal coronets or. These are derived from the arms of the East Anglian kings. In the cloister staircase leading to the ancient refectory, now the Deanery, they occur with the field azure.

Of the Deanery. Gu. three keys or; the ancient arms of St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and from him assumed as the arms of the Priory. They occur in one of the windows in the South Aisle of the Presbytery.

ARMS OF THE BISHOPS OF ELY.

1. *Hervey*.—"Herveus gessit in campo azureo duo aurea bacula Episcopalia in modum Crucis S. Andreæ, in capite mitram auream."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 616.

2. *Nigel*.—"Fert gules, in tribus manibus argenteis, coronam, clavem, crumenam aureas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 618.

3. *Geoffrey Ridel*.—"Fert unum cantonem in scuto or."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 631.

4. *William Longchamp*.—"Arma Willelmi de Long-campo sunt Palye or, verry argent & asur."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 632. "His arms correspond with those of his name, in an old MS. of Heraldry in the Library of King's College."—*Cole, apud Bentham*.

5. *Eustace*.—"Eustachius Episcopus in scuto de ermines fert un cheveron azur, & tres billets gules."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 633. *Cole* corrects or for ermines.

6. *John of Fountains*.—"Fert Solem, Lunam & 7. stellas or in campo azureo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 634. "These arms," *Cole* says, "seem to be merely chimerical and fanciful, and not at all in the style of Heraldry;" they are however adduced in the *Encycl. Metr., Art. HERALDRY*, and blazoned,—"*azure*, in chief, the sun in his splendor, the moon in her complement; in base, the 7 stars, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1, or."

7. *Geoffrey of Burgh*.—"Fert 3. flores ermines in campo azureo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 635. "*Az.* 3 Fleurs de Lis Erm."—*Cole*. Several families of the name Bury still bear erm. on a bend az. three fleurs-de-lis or.

8. *Hugh Northwold*.—"Fert in duobus scutis suis arma S. Etheldredæ et S. Edmundi."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 635. These "seem to be fictitious; or probably taken from some old Seal, where... the Arms of Ely and St. Edmund's Bury Abby might be depicted."—*Cole*. The latter are, az. three ducal crowns, each pierced with two arrows in saltire, or.

9. *William de Kilkenny*.—"Fert 5. Lunulas or. in scuto gules"—*Angl. Sacr. i. 636.*

10. *Hugh de Balsham*.—"Fert 3. palos perpendiculares."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 637.* Or, three pallets gu. are the Arms borne by St. Peter's College, Cambridge, (the Foundation of this Bishop), with the addition of a bordure of the last mitry of the field, derived from the coat of Ely See.

11. *John Kirkeby*.—"Fert in scuto argenteo leonem rapacem sables."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 637.*

12. *William de Luda*.—"Fert in superiore parte scuti unum chequer or & arg. in inferiore leopardi faciem in campo nigro."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 638.* Checquy or and argent is false heraldry.

13. *Ralph Walpole*.—"Fert aurum super fessam inter duas cheverons sabl. tres crosletas aureas."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 639.* Or, on a fess between two chevronels sa., three crosses crosslet of the field, are still the arms of Walpole Earl of Orford.

14. *Robert Orford*.—"Fert tres coronas or tribus clavibus or perforatas, in campo gules."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 640.*

15. *John of Ketene* (Ketton?)—"Fert tres mitras or in campo nigro."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 640.*

16. *John Hotham*.—"Arma Joannis Hotham sunt barrulæ octo partium asuræ et argenteæ in uno cantone aureo unus mertlelus sables."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 643.* They occur thus in the westernmost severy of Bishop Hotham's work. In the East window of S. Mary's, Fen Ditton, near Cambridge, are these arms; barry of eight, argent and azure, a canton of the former; Cole says, "where they are thus blazoned, *Barry of 10 Ar. & Az. on a canton Or. a Martlet Sable.* They were there in 1745."

17. *Simon de Montacute*.—"Fert 3. bendas undulantes azur in campo or. & in medio inscutum tribus rhombis depictum."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 649.* Ar. three lozenges conjoined in fess gu. are the present arms of De Montacute.

18. *Thomas de Lisle*.—"Fert in tribus rundellis tres Reges Coloniæ or in campo gules."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 652.* "A mere fiction; his true Coat as I took it in 1747, from an original Seal of his in the Archives of C. C. College, in Cambridge, is a *Cheveron between 3 Trefoils slip'd.* This agrees with the Arms of the family of *Lisle*, as I find in the aforesaid Manuscript of Heraldry, which are thus blazoned, *Gules, a Cheveron inter 3 Leaves Or, slip'd Vert:* so that the colours are also recovered."

19. *Simon Langham*.—"Arma ejus sunt Tignum pinnis decoratum de rubro, inter Trifolia viridia tria."—*Angl. Sacr. i. 663.* Or, a chev. embattled gu. betw. three trefoils slipped vert.

20. *John Barnet*.—"Arma Joannis Barnet Episcopi sunt unum

Salterium sables, & in scuti capite facies Leopardi ejusdem coloris in campo argenteo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 664.

21. *Thomas Arundel*.—"Arma Thomæ Arundell sunt in rubeo campo bordurato bordurâ ingradatâ aureâ Leo rapax ejusdem metalli."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 664. "*Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Gules, a Lion rampant Or* : [for Arundel]; *2nd. and 3rd. Checquy Or and Azure* : [for Warren]; *all within a bordure engrailed Argent*."—*Cole*. Example, at All Saints', Landbeach, on a shield preserved from a stall, and now hung against the East wall of the Chancel.

22. *John Fordham*.—"Arma Joannis Fordham sunt in campo nigro unum cheveron inter tres cruces floratas aureas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 666. Sa. a chev. betw. three crosses patonce or. Examples, at St. Mary's, Great Shelford, on the Font; and on the Brass of Thomas Pattesle, Archdeacon of Ely, d. 1411.

23. *Philip Morgan*.—"Arma Philippi Morgan sunt tria capita lancearum argentea & sanguine tincta in campo sables."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 666. Sa. three spear heads ar. embrued.

24. *Lewis Lushburg*, or *Luxemburgh*.—"Fert chekey ar. & az. in le argent est un rondel gules in lazur est un flore de lice or."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 668. "No doubt his real arms are—*Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Argent, a Lion rampant, Quevefurcheè, Gules, crowned, Or*, for *Luxemburgh*, *2nd. and 3rd. Gules: a Star of 12 Points Argent* ;—at least the Lion of Luxemburgh certainly belongs to him."—*Cole*.

25. *Thomas Bowcer*, or *Bourchier*.—"Arma Thomæ Bowcer sunt una Crux ingradata gules, inter quatuor wâter-bogets sables, in campo aureo."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 671. "*Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Arg. a Cross engrailed Gu. inter 4 Water-Bougets, Sab.* [for Bourchier] *2nd. and 3rd. Gul. a Fesse Arg. int. 10 or 12 Billets Or* ; [for —] *all within a Bordure Azure*."

26. *William Gray*.—"Fert in campo rubeo bordurato bordurâ ingradatâ argenteâ Leonem rapacem ejusdem metalli."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 672. The bearing of the present Earl Grey. Examples, in glass, in the North-east Window of the North Choir aisle, and in stone, in the same Window and adjacent ones. A fragment of the same coat, on *paper*, supposed to be a print from a woodcut, still adheres to the North-east pillar of the Choir.

27. *John Morton*.—"Fert quaterniatim gules & ermines unum caput capræ argent."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 673. "Not sufficiently explicit: they should be thus blazoned, *Quarterly Gules & Ermine on the 1st. and 4th. a Goat's Head erased Argent*."—*Cole*. This coat occurs in one of the windows of St. John's College Chapel, Cambridge, with the inscription,—"*Thomas Morton, Episc. Dunelmensis, 1632.*" In several of the windows at St. John's, Waterbeach, are quarries painted with a pastoral staff and initials of this Bishop.

28. *John Alcock*.—"Fert mitram inter tria caprarum capita."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 675. "*Alcocke's Arms*.—Argent, a miter or, upon a Fess, between 3 Cocks' heads eras'd sable, crested armed and jeo-lopp'd Gules."—*MS. copy of Sherman's History of Jesus College, in the College Library, cited by Mr. Woodham*. The latter is the true bearing. In the carved work of All Saints', Landbeach, occurs a shield with the charge three cocks' heads erased. Bishop Alcock was very fond of the cock standing on a globe, as his rebus; it occurs repeatedly in his Chauntry, on different parts of Jesus College, and on the woodwork at Landbeach; also in quarries at St. Mary's, Madingley, St. John's, Waterbeach, and elsewhere.

29. *Richard Redman*.—"Arma sunt tria pulvinaria."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 675. Cole says that this bearing was formerly in many parts of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, which this Prelate had fitted up. "Gules, three cushions Argent, according to Izacke, Ermine according to Westcote, tasseled Or."—*Oliver's History of Exeter*. Ermine seems correct. On his tomb in the North Choir Aisle we have Quarterly 1st. and 4th. gu. a lion rampant, 2nd. and 3rd. three cushions erm. tasseled. The above quarterly coat dimidiated, also impales Exeter and Ely.

30. *James Stanley*.—"Fert quaterniatim duos Leones rapaces & sex rhombos."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 676. Ar. a chev. sa. betw. 3 roses gu. seeded, slipped, and leaved proper. These arms occur repeatedly on his Chapel in the South Chauntry Aisle.

31. *Nicholas West*.—"Fert unum cheveron inter tres rosas."—*Angl. Sacr.* i. 676.

32. *Thomas Goodrich*.—Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. Ar. on a fess gu. betw. two lions passant gardant sa. a fleur-de-lis [of the field?] betw. as many crescents or. for Goodrich; 2nd. and 3rd. ar. on a chev. engr. betw. three trefoils slipped sa. (az?), as many crescents or. for Williamson. This coat occurs on the outside under a window of the Palace.

33. *Thomas Thirlby*.—"This Bishop having (as I suppose) no paternal Arms, at first bare a *Rebus* or *Device* instead of Arms, viz. *Per Pale Argent & Gules, a capital Tau counterchanged*; that Letter being the initial one of both his Names; but afterwards he bare *Vert, 10 Escallops Argent*; which coat, I imagine, he had obtained a grant for."—*Blomefield's History of the Bishops of Norwich, cited by Cole apud Bentham*.

34. *Richard Cox*.—"Argent, 3 Cocks Gules, on a Chief Azure, a Pale Or, charged with a Rose Gules, inter 2 Ostrich Feathers Argent."—*Hatcher's MS. of the Provost and Fellows of King's College, cited by Cole in Bentham*. Burke gives, "Cox (London; granted in 1761). Ar. three cocks gu. two and one, crowned or, on a chief az. a pale charged

with a rose of the second, betw. two ostrich feathers of the first."—*General Armory*.

35. *Martin Heton*.—Quarterly, 1st. and 4th. ar. on a bend engr. sa. three bulls' heads cabossed of the field, for Heton; 2nd. and 3rd. a man's head betw. three fleurs-de-lis sa. a mullet for a difference.

36. *Lancelot Andrewes*.—"Argent. on a Bend engrailed, cotised Sable, 3 Mulletts pierced Argent."—*Cole*.

37. *Nicholas Felton*.—"Gules, 2 Lions [in pale] passant Ermine, crowned Or, and a Mullet in the dexter Chief Argent, for a Difference."—*Cole*.

38. *John Buckeridge*.—"Or 2 Pales [? sable] & 5 Cross Crosslets fitché en Saltire Gules."—*Cole*.

39. *Francis White*.—"Gules, a Cheveron between 3 Boars' Heads coupé Argent."—*Cole*. "Armed or."—*Burke*

40. *Matthew Wren*.—"Argent, a Cheveron inter 3 Lions' Heads erased Sable, on a Chief Gules, 3 Cross Crosslets Or."—*Cole*.

41.—*Benjamin Laney*.—Or, on a bend betw. two fleurs-de-lis gu. a lion passant of the field.—*Monument*.

42. *Peter Gunning*.—Gu. on a fess betw. three doves ar. three crosses pattee of the field.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

43. *Francis Turner*.—"Or, a Lion rampant inter 3 Crosses moline Gules."—*Cole*.

44. *Simon Patrick*.—Gu. three pallets vair; on a chief or, a lion rampant armed and langued of the first.—*Monument, N. C. A.*

45. *John Moore*.—Erm. on a chev. az. three cinquefoils or.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

46. *William Fleetwood*.—Per pale nebule az. and or, 6 martlets counterchanged.—*Monument, N. C. A.*

47. *Thomas Greene*.—Az. three bucks trippant or.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

48. *Robert Butts*.—Az. on a chev. betw. three estoiles of six points or, as many lozenges gu.—*Monument, S. C. A.*

49. *Thomas Gooch*.—Per pale, ar. and sa. a chev. betw. three talbots passant counterchanged; on a chief gu. as many leopards' faces or.

50. *Matthias Mawson*.—Per bend sinister erm. and erms. a lion rampant ar.—*Monument, N. C. A.*

51. *Edmund Keene*.—Ar. a talbot passant sa. collared or; on a chief indented az. 3 cross crosslets of the third.

52. *James Yorke*.—Ar. on a saltire az. a bezant.

53. *Thomas Dampier*.—Or. a lion rampant sa. on a chief gu. a label of five points ar.

54. *Sparke*.—Checquy or and vert a bend erm.—*Monument in Bishop West's Chantry*.

HISTORY.

Of the Conversion of the East Angles to Christianity.

THE kingdom of East Anglia, comprising the modern Counties of Cambridge with the Isle of Ely, Norfolk, and Suffolk, was established under Uffa, about the year 575. The account of its conversion to Christianity is given so succinctly by the Venerable Bede, that it will be best to transcribe his very words. After relating how, A. D. 627, Edwin, king of Northumberland, had followed the example of Ethelbert, king of Kent, in submission to the Gospel, and had erected a basilica at Almonbury or Tanfield, he proceeds:—"So great, moreover, was his devotedness to the advancement of the Truth, that he also induced the king of the East Angles, Eorpwald, son of Redwald, to renounce the superstitions of idolatry, and with his province to embrace the Faith and Sacraments of CHRIST. Redwald indeed some time before this had, in Kent, been made a partaker of the Christian Sacraments, yet to no purpose; for on his return home he was perverted by his wife and certain evil teachers, and so falling from the integrity of his profession, his latter state was worse than the former; insomuch that, like the Samaritans of old, he made a shew of serving CHRIST and the gods whom he had before worshipped, and so in the same building he had both a table for the Christian Sacrifice, and an altar for the victims of devils.¹ Now this same Redwald, though he did ignobly, was of noble birth; being the son of Tytilus, the son of Uffa, from whom the East Anglian kings are called Uffingæ.

"But Eorpwald, not long after his reception of the Faith, was slain by Ricbert, a pagan, and then for three years the province was involved in error, until Sigebert his brother attained the sovereignty,—a thorough Christian and a very learned man, who in Eorpwald's lifetime had been an exile in Gaul, and having there been made partaker of the Sacraments,² his care so soon as he assumed the government was to impart them to his entire province. This design was most righteously furthered by Felix a bishop, who from Burgundy, where he was born and consecrated, came to the primate Honorius, and

1. "Atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium CHRISTI, et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum."

2. "Fidei Sacramentis imbutus est," is St. Bede's forcible expression.

having made known his desire, was sent to preach to this nation of the Angles the Word of Life. Nor were his wishes ungratified; but on the contrary this pious tiller of the spiritual field reaped an abundant harvest of believers; insomuch that, according to the augury of his name, he brought the whole province into freedom from the depths of sin and misery, and led them to the Faith, and to works of righteousness, and to the gift of everlasting happiness. He himself received Dunwich as his see, and having enjoyed the spiritual government of the kingdom for seventeen years, he there ended his days in peace."¹

That the light of the Gospel thus auspiciously introduced might be preserved with the greater safety, it was the early care of Sigebert to found a school for the education of youth, after the model of those which he had seen in France.² Tradition makes this institution the early original of the University of Cambridge, and to this day, in the annual Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors, the name of Sigebert is first recited; but it is more likely that the school was at Dunwich, where Felix, who assisted in its establishment, resided, and near to which the village of Felixstowe still seems to preserve the bishop's memory.³

In the reign of Sigebert three monasteries were founded in the East-Anglian province; one at Burgh Castle,⁴ another at St. Edmund's Bury,⁵ and a third at Soham.⁶ Of churches we have as yet no record, excepting the one at Cratendune, about a mile from the present city of Ely, said to have been erected by king Ethelbert at the instance of St. Augustine, and destroyed in a hostile invasion by Penda, king of Mercia.⁷ This account of its foundation is exceedingly improbable, for, as Mr. Wharton remarks,⁸ S. Augustine appears not to have had any communication with the East Angles. Nevertheless it is most probable that a church did exist in the place alluded to, though its site is not now exactly known; only "the name of the old town is still preserved in a field about a mile south of the present city, called *Cratendon Field*."

Sigebert was succeeded on the throne by Egrie, and he in turn by Anna.⁹ Thomas, a deacon, was promoted by Archbishop Honorius into the place of the excellent Felix, and after him Bertgils, surnamed Boniface, enjoyed the see.¹⁰

1. S. Bedæ, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 15.

2. *Ibid.* iii. 18.

3. See Churton's *Early English Church*, p. 55.

4. *Anciently Cnobheresburg.* S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 19.

5. *Bedrichsuarde* or *Betrychesworde.* Liber Eliensis, MS. Conf. S. Bedæ iii, 18.

6. *Seham.* Liber Elien.

7. *Hist. Eliensis*, apud Wharton *Angl. Sacr.* i. 594.

8. *Ibid.* note (b).

9. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 18.

10. *Ibid.* iii. 20.

Of the Foundation of the Monastery.

King Anna, whose accession took place A.D. 636, is described by St. Bede as "a good man, happy in a good and saintly family," "a very good man, and the father of a most worthy offspring."¹ He took to wife Hereswytha, sister of the Abbess St. Hilda, and had by her two sons, Adulphus and Jurminus, and four daughters, Sexburga the eldest, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, and Withburga.² Blessed as he was in these children, he did not live to see them in the stricter paths of sanctity which they ultimately chose, but fell in battle against the cruel Penda, leaving his crown to his brothers Adelbert and Ethelwold, and his son Adulphus, successively. After his decease his queen grew weary of the world, and withdrawing to a monastery abroad, awaited a more abiding crown.³ Of his daughters, Ethelburga became Abbess of Barking in Essex, and Withburga foundress of the Nunnery of East Dereham in Norfolk.

Etheldreda, whose history⁴ we must pursue before that of her elder sister Sexburga, was born at Exning on the borders of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and under the care of her parents grew up equally in religious as in personal favour. She early set her inclinations on a life of celibacy, but the authority of her father induced her to accept⁵ the proffered hand of Tonbert, prince of the South Gervii, or inhabitants of the fen country, who bestowed the Isle of Ely on her as her dower. Nevertheless, for three years Etheldreda and her husband abstained from the nuptial bed, and at the end of that period Tonbert died. Thereupon Etheldreda entrusted the care of her possessions to Ovin, a most faithful steward, intending thenceforth to devote herself to religious meditation and offices. But when Egfrid, son of Oswy king of Northumberland, sought her in marriage she again listened to the entreaties of her uncle Ethelwold, for her father was now deceased, and once more submitted to a union. She still prevailed to maintain her resolutions of chastity, until after twelve

1. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 7. 18.

2. *Hist. Elien.*, 595. Erkenwald Founder and Abbat of Chertsey Monastery, and fourth Bishop of London, is by some esteemed another son of Anna, but this is very doubtful.

3. *Ibid.*

4. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 19; *Hist. Elien.* 597—601; Bentham, etc.

5. The principal events of St. Etheldreda's life are sculptured on the capitals of eight pillars in the Octagon. The first, at the North-west angle, represents her marriage to Tonbert, not to king Egfrid, "because," as Mr. Milner remarks, "it was that which had a more particular relation with the Church of Ely, by giving the foundress possession of the site of it. Moreover her father and mother appear to be present, which they were not at her second marriage." See Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture*, p. 4.

years when she got leave to retire from her husband's court, for Egfrid had by this time succeeded to his father's throne, and to enter the monastery of Coldingham.¹ Of this establishment Ebba, the king's aunt, was Superior, and here Etheldreda received the veil from St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York.² Among others who followed the example of her retirement, was Ovin her minister; he became a monk at Lastingham in Yorkshire, where St. Chad presided over a religious house, before being promoted to the bishopric of Lichfield. To the latter city he removed with his superior, attending him constantly, and being the monk in waiting when the intimation of his approaching decease was conveyed to him, which St. Bede so touchingly relates.³ Where Ovin himself died we do not know, but at Hadenham near Ely there was found several years since the fragment of what was most probably his monument: a square stone in which the stem of a broken cross remained, and bearing this inscription—

✠ LVCEM · TVAM · OVINO · DA · DEUS · ET · REQUIĒ · AMEN.⁴

Egfrid after a while repented the leave of retirement which he had given to his queen, and set out for Coldingham with the purpose of securing her person. But Etheldreda fled at his approach, shaping her course towards Ely, and when on the point of being retaken she was, as her historian relates, preserved by miraculous interposition. She had rested, with her two companions, on an eminence near the sea, and at this point Egfrid overtook her; but an extraordinary inundation flowed in, and surrounded the hill,⁵ and the king interpreting this as a divinely-sent obstacle to his designs, presently withdrew, and returning to York, took as his wife Ermenburga, a person of very different temper from his former bride. Etheldreda, thus at liberty to pursue her journey, continued it towards Ely, another supernatural event happening by the way. She had laid herself down to sleep, while her attendants watched, and having fixed her staff into the ground, was surprised to find on awakening that it had put forth leaves and shoots.⁶ It subsequently

1. Called by St. Bede *Coludi Urbs*. It is on the coast of Berwick, where a neighbouring promontory is still called St. Ebb's Head.

2. The subject of the second capital.

3. *H. Eccl.* iv. 3.

4. "Thy light and rest, O LORD, vouchsafe to Ovinus. Amen." The piety of Mr. Bentham caused this most interesting memorial to be removed from Hadenham, where it had long served as a horseblock, to the Cathedral, where it is now deposited in the Nave, at the West end of the North Aisle.

5. As sculptured on the fourth capital.

6. On the third capital. The order of the sculptures does not correspond with the narrative of the monk of Ely.

grew to be a large and flourishing tree, and the place of it long preserved the saint's memory under the name of Etheldredestow. After a long and tedious route, of which no further particulars are recorded, the virgin travellers arrived at Ely.

The first design of Etheldreda was to rebuild the Church of St. Mary at Cratendune, and to establish a Monastery there; but another and more eligible situation offering itself, she laid the foundations of a new structure on the site of the present Cathedral, A.D. 673.¹ Her brother Adulphus, who had then succeeded to the throne, assisted in bearing the expense, and St. Wilfrid having fallen into disgrace with Egfrid and his new queen, and followed Etheldreda to Ely, aided the building by his great architectural knowledge. When the works were completed he solemnly instituted the foundress as the first Superior,² and admitted the other members of her society; and in doing this he was not infringing the rights of the East-Anglian Bishop, from whose ordinary jurisdiction the Monastery of Ely was from its foundation exempt.

The Abbess Etheldreda now devoted herself to a life of the strictest austerities:—"she would not wear linen, but only woollen vestments; while seldom, except on the eves of the greater Festivals, as Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Epiphany, did she indulge in the warm bath; and even then it was after all the rest, and when, by the offices of herself and attendants, the other servants of CHRIST who were present had been first washed. Rarely, but on the principal Feasts, or because of some necessity unusually stringent, did she partake of more than one meal in a day; and ever, when no unwonted infirmities prevented, she remained at prayers in the Church from the time of the morning assembly until daybreak. There are those who relate, that in the presence of all her religious she, through the spirit of prophecy, both foretold the pestilence of which herself should die, and also intimated the number of those that would be carried off by it from her own Monastery. Then, seven years after receiving the rank of an Abbess, she was taken from the midst of her own; but her body was interred among them in a wooden coffin, in the place and in the manner which she had herself appointed."³

In estimating the character of one long numbered with the Church's Saints, we must be careful not to censure any of those lines of conduct which the very strictest among us would hesitate to counsel at the present day. For instance, the preservation of

1. Anglo-Sax. Chron.

2. The subject of the fifth capital.

3. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 19. St. Etheldreda's death and burial are sculptured on the sixth capital.

chastity in wedlock, which forms so remarkable a point in St. Etheldreda's history, would now be held contrary to the design of that holy state, and an austerity not necessarily conducive to the increase of personal holiness. Yet in past ages the Canons of the Church provided for the frequent occurrence of such a case, allowing that, until the actual consummation of matrimony, either of the parties should be at liberty to recede in order to embrace a continent and religious life; nor could the party so deserted complain of any injury, being at liberty to make a free choice as soon as the other had entered into permanent engagements of another nature.¹ And when such a writer as Wheatley, who is in every body's hand, is found to characterize our Saint's conduct in this matter as "moroseness," and the "*pretence* of great sanctity," it is necessary to remember that in her particular case both marriages were against her early aspirations, while Tonbert at least, if not Egfrid also, fell easily into her designs; and that, generally, the preservation of virginity was in those days held in the highest honour, as may be seen from the books which St. Ambrose, one of the four great Doctors of the Church, wrote upon the subject, and from the similar treatise of our own St. Aldhelm, and the hymn of Venerable Bede.²

The Abbess Etheldreda departed to her rest on the 23rd of June, A.D. 679, and was succeeded in the government of the Monastery by her sister Sexburga, widow of Earconbert, king of Kent.³ The principal event of her rule was the *translation* of her sister's body from the cemetery of the nuns to an honourable place in the Conventual Church. St. Bede thus relates the ceremony:—"When Etheldreda had been buried sixteen years, it pleased the Abbess Sexburga that her body should be raised and placed in a new coffin, and transferred to the Church. She ordered therefore certain of the brethren to search for a block of stone from which a coffin might be hewn; and these having taken a vessel, (for the country of Ely is on all sides surrounded by waters and meres, and contains but few largish stones), arrived at a deserted little town, not far from the place which in the language of the Angles is called Grantchester. There they presently found without its walls a coffin of white marble, exquisitely wrought, and fitted with a lid of the same material. From this they perceived that God had prospered their journey, and when they had offered a thanksgiving, they

1. See Mr. Milner's remarks on this subject, in Carter, p. 5.

2. S. Ambrosii *de Virginibus* libri tres. S. Aldhelmi Liber de laude Virginitatis. S. Bedæ *H. E.* iv. 20.

3. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iii. 8.

returned to the Monastery. Now when the body of the holy virgin, the bride of CHRIST, was brought out from its open sepulchre, it was found as free from corruption as if she had died or been buried on that very day; a fact which Bishop Wilfrid, whom we have before named, and many others of their own knowledge attest....Moreover, all the linens in which the body was wrapped appeared entire, and so new that they seemed to have been but then folded around her chaste limbs....And it happened that by the touch of these shrouds, not only devils were driven out of possessed persons, but other infirmities also were at times healed. Even the coffin in which she had been first buried was reported to have cured certain whose eyes were diseased; for they came and laid their heads against it and prayed, and their sufferings whether from pain or blindness were speedily removed. The Nuns therefore washed the body, and wrapping it in fresh cloths carried it into the Church: there it was placed in the coffin which had been brought for it, and remains to this day held in the greatest reverence. As for the coffin it was found as wondrously adapted to the virgin body as if it had been specially prepared for it; and the place for the head, separately wrought, was most exactly measured to the needful size."¹

This translation of St. Etheldreda's body² took place on the 17th of October, 695, and is still commemorated in our Church's calendar. The great festivity with which its anniversary was once celebrated is the reason why St. Luke's day, the 18th, is not preceded by any vigil.

Sexburga,³ the second Abbess, deceased July 6th, 699,⁴ and was buried beside her sister in the Conventual Church. Her daughter *Ermenilda*,⁵ widow of Wulfere, king of Mercia, and at the time Abbess of the Monastery of Sheppey in Kent, was elected her successor, and departing hence on Feb. 18th, though in what year is not known, her body was interred next to that of her saintly mother.

The fourth Abbess was *Werbunga*,⁶ Ermenilda's daughter, who

1. S. Bedæ, *H. E.* iv. 19.

2. Represented on the eighth capital. Here again the chronology does not regulate the order of the sculptures. The subject of the seventh capital is the liberation of a captive from prison by the joint offices of St. Etheldreda and St. Benedict. The date of this event is five centuries later than the Translation. The whole eight sculptures are etched by Mr. Carter with extreme fidelity, and explained by some very valuable letter-press from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Milner.

3. *Hist. Elien.* 595.

5. *Hist. El.* 596.

4. Cressy's *Ch. H.* xx. 17.

6. *Ibid.*

had also the rule of several religious houses in Mercia, as well as of that at Sheppey, and resided first at one then at another. Her decease took place on the 3rd of Feb., but the year is not recorded; and her body being first buried at her Monastery of Hanbury in Staffordshire, was afterwards, through fear of Danes, removed to Chester.

It is remarkable that though St. Etheldreda's Monastery enjoyed a regular succession of Abbesses, and an observance of its order and discipline for one hundred and ninety-seven years, yet after St. Werburga the name of no one of its superiors is preserved. Protected by its situation in the midst of waters, meres, and fens, it was little molested by external troubles until the year 870, when the Isle of Ely being captured by the Danes under Hubba, the Religious, as well Nuns as Monks, were put to the sword, and the Monastery and its Church were plundered and burnt.¹ The neighbouring establishment of Medeshamsted or Peterborough shared a similar fate.²

Of the Restoration of the Monastery.

At this point it will be sufficient to commence a more succinct narration of our history. An entire century elapsed before any steps were taken for a thorough restoration of Ely Monastery. At the close of that period Edgar "the peaceful" sat upon the throne of England, and one of the most distinguished living Prelates was St. Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester. He is described³ as "a great builder of Churches, and of various other works," and the Saxon Chronicler⁴ relates how he came to the king, Edgar, "and begged of him that he would give him all the Minsters which heathen men had formerly broken down, because he would restore them: and the king cheerfully granted it." Accordingly he repaired the Monastery of St. Mary at Winton, and founded among others those at Peterborough and Thorney.⁵ "He purchased," we are told, "and for no small sum, a certain spot called Ely, where there had been originally a Monastery of Etheldreda, Saint and Virgin, which having been destroyed by the Danes the place had become royal property. Here he established Monks, and instituted Brythnothus, the prepositus of the old Monastery of Wynton, Abbat, erecting buildings there."⁶

1. *Hist. El.* 602.

2. *Sax. Chron.* sub. an.

3. *Wolstani Vita S. Athelwoldi.*

4. *Sub. an.* 963.

5. *Ibid.* Wolstan.

6. Rudborne, cited by Professor Willis; "Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral," p. 8.

Hitherto, in the religious houses of the Saxons, the rules observed were those only which were given by the several founders, while both Monks and Nuns had resided in the same establishment; now however the sexes were separated, and the Benedictine rule was generally received.¹ The number of Monks on St. Athelwold's foundation does not appear, nor do we know the site of the Church which from St. Etheldreda's time pertained to the establishment. Abbat Simeon the eighth successor of Brithnoth was the first who commenced the erection of our present structure, as his brother Bishop Walkelin was the first who began the building of the present Cathedral of Winchester; the Transepts are all that remain of his work, and probably all that he erected. Their date being ascertained, viz. from A.D. 1081 to 1093, they deserve a careful examination, and should be compared with the contemporary Transepts of Walkelin.² To Simeon succeeded Abbat Richard, who probably built the Choir, and the central Tower at the intersection of the body and arms of the Church. The length of the Choir, it would seem, was equal to that of each Transept.

From the Conversion of the Abbey into a Bishoprick.

In the time of Harvey, the next Abbat, another Diocese was formed from that of Lincoln, by taking out of its jurisdiction the county of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. The new See was fixed at the latter place, and thus the Abbey of St. Athelwold's foundation became also a Bishopric, and the Conventual Church which Simeon had begun was made a Cathedral as well. From this time the number of Monks was generally about fifty, though the regular complement was seventy; of these the chief, in subordination to the Bishop, was the Prior, who had the superintendence over all the inferior members; and next—the Subprior, or Prior's deputy, to assist him when present and to act for him in his absence. Other officers were, the Sacrist who had the care of the books and vestments, plate, and ornaments belonging to the Church; the Cellarer who procured all the necessaries for the living of the Monks; the Chamberlain who provided their clothes, beds, and bedding; the Almoner who distributed the charities of the Monastery; the Precentor who regulated the singing and the Choristers; the Hosteller who entertained strangers; the Infirmarer who had the charge of the sick; and the Treasurer.

1. See Fox's "English Monasteries."

2. See some comparison of their features in the "Arch. Hist. of Winchester Cathedral," chap ii

The building of the Cathedral was advanced by Bishop Harvey and his successor Bishop Nigel, under the latter of whom the Nave was finished before A.D. 1174. The Church had now the form of a cross, with a long stem and three equal arms. Bishop Ridel, between the years 1174 and 1189 added to the plan a Western Transept and Tower, which his successor Bishop Longchamp completed. In the episcopate of this prelate the Romanesque was rapidly giving way to the Pointed style, early indications of which may be seen in the upper portions of the new work both within and without. Bishop Eustachius erected the Galilee porch between the years 1197 and 1220, while between 1229 and 1254 Bishop Northwold extended the Choir eastwards, adding six new severies or bays to its length. Both these portions of the Cathedral belong to the first period of Pointed Architecture. Under Bishop Hotham the erection of the Lady Chapel was commenced in the second-pointed style, A.D. 1321, the work being entrusted to Alan de Walsingham a most skilful architect, who was Subprior at the time. In the following year the great central Tower fell, and in falling crushed the three severies of the Choir which belonged to the old Romanesque portion of the Church. No attempt was ever made to rebuild this Tower, but the four piers on which it stood were entirely removed, and arches being thrown across from one to the other of the eight pillars which stood next to them, the present Octagon, as it is called, was raised thereon. This part has a wooden groining out of which rises a lantern of the same material, the whole being covered externally with lead. The three ruined bays of the Choir were rebuilt by Bishop Hotham, and at his own expense, but the Lady Chapel was not completed until the episcopate of Bishop L'Isle.

In the year 1380 an octagonal story flanked with four turrets was added to the great West Tower. This seems to have given the Tower a sway towards the North West, and accordingly in A. D. 1405, its piers were strengthened; they were further cased with stone A.D. 1454. Of the time at which the North Western Transept fell we have no record, though the character of the vast buttress which occupies a great portion of the site of the West wall shews that it must have been at an early period; it was probably before the middle of the fifteenth century. Bishop Alcock's Chantry was commenced A. D. 1488, and that of Bishop West was erected in 1534.¹

1. The Monastery of Ely was surrendered A. D. 1541, and in lieu of the Prior and Monks were established a Dean and eight Prebendaries. St. Etheldreda's Church and Monastery were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; St. Athelwold's to St. Peter and St. Etheldreda; but the dedication of the Cathedral has been, since the Reformation, to the HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

We have now related briefly the history of the fabrick of Ely Minster, and it only remains to notice the various arrangements for publick worship which have from time to time prevailed in it. The Choir originally extended from the Eastern extremity of Bishop Hotham's work, under the Octagon, to the second pillars of the Nave, against which two niches, one on either side, still mark its boundary. Beyond the Choir was the Presbytery of Bishop Northwold, where stood the shrines of St. Etheldreda and her holy relatives. In 1770 this disposition was altered, and the Choir reduced to the narrow limits of the ancient Presbytery, an arrangement which still prevails, though happily about to be upset. It is now proposed to lengthen the Choir westward, by including within it the three severies of Bishop Hotham, a vast improvement on the existing plan, though it may be questioned whether a return to the original situation of the Choir would not be a still more desirable change. It is said that the space under the Octagon would in such a case be cut up, which is true; but at present this vast area only seems to "measure" the Cathedral, and so reduce its apparent length; and if this be so, the effect of extending the Choir across it would be to do greater justice to the splendid perspective of the Church. The miserable organ screen will be replaced by one of light and open character, the organ itself being placed in the North Triforium. The hideous walls by which the Aisles of the Transepts are partitioned off will be removed; but as vestries are necessary for the several members of the Cathedral, one of these Aisles, as the Western in the South Transept will probably be devoted to them, each sacristy being surrounded by a parclose of oak or stone. The Nave of this Cathedral is at present used for the Sunday Sermons, the congregations of the two Parishes in Ely resorting thither, and joining the worshippers at the Cathedral who leave the Choir at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed. This arrangement will, it is said, be discontinued; let us hope only by the placing of all the Laity in the Nave, until they approach the Eucharistic Feast; when, and when only, according to the universal rule of Church Arrangement, they are allowed to enter the Choir. The present unworthy Font is to be superseded by one of more befitting character, which placed in the central passage of the Cathedral, near to its western door, will symbolize the entrance into the Spiritual Church, from which the straight path of devotion leads onwards to the highest privileges of the Redeemed.

Eminent Men.

It would be impossible to include within our prescribed limits even brief notices of all the illustrious persons who have been connected with the Cathedral Church of Ely. Dr. Heylin in his "Help to English History," posthumously published in 1671, observes, the Bishoprick of Ely "may rejoice itself in this, that it yielded to this Realm as many great officers as any other in the kingdom. For it hath given to the State no less than nine Lord Chancellors, seven Lord Treasurers, one Lord Privy Seal, one Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, one of the Exchequer, two Masters of the Rolls: besides two Saints¹ unto the Church, two Cardinals to the Church of *Rome*, and to the *English* Court three Almoners." The inferior members of the foundation also number among them several distinguished names. Limited, however, as our space is, it would be wrong should we omit to add to the eminent personages who have already been mentioned for their services to the fabrick of the Cathedral, certain others who claim our affectionate reverence for their faithful offices in the Church, which is the Body of CHRIST. Such were the Apostolical Prelates, Dr. Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, whose writings² are a most cherished possession of English Churchmen. Dr. Matthew Wren, of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, the faithful servant of King Charles I., and the friend and firm coadjutor of Archbishop Laud; who, after a confinement of nearly eighteen years in the Tower of London, witnessed the restoration of Monarchy, and erected the Chapel of Pembroke College in testimony of thankfulness to GOD for his own deliverance, and the happy turn of publick affairs. Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Chichester and Ely, another faithful loyalist and excellent author. Dr. Francis Turner, of Rochester and Ely, one of the six Bishops committed to the Tower for refusing to promulgate in their Churches King James II.'s Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; and Dr. Simon Patrick, also of Chichester and Ely, the author of the well-known "Commentary," "Paraphrase of the Psalms," and other works.

Among the Prebendaries of the Cathedral may be named Dr. Matthew Parker, Master of Corpus Christi College, and Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Durham and Archbishop of York; Dr. John Whitgift, Master of Pembroke and Trinity Colleges, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of Canterbury;

1. St. John de Fontibus, and St. Hugh de Balsham.

2. Viz. ninety-six Sermons, Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, and Devotions.

Dr. James Duport, Master of Jesus College; Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. James Wedderburne, Bishop of Dunblane; Dr. Lawrence Womack, Bishop of St. David's; Dr. John Pearson, Master of Jesus College, next of Trinity, and afterwards Bishop of Chester, well known for his "Exposition of the Creed;" Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Master of Queens' College, Bishop of Exeter, then of Norwich, and Author of the "Rational, or Practical Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer," and of the "Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons," &c.; Dr. Thomas Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph, the laborious Compiler of the "Notitia Monastica;" and Dr. Stephen Weston, Bishop of Exeter.

DESCRIPTION.

Ely Cathedral, with its long roof, Octagon, and lofty Tower, visible for miles round in the flat country of Cambridgeshire, shows most strikingly from the eastern and south-eastern suburbs of the City, and as approached by the path leading through the College green. Its western Front is to be enjoyed by proceeding up the Fore-street as far as St. Mary's Church, and then turning round into the enclosure of the Episcopal Palace. From this the Facade is grand even in its present half-ruined state, and despite the addition of an incongruous story to the Tower; when perfect, it must have been inferior to but few others in the kingdom. In its original state it exhibited a Tower flanked by two Transepts, and these terminated by octagonal Turrets; the lower portions belonging to the old Romanesque order, but the upper parts indicating the commencement of the Pointed Style. Bishop Eustace, between the years 1198 and 1215, erected "the Galilee," as it is termed, a large porch,¹ namely, in front of the Tower (A in the plan); it has a gallery above it lighted to the west by three nearly equal lancets, but (intended to be) open internally to the Church. In the episcopate of Bishop Arundel the present uppermost story was added to the Tower; and subsequently, though at what time is unknown, the North Transept fell, and has ever since remained in ruins.

Mr. Stewart has pointed out the fact that the Galilee porch is not

1. The Galilee "was considered to be somewhat less sacred than the other portions of the building. The Galilee at Lincoln Cathedral is a porch on the west side of the south transept:....at Durham it is a large chapel at the west end of the nave, which was built for the use of the women, who were not allowed to advance further into the church than the second pillar of the nave. .. The name is supposed to be in allusion to 'Galilee of the Gentiles.'"—*Glossary of Architecture*, i. 178.

parallel to the axis of the Nave, but has a marked inclination to the north, while the Choir on the other hand, (like that of Exeter), inclines to the south. This doubtless was for a symbolical reason. We all know that the ground plans of Churches, by so frequently assuming a cross form, typify the doctrine of the Atonement,—the Choir or Chancel marking our blessed SAVIOUR'S Head, the Transepts His Arms, and the Nave His Body. By an expansion of this idea the Choir is made to bend southwards to shew the inclination of the REDEEMER'S Head upon the Cross; while, as it would seem from this example of the Ely Galilee, the Porch is turned in an opposite direction to indicate the position of His Feet. Now it is easy to deny that these symbolical considerations influenced our forefathers in marking out the ground-plans of their Churches, or to say that, if they did, they are fanciful, absurd, or superstitious; but it is not so easy to assign any other reason for the fact of such arrangements, nor to prove the weakness of embodying holy doctrines in external objects, and making the material fabrick of a Church suggestive of the Christian verities.

The great length of the Cathedral strikes every one immediately on his entrance, even though the present position of the Choir is not most favourable to its display. Then the grandeur of the Nave makes itself felt, possessing as it does all the solidity of the Romanesque style with greater lightness than is usual. The Tower (B) rises above us; the piers on which it formerly stood being cased with vast thicknesses of third-pointed masonry to compensate for the support of the ruined Transept, and to bear the burthen of the additional story. The ancient arches, slightly pointed, and decorated with the ornamental moldings of the Normans are visible above the more recent work. All the part above these arches has recently been brought to light by the removal of a lath and plaster ceiling. On our right hand is the South Transept (C), rich in the extreme with its several arcades, plain, intersecting, trifoliated, and pointed; in its eastern wall will be noticed a blocked arch; this opened into an apsidal Chauntry (*f* in the plan), the foundations of which are still discernible in the Deanery gardens. In the south wall is a doorway (*h*), also now filled with masonry, but formerly leading to a gallery which crossed the road on the outside and communicated with the Bishop's Palace. In the floor may be traced the circular ruin of a well or Baptistery (*g*); it has been dugged into and carefully examined, but without the discovery of any clue by which its use may be positively assigned. This Transept has a melancholy interest attaching to it, for it was here that the respected architect Basevi fell from the scaffolding and was killed, while superintending the restorations, in the year 1845.

The Nave (E) consists of twelve "severies" or compartments, the pillars alternating in size and pattern. Over the Aisle runs a broad gallery or "triforium," as it is usually called, and above this is a narrow passage in the thickness of the wall, giving access to the clerestory windows; thus the height of the Cathedral is divided into three portions—basement, triforium, and clerestory; as its length is divided into as many parts—Nave, Transept, and Choir; and its breadth into the same number—north, middle and south Aisle. There can be little doubt that this Nave was originally designed to receive a flat panelled ceiling of wood; but the present roof, simple as its construction is, and quite unadorned, produces a much finer effect than we can conceive the former would have afforded. Both the Aisles are richly arcaded, that on the south retaining three of its original windows. Taking this side of the Cathedral first, we find in the third bay the FONT (*e*) an offering by Dean Spencer in the year 1693. Its design is in accordance with the taste or tastelessness of the age, and will soon cause it to give way to a more worthy successor; let us hope, however, that it will be preserved with the same reverence as the disused Font at Exeter, which has been re-erected in one of the Chauntries. In the fifth bay is a door-way called "the Prior's entrance" (*d*") internally plain, but on the exterior elaborately ornamented. In the tympanum is a figure of the SAVIOUR seated in an aureole, (or "glory" of a pointed oval shape), and attended by two Angels. The mouldings above, as well as the capitals, jambs, and pilasters, are enriched with running foliage, and with a series of medallions, the more remarkable of which, those on the right hand, are considered by Mr. Milner to represent the festivities attending on a wedding.¹ This doorway communicated with the north-western angle of the Cloisters; a second one, (*d'*) less ornamented, was at the north-eastern angle, and formed "the Monks' entrance." The latter opened just eastward of the rood-skreen,² which stretched across the Nave (at *e*), where the pillar on either side still retains a niche against it. The Choir, then, extended from this point so as to include the third severy eastward of the transept, an arrangement which prevailed as well while the old central Tower was standing, as subsequently when it had given place to the octagon.

The Transepts (GG) are, as we have seen, the oldest parts of the existing Cathedral, being the work of Abbat Simeon, just as those at

1. Carter's *Ancient Painting and Sculpture*, p. 10.

2. Dr. Tanner thus describes the gallery which in his time existed here :—
 "Between the Choir and Nave is an ancient stone Gallery from pillar to pillar cross the middle Aisle; on which, towards the east, is plac'd the Organ, and on the west part are seats for the Bishop, Dean, Prebendaries, and other members of the Church, to hear the Sermons."—Browne Willis' *History of the Conventual Cathedral Churches*, Vol. i. p. 267.

Winchester are the earliest portions of the Cathedral there, being the work of Bishop Walkelin, our Abbat Simeon's brother. There is considerable similarity between the two structures. Each had a central tower, though Winchester only retains it, but both possess east and west Aisles to their Transepts. At Winchester, each end, moreover, of the Transept, has an Aisle, the roof of which forms a platform or gallery; at Ely there is in place of this, a row of pilasters supporting a gallery of similar character but smaller dimensions. "This kind of gallery," says Professor Willis, "is not unusual in the churches of Normandy, as I have already had occasion to remark in my *History of Canterbury*,¹ where I have shewn that it was reserved for chapels, or for the preservation of relics of peculiar sanctity." At present, both the Aisles in the south Transept of Ely are parted off with masonry, and used as Vestries, and for the Chapter-house and Library. In the centre lies a curious tessellated pavement. One of the windows in the gallery just described has been recently filled with painted glass, the work of M. Gerente of Paris. It represents the principal events in the life of the patriarch Joseph, and may be pronounced on the whole a very successful attempt; the drawing seems especially careful. Our own artist Mr. Wailes, by an offering of the Reverend Canon Sparke, has filled the south eastern window of the octagon with the portraits of several saintly personages connected with the history of Ely; in time, when the three other windows shall have been similarly adorned, this one will appear to much greater advantage than at present, while too much light falls upon it internally. The glass for the north eastern window is now in course of preparation by Mr. Wailes, being a contribution by the Bachelors of Arts and Undergraduates of the University of Cambridge.²

The method in which the octagon (F) was formed after the fall of the central tower has been already explained. Four of its sides open by large and bold arches to the Nave, north and south Transepts, and Choir respectively. Each of the other sides opens to the Aisles by a smaller arch, above which is a gallery, and a window of four lights with geometrical tracery. A second plane of open tracery half hides the curves and points of these windows, producing a very

1. Winchester, p. 24; Canterbury, p. 37, note 1.

2. The estimated expense of this window is £500, of which little more than £200 has as yet been subscribed. Mr. Wailes has undertaken to prepare all the glass at once, but it will only be placed in the window as the funds shall from time to time allow. It is hoped that those to whom the subscription is limited will agree in the belief which the originators of the scheme have expressed "that they are privileged by their connexion with the Diocese of Ely to assist in the repair of its Cathedral Church." Sums may be paid at Messrs. Mortlock's bank, Cambridge, on account of "the Ely Window Fund."

rich effect. Midway up each vaulting shaft is a canopied niche of unusual but very beautiful character; these rest upon capitals sculptured with the chief incidents of St. Etheldreda's life, as we have before explained. The groining is of wood in imitation of stone, and from it springs an eight-sided lantern also of wood, covered externally with lead. It is but a mean affair, and indeed all the upper portion of this octagon, however ingenious its construction, is of an unsatisfactory nature.

The three Eastern bays of the old Choir, forming the present ante-Choir, are beautiful specimens of the middle-pointed style. The same broad triforium runs here over the Aisles, and contains a series of three arches filled with tracery of peculiar character and an unusual degree of beauty. Above this, the clerestory contains as many good four-light windows. The Presbytery, used now as the Choir, is an equally fine example of the first-pointed order. It has six severies. The pillars, which are of Purbeck marble, are octagonal, clustered with shafts, and are now receiving the high polish which they yield so unwillingly¹ and so unsurpassably. The moldings of the arches have the deep bold beauty of their style; above them are the gorgeous arches of the triforium, rich alike with carved foliage and contrasted colours; and over these again the exquisite triplets of the clerestory. The vaulting has that simple but effective rib-work which belongs so especially to the first and to the purest middle pointed styles; it contrasts very favourably with the more complex ramifications in Bishop Hotham's portion of the Choir. The eastern end has three gigantic lancets of nearly equal height, and above them five smaller ones graduated to the curve of the roof. The spandrels throughout are relieved with trefoils and quatrefoils deeply sunk and backed with Purbeck marble; and on the whole, the contrast of light and shade, depth and projection, white and dark masonry, may be considered as brought to perfection in this part of the Church.

Never was there a more ill-judged step than the removal of the Choir hither, towards the latter portion of the last century. To give it such stinted proportions, and for this purpose to displace some of the fine old monuments, and to hide others, to obscure the pillars, and, above all, to erect the miserable organ gallery which we now behold, may surely be pronounced most tasteless performances. Only, happily, it is not necessary to scold much about them, seeing the injury

1. The amount of labour requisite for the polishing of one of these pillars cannot be realised but by one who has been much upon the spot, and witnessed the slow advance which is made by the workmen though incessantly engaged upon it. Small portions are made very hot by the application of charcoal, the heat of which is directed against the stone by the aid of bellows; a resinous preparation is then applied, and the polish brought out by manipulation.

is in such a fair way to be repaired. Devoutly is it to be hoped, that we shall yet behold the Presbytery what, or very nearly what, it once was. One of the greatest eyesores it now presents, the absence of painted glass, will be removed by the ample provisions made by the late Bishop Sparke for the purpose. And the next, the break in the triforium in the western two compartments, will also be remedied, by continuing the upper roof and removing the present middle-pointed windows, which are filled into the original arches. The restoration of the Choir to its ancient position under the octagon has already been advocated; one other reason for desiring it seems to be this, that if the stalls are re-erected in Bishop Hotham's choir, they will obscure its graceful pillars as they now obscure Bishop Northwold's, but if erected under the octagon,¹ they will hide nothing. Hotham's portion would then form a very grand Sacarium, separated from its aisles by light parcloes of stone running from pillar to pillar.

The stall-work of Alan de Walsingham has suffered considerably by "incongruous additions in deal and plaster;" it nevertheless exhibits considerable richness of design and boldness of execution. The misereres have been engraved by Carter in his "Ancient Painting and Sculpture," to which work the Ecclesiologist is referred for their subjects, and an explanation of them from the pen of Mr. Milner.

The back of the stall-work towards the Transepts originally afforded a space for the introduction of paintings. Those which existed in the North Transept are engraved by Gough in the first volume of his "Sepulchral Monuments," where they are said to be "the oldest original paintings of bishops in their habits of ceremony." Their antiquity was certainly great, to judge from the character of the architectural details introduced, these being of the first-pointed style, and the "dog-tooth molding" conspicuous. There were six episcopal figures and one knight; and when the wall was removed there were found seven distinct cells containing the respective bones. "They were brought thither from the old conventual church in the reign of Stephen, by Nigellus bishop of Ely, and their names were legible over their painted effigies." On the removal of the Choir in 1771, the bones were placed in fresh cells prepared for them in the south wall of Bishop West's chantry; a general inscription was placed over them all, and on each cell the name of the deceased whose remains it held.²

1. The old Choir, indeed, included one bay of the Nave; this would now be undesirable because of the projection of the middle-pointed additions to its eastern pillars. The idea of the parcloes separating the Sacarium from its Aisles is taken from the arrangement at Exeter.

2. These inscriptions are too interesting to be omitted: "✠ Subtus conduntur ossa VII virorum, de Eliensibus optime meritorum, in ecclesia conventuali pie adservata; ad eccles. cathedralem solemniter translata MCLIV; postea

We may now return to the route by which the visitor is ordinarily conducted round the Cathedral. Going on again in the south Aisle, we cannot fail to notice the several beautiful "matrices" which remain in the pavement. These are the indents in which brasses were formerly inlaid, but the latter having been destroyed through fanaticism or stolen for the sake of the metal, the matrices alone remain as the memorials of the several deceased. Nor can even these, indeed, with but one or two exceptions, be assigned to the persons whom they were intended to commemorate; frequent transpositions having destroyed the principal clues to their identity. It is satisfactory to find that these frail relics are awakening greater attention than they have hitherto received: they will be saved from further mutilation by the filling in of a dark composition into their indents; and a lithographic series of reductions of them will be shortly published.¹ Only two brasses remain out of the vast number which once adorned the floor of this Cathedral. Of these, the earliest is that of Bishop Goodrich(13), who deceased A.D. 1554. He is represented in his pontifical vestments, and bears the Great Seal in his character of Lord Chancellor of England. The canopy and most of the accessories to this brass have perished. The second is that of Dean Tyndall(14), who deceased in 1614.

The principal monuments which claim our attention in this Aisle are those of Bishop Heton and Bishop Gunning against the south wall, and of Bishop de Luda, Bishop Northwold, and Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, at the back of the stalls. Bishop Heton's monument(10), A.D. 1609, is remarkable as attesting the use of copes by our clergy after the Reformation; the orphrey of the cope is richly embroidered with figures of the Apostles. Bishop Gunning's tomb(9), A.D. 1684, is noticeable chiefly for his sake whom it commemorates; it is also to be observed as representing a bishop of the Reformed Church wearing a mitre and carrying a pastoral staff. Under the beautiful monument of Bishop de Luda(8), A.D. 1298, stands a curious coffin-lid of Purbeck marble, belonging apparently to the latter half of the 12th century. It is carved with the representation of an angel conveying a soul to

in boreali pariete nuperi chori inclusa; tandem hoc in sacello capsulæ quæque suæ reddita prid. Cal. Aug. MDCCLXXI. Requiescant! Wlstanus Archiepus Ebor. obiit A. D. MXXIII. Osmundus Epus e Suedia obiit circa A. D. MLXVII. Alwin Epus Elmhamensis obiit A. D. MXXIX. Ælfgarus Epus Elmhamensis obiit A. D. MXXI. Ednothus Epus Dorcestrensis Cæsus a Danis A. D. MXVI. Athelstanus Epus Elmhamensis obiit circa A. D. DCCCXCVI. Brithnothus Northumbrior. Dux prælio cæsus a Danis A. D. DCCCXCI.

1. The compiler of the present pages has been induced to undertake this task; and he further proposes the publication of several other series of matrices, arranged according to localities, should sufficient encouragement be afforded. In the meanwhile he solicits any information on the subject.

heaven, under the shape of a small human figure; there is an inscription "Sanctus Michael oret pro me." As the figure carries a pastoral staff, it is evidently the memorial of a bishop: may it not be that of Bishop Ridel, who deceased A.D. 1189? The beautiful monument of Bishop Northwold(7), A.D. 1254, lies on the high tomb of Bishop Barnet, A.D. 1373: it is a large slab of Purbeck, deeply incised with the effigy of the deceased, and having niches at its sides with figures and a variety of foliage and elaborate sculpture; at the feet is a representation of St. Edmund's martyrdom. Earl Tiptoft has a handsome canopied high tomb(6), on the table of which lie the effigy of himself and his two wives: the latter only were buried at Ely, the body of the Earl being deposited in the church of the Dominicans, near Ludgate. There is a beautiful engraving of the effigies in Gough, vol. II. pl. 89, and an interesting account of the deceased, pp. 226-228. At the east end of this Aisle is the Chauntry Chapel of Bishop West(b), A.D. 1533. It is very curious as exhibiting the introduction of classical ornament into the expiring forms of pointed art. The bishop's arms, and the scripture "GRATIA DEI SUM QUOD SUM," occur repeatedly both within and without. The iron-work of the door is noticeable. The east window has been filled by Mr. Evans of Shrewsbury with painted glass, which cannot be praised either for design or execution. We have before noticed the monument of the seven benefactors of Ely; in the window behind it, and in the corresponding window of Bishop Alcock's Chauntry, are the principal fragments of old glass remaining in the Cathedral.

Archbishop Luxemburg has a high tomb (5) on the south of the present Sacarium, and adjoining Bishop West's Chapel. Mr. Bentham in his print puts a Cardinal's hat on the head of the effigy, while Mr. Cole asserts that it has only a mitre, and Mr. Gough says that the dispute can never be decided because of the new wainscot of the Chancel by which the monument is shut up. Happily the new wainscot is now gone, and, strange to say, the figure appears—headless! The vestments however are certainly episcopal. Bishop Alcock's Chapel (a), at the east end of the north Aisle, is an overwrought example of the late third-pointed style. Its erection was commenced in the year 1488, as appears from a stone found on opening a grave at some little distance, and now built into the wall: it is incised with five crosses, this inscription surrounding them:—"Johannes alkoc epus eliesis hanc fabrica fieri fecit MCCCCIII XXVIII." The high tomb of this illustrious Prelate is against the north wall, and has his effigy in episcopal robes. The Master and Fellows of Jesus College are at the expense of restoring the Chauntry, and the work has hitherto been effected in the most careful and praiseworthy manner; a tessellated pavement copied from that in the south Transept

is in forwardness, and will be shortly laid down.¹ A small stone altar here deserves attention.

In the north Aisle we have to notice the monuments of Bishops Patrick, Hotham, Kilkenny, and Redman. The former illustrious Prelate deserves a more worthy memorial than the affair of cherubs and urns which at present marks his resting place; let us hope that, if ever the Presbytery is separated as above proposed, a fitting monument may be erected to him by the exertions of grateful Churchmen. The effigy of Bishop Hotham originally lay on the table of his high tomb (2), but it has now perished, and the sculpture with which the whole was adorned is also lost. Bishop Kilkenny's monument (3), A. D. 1256, has his figure carved in Purbeck marble, under a rich and bold canopy. Bishop Redman's memorial (4), in 1505, is an exceedingly fine composition. The effigy of the departed Prelate is recumbent on a high tomb under a rich triple canopy; a place being left at the feet of the figure for the Chauntry Priest. There are also two matrices here which deserve our notice, as the persons commemorated by them may be assigned. The first lies near the door of Bishop Alcock's Chapel, and is the only remnant of the monument of Bishop Gray who deceased A. D. 1478. The fine canopy under which it was placed (1) existed in Bentham's time, and is engraved in his

1. Bishop Alcock deserves a short biographical notice. He was born at Beverley and educated at Cambridge. After numerous minor preferments he was promoted to the see of Rochester. He founded a free School, and built a Chapel to the Church where his parents were buried, at Kingston-upon-Hull. In 1476 he was translated to Worcester, and enlarged the Collegiate Church of Westbury, rebuilding its north side. In 1481 he visited and reformed the Priory of Little Malvern, rebuilt their Church, repaired their Convent, and in great measure discharged their debts. In 1486 he was advanced to Ely. In 1487 he visited the ancient Nunnery of St. Rhadegund, Cambridge, which he afterwards converted into a College of students by the king's patent for dissolving the Nunnery, 1497. The new foundation was to consist of a Master, six Fellows, and a certain number of Scholars, to be called the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Rhadegund; but having added to these names that of JESUS it was, even in his time, commonly called Jesus College. His device was a *Cock*, of which allusion he was extremely fond, as appears by his placing the figure of that bird, with moral sentences on scrolls, in almost every part of the many and expensive public buildings which he erected, and in his works printed by Pinson and Winkin de Worde. He deceased at his castle of Wisbech, Oct. 1, 1500. He was not only a considerable writer, but an excellent architect. Bale's character of this Prelate is, that from his earliest youth he applied himself to learning and devotion; in which last he made such progress that no person in England had a greater reputation for sanctity of manners. His whole life was a course of the strictest temperance, mortification, abstinence, and study. See Gough, vol. ii. p. 345.

book (Pl. XX.), but it has since been altogether removed. The second is between the tombs of Bishops Hotham and Kilkenny and represents a demi-figure under a canopy, with a floriated cross beneath. The letters I. C. leave little room to doubt that it is the gravestone of Prior John Crauden who deceased in 1341.

The original entrance to the Lady Chapel(I) is in this Aisle, in the easternmost bay of Bishop Hotham's Choir. It is now blocked by the cumbersome monument of Dean Cæsar, A.D. 1636, but it may still be seen above and around that erection. At present the only access from the Cathedral to the Lady Chapel is by a doorway in the angle of the north-eastern Transept. The most conflicting feelings assail us on viewing this remarkable structure. Admiration at its ancient glories, sorrow at its present desolation, are instantly conceived. Few visitors perhaps have seen so highly an enriched building. Of five ample severies surrounded by canopied niches of unwonted elaboration, lit by windows of great size and beauty, covered by a roof of almost magick lightness, and everywhere displaying the traces of most brilliant colour, it is perhaps nowhere to be surpassed or even equalled in splendour. Its area filled with the most vile pueing, its carved work broken down, its windows—here robbed of their painted glass—there altogether blocked up, it presents an unusual picture of decay and desecration. One cannot easily believe that it is still used as a place of worship; yet so it is by the inhabitants of Trinity parish, who have lost their own Church. It is said of a well-known popish architect of the present day, that he burst into tears on first beholding this Chapel, and exclaimed "O GOD! what has England done to deserve this?" Every Churchman too inclines to weep when he views this sad scene, but he knows that our country *did* incur the vengeance righteously, and that the desolation around him teaches a wholesome though a bitter lesson; *that no perfection of human art may stand in lieu of moral excellence, and no splendour of a material Church be accepted for the integrity of the spiritual Body of CHRIST.* Having vindicated *that* from its obscurations, having experienced the flames of a fierce reaction, and now by GOD's grace coming out of the fire refined and purified, he knows that the English Church will go on its way rejoicing; and making it her first care to gather to her LORD households like a flock of sheep, she will also be permitted to build up for them the waste places of Sion, and to beautify the place of the Sanctuary; not only moreover to restore the works of our fathers, but also to go beyond them, and to develop yet latent excellencies of Christian architecture, as far surpassing those of this wondrous Chauntry, as they themselves excel the barbaric splendours of the western Transept. May every Christian pray, and—so far as in him lies—labour, for such a consummation. May even

these poor pages bring their share of furtherance to the task, leading all in whose hands they may be found to a reverent examination and appreciation of one of the most noble of our sacred edifices, and bringing more prominently forward, so that those who run may read, the many lessons which visiting a Cathedral is calculated to supply.

Returning to the North Transept we may notice two windows which have been recently filled with painted glass by Mr. Wailes, and which both deserve commendation. We may also remark the fine third-pointed roofs of the Transepts, still retaining their decorative colour. At the west end of the north Aisle is deposited that curious relic of Anglo-Saxon antiquity which we have before noticed—Ovin's stone. It stands in a niche, formed where the Aisle once opened into the north Transept. With it we will conclude our survey of the interior of the Cathedral; those who desire to examine the triforia, roof, Tower, and Octagon may easily obtain permission to do so, but will require no guidance from us, as the Vergers very properly accompany strangers to them. No Ecclesiologist will omit the opportunity of seeing them, for only such places afford adequate ideas of the size, and many of the constructional features, of our Cathedrals.

We have departed from the usual plan of describing the exterior of our Cathedral first, because the few remarks that are necessary on the subject will be most conveniently introduced in the notice of the Monastic Buildings to which we are about to proceed. It will not however be necessary to speak of them at any length, as an account of the whole Monastery, accompanied by a plan, will shortly appear from the pen of Mr. Stewart. Leaving then the Church by its western door, and turning to the left, we come at no great distance to a fine old gate-house, called the Ely Porta, and once the grand entrance to the Monastic enclosure. Advancing from this towards the south Transept of the Cathedral, we have on the right a small and very beautiful Chapel, which bears the name of Prior Crauden, as it was erected by him. In 1801 it was sacrilegiously converted into a dwelling-house, its height being divided by a floor and two rooms constructed in each story. Happily this profanation is at an end, and the Chapel undergoing a thorough restoration; its East-window, and curious "low side window" deserve especial notice. Beyond this were the Prior's lodgings, now converted into a dwelling-house for the Canon of the first stall, and the Refectory which at present forms the Deanery. Between this and the Cathedral were the Cloisters, of which small portions only now remain. On our right are what are popularly termed the ruins of the old Conventual Church, but what Professor Willis has shewn to be the Infirmary for the sick Monks. It is indeed a Church-like building, having a Nave, as it were, and Aisles, but at its eastern end we find a doorway, where if the part

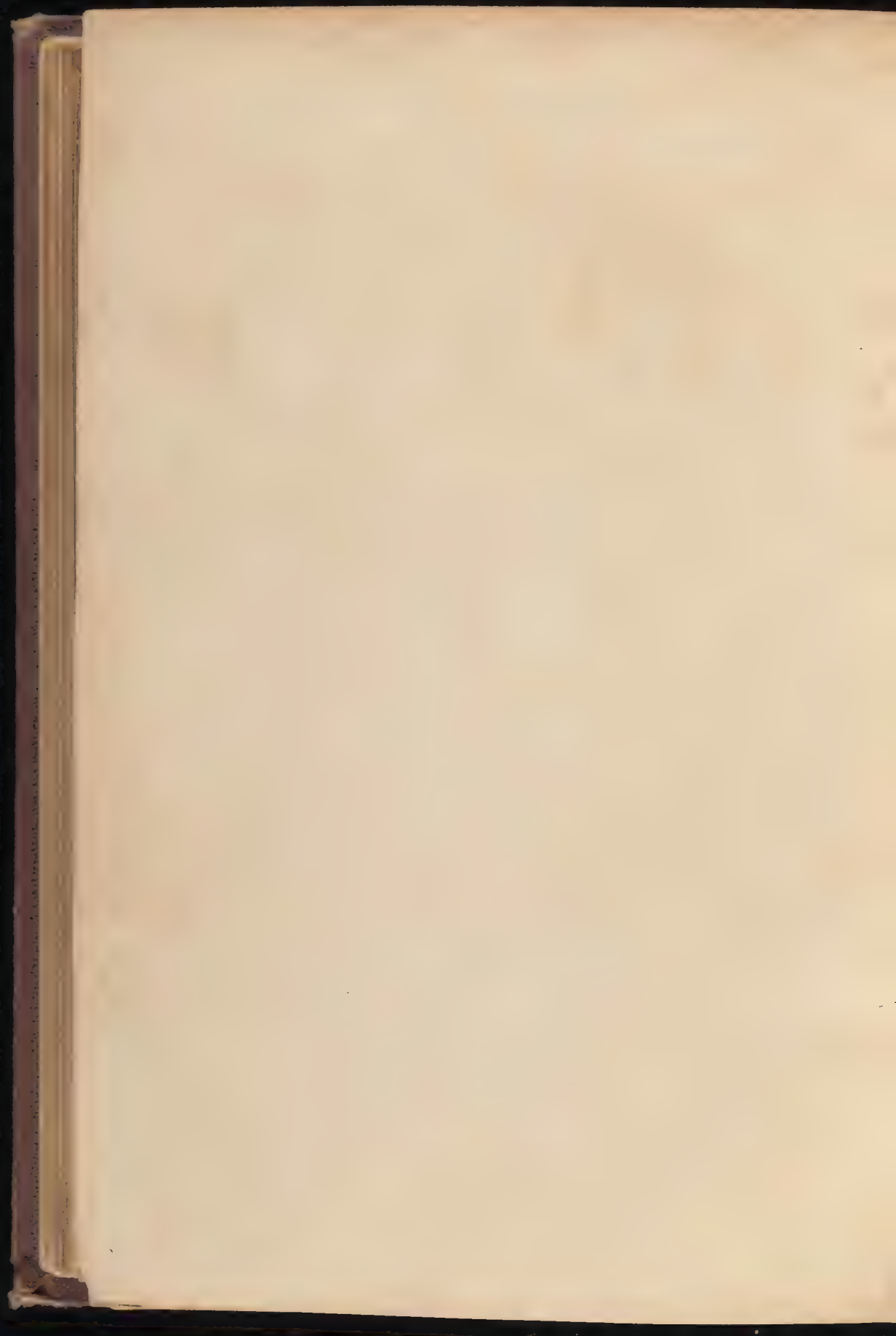
we are in had been a Church we might have expected the Chancel arch. This doorway gives access to the Chapel of the Infirmary, which was thus most conveniently placed for the use of the invalids; it also has its Aisles and an apsidal Chancel. The latter, indeed, as well as the Aisles both of the Chapel and "*Fermery*" are taken into the prebendal buildings on either side, so that we now walk through the body of the building as through a street. The Dortor or Dormitory of the Monks was westward of the Infirmary, and the Chapter-house filled up the space between it and the end of the south Transept. Some other of the conventual buildings as the *Sextre*, or Sacrist's lodgings, and the *Almery* or Almoner's, were on the north side of the Church.

We have seen that the Presbytery, the work of Bishop Northwold, is a most beautiful example of the first-pointed style. Of this however the Aisle and Triforium windows present externally but little appearance, as the lancets were removed in 1373, and the present windows inserted; in the westernmost two bays however on the south side, the character of the original Triforium may still be discovered. The East end of the Cathedral is of unusual beauty, but cannot be seen to advantage for a garden wall which prevents a sufficiently distant view. It displays three tiers of windows,—the triplet below, and five lancets above, which light the Choir, and three equal lancets over which light the space between the stone vaulting and the outer roof. The pinnacle at the south-east angle, and the gable Cross, have been restored at the expense of the Lady Mildred Hope. In passing round the North side we may observe that the North-eastern angle of the Transept has been rebuilt, and received some additions from the taste of Sir Christopher Wren. This misfortune happened to the Church in 1669, when the corner in question fell.

After all the Compiler fears that these Notes are more meagre than they were intended to be, and yet he has exceeded the space which his Publisher first allowed him. He trusts however that those who know the difficulty of preserving the due mean in works of this kind, between too much diffuseness and too great sententiousness will excuse his shortcomings in this respect. That those also who may have expected a variety of documentary, compared with architectural, evidence will have been reconciled to the fact that the Compiler has not attempted it, because it would have been both beyond his strength, and also foreign to the desired popularity of his work. That all, lastly, will give him credit for a desire to be useful, and will consider that the absence of any such a manual as is here attempted is a sufficient justification of his book's appearance.

ON THE
ARCHITECTURE
OF THE
CHURCH AND HOSPITAL
OF THE
HOLY CROSS,
NEAR WINCHESTER.

BY
E. A. FREEMAN, Esq., B.A.,
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.



ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH AND HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY CROSS.



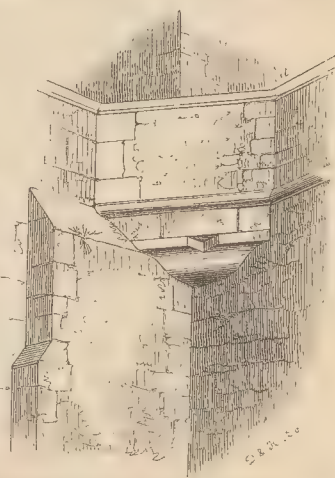
The Gateway

INTERESTING as are the remains of antiquity with which this city abounds—poor fragments though they be of its ancient greatness—none perhaps at all equal the charm attaching to the Hospital of St. Cross. Not to be compared in splendour or antiquity to the mighty pile of the Cathedral, it has that peculiar attraction which belongs to whatever is first of its own class. The Cathedral, the College, the royal and episcopal Palace, may be found elsewhere—individually at least—in equal beauty; but nowhere, to the best of my knowledge, does there exist any foundation of a similar nature, which can for a moment compare with the architectural beauty, the historical association, or the calm and holy air pervading the whole of this truly venerable establishment. Whether, among the numerous similar societies which fell beneath that spirit of sacrilegious rapacity which could not spare the very resting-places of aged poverty, any existed which at all approached St. Cross in wealth and splendour, I know not; certainly I have not heard of any still remaining; it stands, I should suppose, incomparable among its own

class—the “roof and crown” of such foundations. No one can pass its threshold without feeling himself landed as it were in another age; the ancient features of the building, the noble gateway, the quadrangle, the common refectory, the cloister, and, rising above all, the lofty and massive pile of the venerable Church; the uniform garb and reverend mien of the aged brethren, the common provision for their declining years, the dole at the gate-house—all lead back our thoughts to days when men gave their best to God’s honour, and looked on what was done to His poor as done to Himself, and were as lavish of architectural beauty on what modern habits might deem a receptacle for beggars, as on the noblest of royal palaces. It seems a place where no worldly thought, no pride, or passion, or irreverence could enter; a spot, where, as a modern writer has beautifully expressed it, a good man, might he make his choice, would wish to die.

The Hospital was founded in 1136 by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, to whom also is attributed the design of the Abbey Church of Romsey. Like that Church, it seems to have been built from one uniform plan, but being erected at the time when Gothick Architecture was beginning to be engrafted on Romanesque, the details of the different parts of the Church vary, so that, though in an inferior degree to Romsey, it affords a valuable lesson in the Transition from Roman to Gothick Architecture. It does not indeed exhibit some change in detail at almost every step, and some parts are apparently actual alterations; still the transition is well and plainly marked, and the idea of the whole Church and many of the details are admirable.

The Church is cruciform, with aisles to the Nave and Quire, but not to the Transepts, and a North porch; the high roofs of the original structure remain over all the four arms of the Cross; from the centre rises a massive square steeple reaching only one story above the outer roof. Small as the building is, it has all the features of a Conventual or Collegiate structure, that indescribable something which distinguishes the Minster from the Parish Church; no one, even were the Hos-

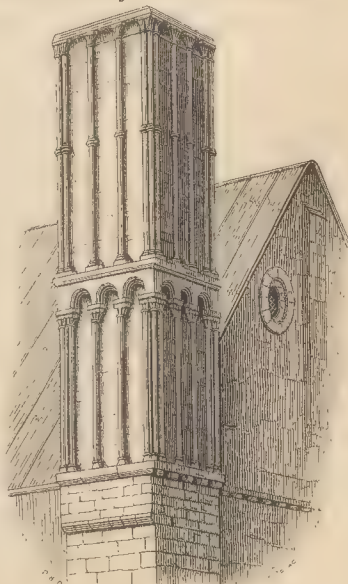


Squinch at the angle of Quire and Transept

pital buildings not attached, could mistake it for a mere parochial edifice. The Church is remarkably lofty for its other proportions, a great merit as I think, English buildings, of whatever rank, being, with a few exceptions, ordinarily too low.

As the space which can be allotted in this volume to a single paper must be necessarily limited, I will in describing this Church keep chiefly in mind its value as a specimen of the Transition, and attend more especially to those parts of it which bear upon that question, treating the other particulars in a more cursory manner. An attentive examination of the Church in company with two gentlemen far more competent to decide on such matters than myself, Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Parker, has convinced me that two dates within the Romanesque period may be traced in the Eastern parts; one, the original work of Bishop de Blois, comprising only a small portion of the external walls; the other, rather to be called Transition, embracing the upper part of the external walls, and all the interior decoration. It would appear most probable that the building of the Church—which was often not the first portion erected of a religious house—was stopped soon after its commencement, and recommenced in a later and richer style towards the end of the century. The original work may be traced by the difference in the labels of the windows, which is much plainer than in the upper part which has labels with more complicated^a sectional mouldings.

The East end is a fine example of Romanesque in all its purity and majesty. It consists of the ends of the Quire and its Aisles which are prolonged the whole way. The gable of the central compartment is high-pitched, although lower than in many ancient examples, between two square turrets, rising from the pilaster buttresses of the East front, but on the sides shaved into a kind of corbel. These tur-

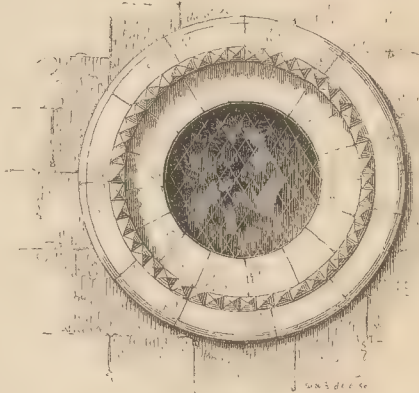


Turret at the East End.

^a I use this term to express mouldings which affect the profile, in opposition to the true Romanesque mouldings which are

merely enrichments of the surface, not affecting the profile or section.

rets are in two stages, of which the upper is adorned with slender banded shafts with capitals supporting the cornice after the manner of an entablature, an arrangement less commonly seen in Norman buildings, unless in the small pillars at the angles of towers and pilasters. The lower stage has an arcade of round arches supported by similar small columns of shorter proportions. A tall shallow pilaster, widening a little below the spring of the gable, divides the centre compartment into two parts; like all in this front it has a smaller pilaster attached. Such pilasters, the parents of the elegant and mechanically admirable buttresses of Gothick Architecture, add a good deal to the effect of Romanesque buildings, but can be of little constructive utility in supporting the structure, which is however less required in this style on account of the vast thickness of the walls. On either side the pilaster is a small round window in the gable, intended, doubtless, to air the timber roof above, but now glazed; their external rim is ornamented with the nail-head moulding, the probable origin of the elegant tooth ornament of the Early English style. Just below the gable, and continued round the square turrets, is a string adorned with the billet moulding. Below are three sets of windows, ranging with the clerestory, the triforium, and the aisle windows. Of these the lowest and those ranging with the triforium appear to belong to the original structure of De Blois, the upper ones to the later period of Romanesque. They are the common window of the style, with plain architraves, and jamb-shafts and capitals, the latter sculptured, but not in an elaborate manner. The windows ranging with the triforium are two on each side the central pilaster, quite small and plain, but windows have been inserted of an equally plain character, in the two outer ones with pointed arches, in the inner square-headed. The lowest row of windows, including those at the end of the aisles, have no jamb-shafts or other ornaments. Those in the Quire itself are now blocked up,



Circular Window in the Eastern Gable

and, as no trace of them appears internally, and the inner wall is covered with the remains of ancient paintings, it would seem that they must have been destroyed at an early period.

Continuing our view to the South of the Quire, we must assign the external walls and windows of the Aisles and the lower story of the Transept to the earlier date, the Clerestory and upper windows of the Transept to the later. The Quire is short, consisting of only two bays, which are both in the Aisle and Clerestory divided by a pilaster. The lower windows, both of the Aisle and Transept, are unusually short, although the one in the Quire most to the East has been lengthened by having the string beneath it cut away, and afterwards again blocked up with masonry. This string is quite flat on its under surface, having had the roof of a cloister underneath it, as the Hospital buildings were on this side of the Church until they were rebuilt by Cardinal Beaufort to the North. At the angle of the Quire Aisle and the Transept is the celebrated triple arch which has given rise to so many different opinions. Whatever may have been its purpose, it is clear from its rich mouldings and its obtusely pointed arch that it belongs to the second period above referred to. It has at first sight the appearance of a Doorway in the Eastern wall of the Transept, for which, as the space between the adjoining pilaster and the wall of the Aisle was not sufficiently wide, room was found in the thickness of the latter wall, the superincumbent mass being supported by a



Doorway (C), S. of Transept

half-arch meeting the first arch near but not quite at its crown. The mouldings of the first arch, the chevron and cable, are continued in the other, though the latter, which forms the label, disappears in that part of the first arch which is within the thickness of the Aisle wall. The arch springs only from moulded impost, except the half-arch, which rises from a shaft with one of the most beautifully sculptured capitals in the whole Church. The first arch is now blocked up with masonry crossed in two places with a wooden beam or architrave. The external appearance of this arch is certainly that of a doorway, but a doorway in an Eastern wall is rare, and the appearance within is most perplexing; the arch is distinctly visible, ornamented here with the embattled moulding, and the label is a continuation of the string which passes as a band round the vaulting shafts of the Quire Aisle; but the whole is filled up, and the space occupied by several recesses or ambries,



Interior of Doorway (?) South Transept.

and, what is of consequence, the seam in the masonry does not correspond with the arch, and the basement moulding is continued without interruption till the arch is passed, when it assumes a new form. Hence some have supposed that it was not a doorway, but a sort of buttery-hatch, whence the dole was given out. On an attentive consideration, I cannot venture to pronounce any positive opinion, but must leave the evidence to the decision of more competent judges. One thing however is plain, that whatever was the use of this arch, the half-arch is of the same date, and erected for the purpose of accommodating it as above mentioned. The upper windows in the Transept are round-headed and unornamented, but testify their late date in the label, and in the

jamb, which is of two orders *chamfered*. The Clerestory windows resemble the upper row in the East end ranging with them. The roofs of the aisles have been lowered, so that the range of small pointed windows in the triforium, to be hereafter mentioned, appear externally; this gives the clere-story a disproportionate height for a Romanesque building; but the original height of the roofs, reaching to the string underneath the proper clerestory windows, can be clearly traced in the weather-moulding yet remaining against the East sides of the Transept. As it projects a little beyond the wall, one would think the Aisles had originally dripping roofs; indeed a more attentive examination has convinced me that such was the case throughout the Church. The coping of the Eastern gable is gone, and the weather-moulding may be traced on the western face of the small turrets: on the sides of the Quire the original mark of the roof may be seen below the present parapet; on the north side, consistent with the greater decoration of that part, it seems to have rested on a row of billets. An examination of the Nave and other parts will show that this was the case throughout, and that the parapets are a later addition; whether they are an improvement or not may admit of some controversy; I myself cannot but look upon them as adding a degree of finish altogether desirable in a building of so much pretension as the Church of St. Cross. I mentioned the greater decoration of the North side. Grievously as it has been objected to some of our best modern Churches that they have a "show" side, they must be content to share the blame with Winchester Cathedral, Romsey Abbey, and St. Cross. In all these the Cloister and domestick buildings were on the South side, and consequently the North side, as being more open to publick observation, was more richly decorated; in the Cathedral the row of pinnacles of the North Aisle of the Nave has no counterpart on the South; and, if this instance be referred to mechanical reasons, such cannot account for the difference at Romsey, where the arcade which adorns the Nave Clerestory on the open side is wanting on that towards the Cloister. Similarly at St. Cross, the windows, which on the South side are quite plain, both in the Aisle and Clerestory, are on the North, which was not concealed by domestick buildings, richly ornamented. I think this explanation is more probable than one which had before occurred to me, namely that, as these windows are the same

in the *section* of their jambs and architraves, as the plainer ones ranging with them^b, all were originally intended to receive the same amount of ornament, but those parts which admitted of superadded decoration (such as are the ornamental Norman mouldings, being enrichment of the *surface* only, without, like the Gothick mouldings, adorning the *section*;) were left in the block, as we continually find in the dripstone terminations of Gothick windows, which are often left square masses, but which were doubtless intended to be carved into heads or bosses of foliage. If this view were correct it might be supposed that, owing to the change of style, and introduction of another principle of ornament, this work was only continued throughout one side.

In the North Aisle, near the angle with the Transept, is a doorway of Transitional character, the arch being obtusely pointed, but the capitals and architrave rich Romanesque. Over it are the marks of two roofs, one a low gable, as if a porch of later date had been erected over it, the other a lean-to against the Transept. This latter, as it could hardly have been part of the Hospital buildings, may be the trace of some secular erection allowed to be placed against the Church and afterwards removed. The marks of several such may be traced against the walls of Romsey Church. The doorway is at present blocked up.

The walls of this Aisle interfere with the jamb mouldings of one of the lower windows of the North Transept, which is most uncomfortably squeezed in between them and the pilaster. This has given occasion to an ingenious suggestion that the Aisles were widened at the second period so often referred to, but the fact that the wall of the South Aisle is of the early period shows this opinion to be untenable.

The upper windows of the North Transept exhibit a third stage in the use of the pointed arch. Those in the South are still round-headed and plain, but of the later period, as appears from their chamfered jambs.

The Transept ends are the points at which the original and more modern domestick buildings join on to the Church. The South front has attached to it the only remaining portion of the Romanesque Hospital, which appears to be of the earlier

^b These windows are all, if I mistake not, to be referred to the later period, but they exceed in decoration the others of the

same date just as much as those of the earlier erection.

date, and has its masonry bonded into that of the Church. Above it are two segmental-arched windows, now blocked up, ranging with the Triforium, and a single window occupying the clerestory range, besides a small gable light. The North front has a large lancet window, and below it two of Romanesque character, corresponding with those in the North Aisle; the present Cloister is built against this front and is connected with the Church by a small plain doorway of the Perpendicular style. One of the Romanesque windows just mentioned is thus blocked up, but the use to which it was made available in the altered building cannot fail to be observed as a beautiful instance of the care and thoughtfulness of those who planned the Foundation. It is made to open by a shutter into the Infirmary, by means of which those who were prevented by sickness from attending publicly in the Church, were still allowed the privilege of participating in its holy services.

The Nave is of three bays; the Aisles exhibit the Transitional state of Architecture when this Church was erected, especially in the three windows on the South side, of which the first reckoning from the East is pure but late Romanesque, the second retains the round arch, but has otherwise Early English features, the third is pure Early English. The North porch, which is vaulted, and has a loft over it lighted by a very elegant little window of two lights with a cinquefoil in the head, is Early English also, as well as the South and West doorways. The latter deserves particular attention, as an excellent specimen of the double doorway of the style, and also for the bold and singular variety of the tooth ornament in its arch mouldings. The arches of the two openings are of the trefoil shape; the central shaft is a square pier with the angles chamfered so as to make it octagonal, the capital is mutilated. In the head is a small quatrefoil now glazed. The ground has risen so as to hide the bases of the jamb shafts.

The whole West front, though not set off with pinnacles or any other rich decoration, is admirable; it is well finished with buttresses and strings, and this elegant doorway, (see woodcut next page,) with the splendid Western window, the graceful lancets at the ends of the aisles, and the small gable lights, all form one of the most beautiful and simple compositions imaginable. The West window and Clerestory, all fully-developed Decorated, are the latest portions of the

original Church, which would seem to have been built at intervals during a period of more than a century, the date assigned to them being 1292. Their tracery exhibits a sort of Transition from the pure Geometrical to the Flowing; that of the Clerestory windows, which are of two lights, will be found to differ on the North and South sides. Having given a date to this part of the structure, I will mention a mistake which Dr. Milner has fallen into, which would



West Doorway.

otherwise have been more naturally treated of in describing the interior. That excellent antiquarian attributes this portion to a much later period, on the ground that the arms of Wykeham and Beaufort are to be seen on the key-stones of the vaulting: a more attentive examination, however, will show that the shields charged with these bearings are placed upon bosses of an earlier date, and the whole character of the roof is so palpably Decorated that there can be no reasonable controversy on the subject.

In concluding the subject of the external architecture of this Church, I would remark that even the fully-developed Early English portions exemplify that adaptation to the preceding style which is not uncommon, and of which the Nave of Romsey Abbey is so memorable an instance. Thus the Early English windows are mostly of the short wide form, like those in the last mentioned Church, or the East Window of Iffley, or even the Transitional Clerestory of Oxford Cathedral. The long narrow lancet, the genuine window of the style, does not occur, unless the windows in the Transept fronts be considered as such. Like Romsey Abbey too, a very considerable difference^c may be observed in the windows terminating the Aisles, the Northern one having rich mouldings stopped above the imposts, the Southern mere chamfers. In the window-

^c Compare above, p. 7.

jambs of this part of the Church the shafts have commonly a round abacus and the capital merely moulded, without foliage, and we may remark the prevalence and ornamental construction of the stopped chamfer.

But, graceful as is the exterior of St. Cross, it is, as should ever be the case, far outshone by the splendour of the interior. Every ornamental feature which the style of that period admitted is there to be seen in its utmost beauty. The marble shafts and rich paintings with which the ancient architects sought, after the example of the natural creation, to add richness of colour to grace of proportion and harmony of detail, are indeed only to be recognised at intervals beneath the indiscriminating dingy yellow-wash with which the walls are now covered, and an additional coat of which is now actually threatened, the only pretence at repair which modern liberality can afford to the house on which a better age lavished its gold and silver; but time and man have spared in a great degree its other beauties; the elaborate capitals and mouldings, exquisite specimens of Norman art, remain, and the far higher merits of proportion are uninjured. For this Church stands forth preeminent in two respects among English Churches, being free from the two great faults of our national buildings; it is of sufficient height, and has stone-vaulting throughout, excelling in this many even of our Cathedrals and Abbeys. The whole, though built at so many different periods, is exquisitely harmonious and graceful. As it would be tedious to describe minutely every detail of a building where almost every window and pillar exhibits some distinctive peculiarity, I will, according to my original design, only point out its most remarkable features, especially those which bear on the important question of the Transition.

The Quire and Transepts belong to that period, but, where the original work remains, have the Romanesque character still strongly marked, except in the pointed pier and vaulting arches, and in the tendency to rounds and hollows in the mouldings; the abaci are still square, and all the capitals and ornamental surface mouldings retain the character of the late highly enriched Norman style.

The Quire, as far as the original work remains, is Romanesque, with the pointed arch introduced as an arch of construction throughout, while the semicircular form is retained as an arch of decoration. The responds of the pointed pier,

arches are banded half-clusters with rich Corinthianizing capitals, but the central pier on each side has been altered into a huge octagonal pillar of Perpendicular date; the bases, however, of the original columns remain, and as they correspond exactly with those of the pilasters supporting the vault of the Aisles, I am inclined to think that the original pier was, like them, a rectangular mass with shafts at the angles. It might be supposed at first that the complicated vaulting-shafts formed part of the pier, and that they were cut away at the alteration of the columns, but a more attentive examination will show that, though they certainly have been tampered with, they could not have extended much lower than they do at present, as their bases are distinctly visible; these bases having probably been formed into a sort of corbel, as is the case with some of the vaulting-shafts in the Transepts. So complicated a vaulting-shaft, as it is really a considerable cluster, is not often found rising from a corbel, but there can be little doubt that such is the case.

Above the pier-arches is the celebrated triforium of intersecting arches, to which Dr. Milner attributes the origin of the pointed style. It becomes us to speak gently of one who, though of course far behind the present advance of architectural knowledge, was at least as much before most of his own age equally in knowledge, taste, and reverence; but it will be hardly necessary to do more than allude to this as a mere exploded theory. It would be but an unsatisfactory account even of the origin of the pointed arch, nor does it plainly appear why these, more than the other pointed arches of the same date in this very Church, should have been fixed on for the purpose of elucidating this point; but farther than this, we have now learned more correctly to look on the pointed arch, though an essential feature of the Gothick style, and indeed its most easily recognised external mark, as being still, equally with its mouldings and other features, only one developement among many of the pervading vertical principle. As for these triforia, there can be little doubt that the windows which have been the occasion of so much controversy and theory, were merely opened through the elder arches for the purpose of giving additional light, at the same time that the roof of the aisle was lowered, that is most probably during the fifteenth century. The whole question of this triforium as connected with this point may be considered as set at rest by the con-

clusive remarks of Professor Whewell in his *German Churches*; but, as a mere matter of curiosity, it would be worth inquiring whether this arcade ever was really a *triforium*, that is, whether it ever was actually open as a gallery. There is now no passage, or any trace of one, except at the east end; the sides within form a splay to the windows, and the ornaments of the capitals are continued as a sort of frieze along the jamb. Yet the existence of a story above the Aisle is clear from the traces of the original roof; we can only then suppose that it was merely a dark passage *behind* the arcade, just lighted by these slits opening to the Quire. This, or something similar, is the case with all the triforia of the Church, which are in no part a continued arcade, such as we generally see, but only an occasional aperture; the only difference in the solid wall between this and the other instances being that elsewhere the apertures, where they occur, are flush with the inner face of the wall, while here they are flush with the outer, and are splayed inwards. The whole of the details of this triforium are rich and well worthy of attention. The clere-story has Romanesque windows with jamb shafts and a variety of elaborate mouldings; there is, as is common in large buildings of this date, a second triforium or passage along them.

The vaulting is pointed; the western bay is quadripartite, the eastern has a double cell, giving in a slight degree the effect of apsidal vaulting. The ribs are elaborately moulded, and some of them have mouldings so purely sectional, and in which the square section is so entirely lost, as to show that they belong to the very last days of Roman Architecture.

The Quire Aisles agree in their architecture with the Quire itself; the pointed vaulting, having ornamented cross springers, rises from Romanesque shafts; the arch between the two bays has a plain flat soffit, and springs from a flat pilaster to the angles of which are attached the shafts whence spring the ribs. The band of the shafts is continued as a string underneath the windows, which are round-headed, of two orders, without shafts, but richly adorned with the chevron. They have steps within the cill, which in the south Aisle serves to disguise the shortness of the part actually pierced for light. The Aisles open into the Transept by arches with very broad soffits, rising from rectangular piers with shafts at the angles, the

capitals of which are continued as a sort of frieze along the inner flat surface.

Thus far the whole interior, except some parts of the masonry of the walls not affecting the internal decoration, palpably belongs to the second period of the building, the end of the twelfth century; but the arches of the lantern might at first seem earlier, as, although pointed, they are perfectly plain, retaining the square section without any attempt at ornament either by sectional or surface mouldings. But the piers are intimately connected with the later work, and the nature of the shafts, clusters rising from corbels, and especially the section of these clusters, all show them to be quite late in the style; the corbels to the Nave Arch are palpably later alterations. An attentive examination of these piers will show that these shafts are purely ornamental, not entering even into the decorative construction, as the orders of the arch do not rise from their capitals; from this it has been ingeniously and probably suggested that it was intended to have added mouldings of a more elaborate character.

The Transepts still continue the same lesson as the Quire, but with some features of a yet later character; the pointed arch appears, in one instance at least, as an arch of decoration, and we have some portions which might be almost called Early English. The North Transept has pointed vaulting with late Romanesque mouldings rising from corbels with round abaci. But there may be seen in the North-east angle the remains of a base, connected with nothing at present remaining, and therefore apparently the only relick of the first period to be observed in the interior of the Church. The upper range of windows are lancet-shaped, and furnished with a triforium; these, with the vault, would almost seem to belong to a third period. The other windows are round-headed, mostly of two orders adorned with rich mouldings, but not furnished with shafts; one exhibits a very remarkable variety of the beak-head moulding developed into the complete form of a bird, which will be found engraved in the Glossary of Architecture. Another has sectional mouldings in the arch rising from a perfectly plain jamb; this is splayed only on one side, on account of the pilasters which was mentioned in the description of the outside as interfering with it. The same is the case with the corresponding window in the South Transept. The windows here exhibit several varieties of the style, and some of them

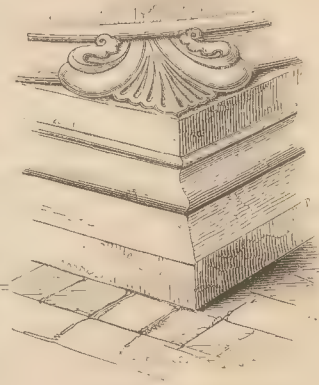
are remarkable for the finishing of the plaster within the splay with the chevron and scalloped mouldings. The segmental arches ranging with the triforium to the South are of two orders, springing from an impost on chamfered jambs. A small plain door in the South-east corner opens into a vaulted chamber, mentioned before as the only vestige remaining of the original Hospital. The vaulting is round, but the moulded ribs are not very early. There are several recesses or ambries remaining here.



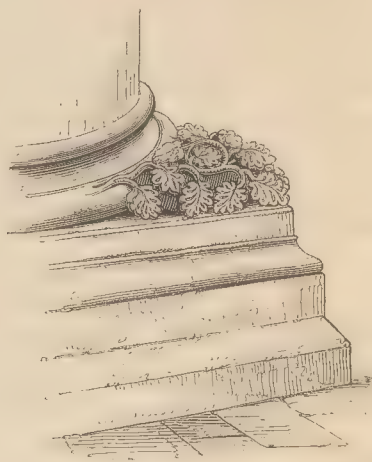
Window in South Transept.

The Tower at the intersection is, like those of the Cathedral and the Abbey of Romsey, low and massive, rising only one stage above the roof-line. The external appearance of the upper part does not give much positive indication of early date; but any one who will take the trouble to tread the mazes of the complicated triforia of this Church will discover a double wall in this part, and a passage between them; the inner wall being pierced with small windows of one light cinquefoiled in the head, which have the groove for the insertion of the glass remaining. As I have never seen these noticed before, I would recommend them to the especial notice of those better qualified than myself to decide on their real date and character; thus much however they seem to me to prove, that the whole tower was originally open to the interior of the Church, and that the row of arches now blank formed a sort of open gallery or outer triforium; for that they have been blocked up is evident, and the present meagre tracery, if it deserve the name, of the outer windows also appears to be an insertion. The lower story, ranging with the timber roofs of the building, is lighted by Perpendicular windows in the two extremities of an arcade of four, which exhibits some details of that period, but has so much more of the general look and idea of earlier work about it, that I cannot but think it is an alteration or adaptation of an anterior structure.

The Eastern part of the Nave has also marks of the Transition. Of the three arches, the first springs from a respond forming part of the Lantern piers, and like them exhibiting all the features of the Transitional period. The arch itself, which is obtusely pointed, is of the same date and still retains a degree of Romanesque character in its mouldings. Above it the Romanesque string-course continued from the band of the lantern piers terminates, and an Early English one begins, the point of change being marked by a bunch of foliage as in Romsey Abbey. From this point the fabrick must be called Early English, though traces may be seen of adaptation to the earlier work. Thus the piers are unbroken cylindrical columns of massive proportion, and though the abaci are round throughout, a slight Norman tinge may, I think, be still discerned in the scalloped moulding of the capital of the first pillar. And in the mouldings, though actually Early English, the orders of the arch are more distinctly marked than is usual in fully developed Gothick buildings. The responds at the West end are very elegant clusters, the inner order rising from a good corbel.



Base of Pier, Nave.



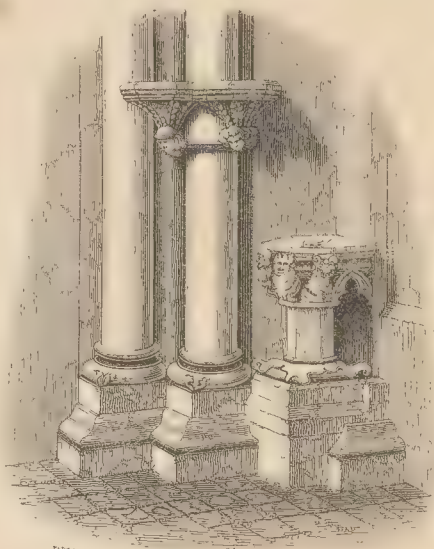
Bases and Foot Ornaments, Nave.

The Aisles in their windows and vaulting follow nearly the same course, except that the windows in the second bay are Romanesque; the third bay on the North side seems to have

vaulting contemporary with that of the Nave. This latter springs from corbels. The triforium below merely opens by an occasional arch.

The arrangements and fittings of the Church, though highly interesting, I must pass over cursorily, as having devoted so much space to those parts which illustrate the Transition. The stone skreens on each side of the High Altar are exceedingly curious and perplexing; as parts of the tabernacle-work seem to be broken off by the arch, they would almost appear to have been brought from some other part of the Church, and yet they do not seem to agree with any conceivable position elsewhere: from this and from the intermingling the details of several styles, they have been not improbably supposed to belong to the latest period of the art, when such mixture is often met with. The sites of altars may be seen also at the ends of the two Aisles of the Quire, and in the East wall of the South Transept, the latter, under a Transitional recess, very much resembling that of a Tomb. The encaustick tiles, the Piscina, the wooden Skreen-work, and especially the credence south of the Altar, are also well worthy of attention. The Quire is, as at Romsey, surrounded by a solid wall, but here it seems later, probably contemporary with the alteration of the columns. The Quire is fitted up with very curious cinque-cento stalls; on one of them among other names, is carved that of one of the Singing-Men with the date 1572, showing thus accidentally that the choral service and the provision made for its maintenance survived the spoliation which the Hospital underwent in the time of Henry VIII.

There are several ancient monumental remains; a Transitional niche occurs in the South Transept, and an Early Decorated one in the North Aisle of the Nave. There are also some good brasses; one in the Nave to John Campden, Master in the time of Wykeham, is the most remarkable. The Font



Piscina and brackets, North Aisle of Quire.

remains in the Nave, a Norman bason mounted on a later base, as at Dorchester Abbey Church.

The Church appears to have suffered very much as to its arrangements, by being made a place of parochial worship for the Parish of St. Faith; the arrangement of some of the stalls has been altered, and pews and other incumbrances introduced.

I may be allowed to mention in conclusion one thing which may appear at first sight of small moment; all the small openings intended to air the timber roof have been glazed, or otherwise filled up. The consequence is that the heat of the space above the vaulting is insupportable, and I should imagine that it must also be very detrimental to the timbers. It would be very desirable that this danger should be remedied at the first opportunity.

The domestick buildings of the Hospital are highly interesting and beautiful, but as, from their date and style, they throw no light on the chief object of the present enquiry, I shall not attempt more than a brief enumeration of their more remarkable features. They form three sides of a quadrangle, which is nearly completed by the Nave of the Church; some straggling buildings also extend to the exterior of the chief gateway, being themselves approached by a subordinate one. The Gate-House, situated in the North side of the square, is admirable; it is a massive square tower rising nobly above the high roofs on each side, and well supported by buttresses and by an octagonal turret in one corner which gives much character to the outline. The gateway itself is very good, having a well-moulded depressed arch, and externally rich spandrels. The other chief object of interest is the Hall, which has an excellent, though simple, timber roof of high pitch, and is well buttressed, with very graceful windows of two lights. The whole of the buildings group well with the Church, and add very much to its effect from whatever point it is viewed.

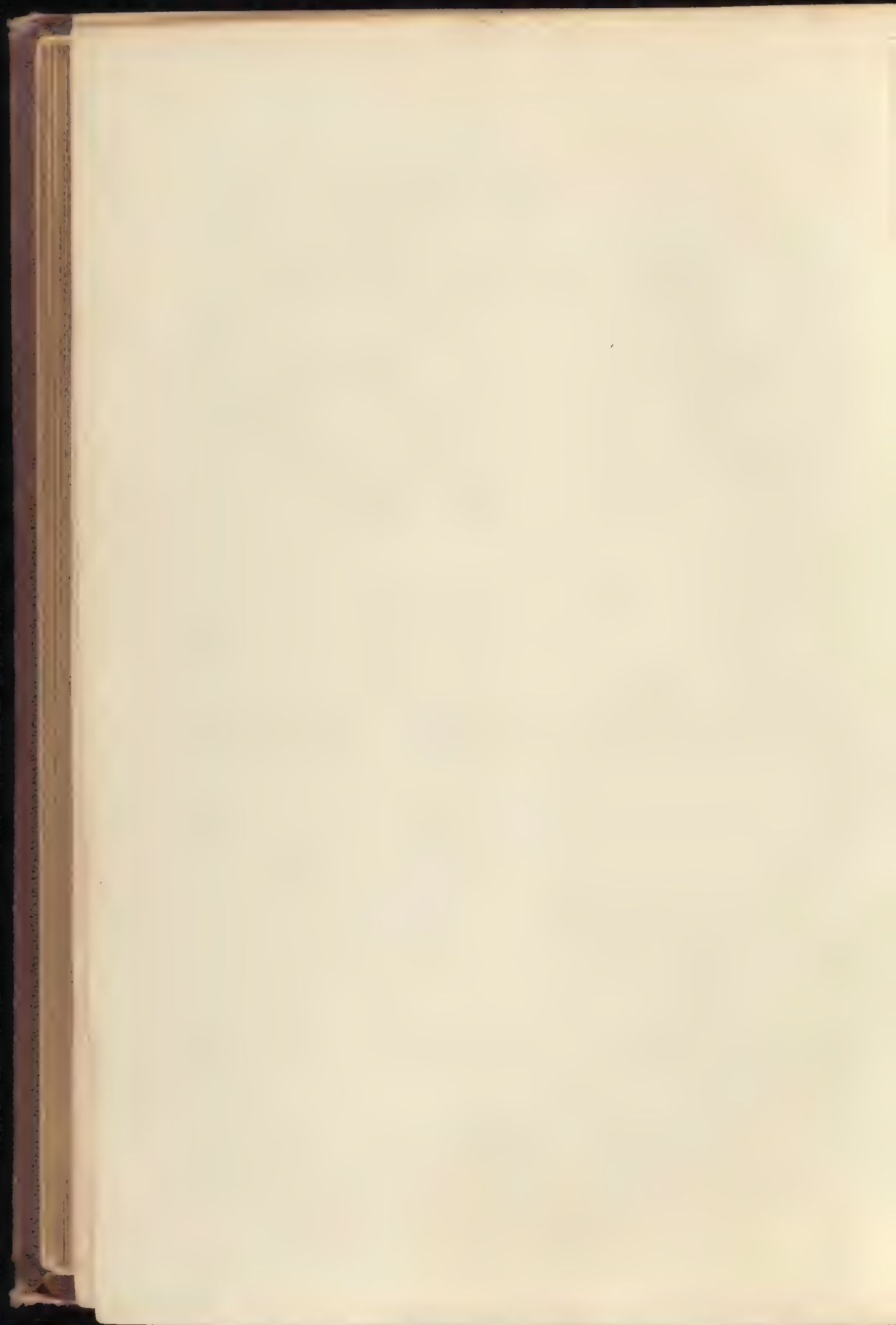
E. A. FREEMAN.

THE
ARCHITECTURE
AND
EARLY HISTORY
OF
WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.

BY
EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

COLCHESTER.

ESSEX AND WEST SUFFOLK GAZETTE OFFICE, HIGH STREET.



THE ARCHITECTURE AND EARLY HISTORY OF WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.

THE impressions conveyed by the first glimpse of Waltham Abbey will probably be found disappointing. The visitor who has heard of the building as one of the finest specimens of our national Romanesque, and as closely connected with some of the greatest events in English history, will find little in the first view of its exterior which he will think worthy of its reputation. Changes since its first erection, barbarous mutilations and hardly less barbarous additions, have entirely destroyed its character as seen from without. And even within, both mediæval alterations of the strangest kind, and the accumulated enormities of more recent days, have gone far to ruin the general effect of the original building. The nave of the Romanesque Church is all that remains ; the addition of a large Decorated chapel to the south, and of a Debased tower to the west, the destruction of the eastern portion of the church and of the whole conventual buildings, have between them converted the once splendid church of Waltham into a patched and mutilated fragment. Still a large portion of the original interior remains untouched ; an interior deserving attentive study, as one of the noblest specimens of northern Romanesque, and invested with a yet higher interest if we may regard it as called into being by the taste and bounty of the last of our native Kings.

The early history of Waltham Abbey presents to us two great questions. Is the existing building really the work of Harold? Was it really the burying-place of Harold?

Of these two questions the latter is a purely historical one, which we will for the present postpone. The former can only be answered by a very attentive comparison of architectural and of documentary evidence. That Harold built a church at Waltham is certain; and we may add that it is equally certain that a church built by him must have been in some form or other of Romanesque. We have, moreover, a church before our eyes whose style shows that it cannot be later than the twelfth century, but which, at first sight, we should hardly have referred to the eleventh. We have then two problems to solve: Will architectural evidence allow us to place the existing building so early as the days of Harold? Will documentary evidence allow us to imagine any subsequent re-building between the days of Harold and the conclusion of the twelfth century?

After most carefully weighing all the evidence of both kinds, after balancing difficulties on one side against difficulties on the other, I have come, though not without doubt and hesitation, to the conclusion that we must answer "Yes" to the former question, and "No" to the latter. That is, I believe that the balance of evidence inclines to the opinion that the Romanesque portions of the present church are really portions of the original church built by King Harold.

To set forth the case more clearly, I will, first of all, bring forward all the documentary evidence I can find which seems at all to bear upon the question; I will then describe the Romanesque portion of the building as it stands at present. We shall then be in a position to put the arguments, documentary and architectural, together, and to see to what conclusions we are led by their united force.

EARLY DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

The most detailed account which we have of the early history of Waltham is to be found in the two local histories first published by M. Francisque Michel, in the second volume of his "*Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*." They are headed respectively "*Vita Haroldi*," and "*De Inventione*

Sanctæ Crucis Walthamensis." I may seem to be propounding a sort of paradox when I say that I attribute very great authority on our present question to the former, while at the same time, in a historical point of view, I look upon it as a mere romance. A little consideration, however, will show that what may be a mere romance as regards the history of England may be of the highest value as regards the history of Waltham. It is a piece of local hagiography. Harold appears not merely as the patriot King and the munificent founder, but as becoming an actual saint. He escapes from Hastings, and leads a long life of piety and mortification. This of course is mere romance. The English would naturally, for a while, be unwilling to believe in the death of their hero. Rumours that Harold had escaped and would one day again appear to lead them, would be rife in the Camp of Refuge and within the walls of Exeter. Numberless parallels will at once occur. A tale then of Harold's escape would naturally arise. But, if Harold had escaped, why did he not join the patriot bands of Hereward and Waltheof? Why did not the Holy Rood of Waltham again resound as the battle-cry of another Senlac? Harold living, and not in arms against the invader, could be explained in no other way than that he had betaken himself to a life of penitence, that by prayer and scourge and fasting he was expiating the one sin of his life, his fatal oath to the Norman. In the first years of the Conquest the tale would be that Harold was again to appear in arms; as hope died away, it would gradually assume the form which we find in our Waltham legend. On such a form local piety would of course eagerly seize. It was something to be founded by the last native King; it was something greater to be founded by one enrolled in the higher rank of eremites and saints.

This of course is mere romance. No fact in history is better attested than that Harold died beneath his standard upon the Hill of Senlac. But the romance is a Waltham romance: it is written to extol the glories of Waltham and its founder. Such a legend would doubtless be scrupulously accurate on all local points. The local colouring and description would be carefully preserved. A Waltham author, writing mainly for Waltham readers, would not venture to depict Waltham as other than it really stood

before their eyes. While, therefore, I do not admit the "Vitæ Haroldi" as any evidence at all to prove that Harold really escaped from Senlac, I regard it as most important evidence on all points of local description and local history.

The book was written after 1205, in which year the author professes to have visited Rouen.* He therefore long survived the latest date to which the Romanesque work at Waltham could possibly be referred. His testimony is therefore of great importance as to the question whether any rebuilding took place between the days of Harold and the latest possible date for a Romanesque building.

The "Liber de Inventionē Sanctæ Crucis" is of earlier date. M. Michel, in his Preface, tells us that we learn from the work itself that the author was made Canon of Waltham by Adeliza, the second wife of Henry I. I do not find this in the book, but it is clear that he wrote about that time, and, as M. Michel has omitted several chapters at the beginning, the statement he quotes may probably be contained in one of them. Allowing for a few miraculous narratives, I see no reason why we may not accept this tract as authentic history. The writer gives a minute account of the history of Waltham down to his own time. He emphatically denies † the story of Harold's escape, and of his burial anywhere but at Waltham. This is of importance, as showing that the story of Harold's penitence at Chester is of early date.‡

The first origin of the Waltham foundation goes back, on the authority of the local narrative, to the days of Cnut. Harold, it appears, was not the first founder, but rather "an especial benefactor of the same." According to the "De Inventionē," a miraculous crucifix was found at a place called Montacute, and removed to Waltham. This is the

* He there saw the tree under which Harold was said to have sworn, and which had ever since lost its bark. His visit was 140 years after the event—"in anni circiter centesimi quadragesimi spacium," (p. 185.), which brings it to 1205. Ordericus Vitalis (p. 493 Duchesne) also makes Harold swear at Rouen; but, according to the Bayeux Tapestry and Wace (see Taylor's Wace, p. 85) he swore at Bayeux, while William of Poitiers (p. 19 Duchesne) lays the scene at Bonneville.

† Quicquid fabulatur homines quod in rupe manserit Doroberniæ, et nuper defunctus sepultus sit Cestriæ, pro certo quiescit Walthamiae.—p. 250.

‡ It is mentioned also by Giraldus Cambrensis (Itin. Camb. Lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 874: Camden). Æthelred of Riveaux (XScriptt. col. 394) also speaks of it doubtfully, without mentioning Chester. This last author is quoted by the writer of the "Vita Haroldi," p. 209.

Holy Rood of Waltham, which gave its name to the church, and which became the centre of the whole web of history and legend. The owner of the lordship was then one Thoni "le Prude,"* whom, I think, we may fairly identify with the courtier of Harthacnut, "Tovius Pruda cognomento,"† whose wedding-feast proved fatal to that jovial monarch. Florence of Worcester calls his Tovius "magnæ vir potentiæ," and our Waltham chronicler greatly extols the wealth, wisdom, piety, and court favour of his Thoni.‡ By his wisdom, he had acquired large possessions, in addition to his hereditary estate. But his son Æthelstan degenerated from his father's virtues, and lost a great part of his wealth, including Waltham. What Æthelstan lost, the Crown, by whatever means, gained, as we find Waltham a royal possession, granted by Eadward the Confessor to his brother-in-law. So says our local writer;§ so also says the more sure testimony of Eadward's charter confirming Harold's foundation.|| May I be allowed to suggest that this loss of property may have been connected with the opposition to the election of Eadward as King, which, if one may believe Malmesbury, brought ruin upon several persons?¶ This opposition seems to have been the work of a Danish party in the interest of Svend Estrithson,** in which the son of Thoni, who was doubtless of Danish descent, may well have been implicated.

Thoni made a foundation for two priests and other clerks. So says the "De Inventione."†† The same foundation is also mentioned by the biographer of Harold, but without introducing the name of Thoni. He speaks very contemptuously‡‡ both of the buildings and the revenues of his infant foundation. The writer of the "De Inventione"

* Chron. Anglo-Norm., ii. 224.

† Flor. Wig. A. 1042.

‡ "Amplas enim sibi conquisierat possessiones Thoni, præter hereditatem propriam, cum inditâ ei sapientiâ quâ præcipuus erat inter primos terræ, tum quia in consiliis Domini Regis primus prodesse poterat vel obesse quibus volebat, tum quia Domini Regis gratiam, qui multa ei de suo proprio contulerat, habere meruit. Sed degenerans a patris astutiâ et sapientiâ filius multa ex his perdidit et inter cetera Waltham."—p. 227.

§ Ibid.

|| Cod. Dipl. iv., 154.

¶ W. Malmsh., lib. ii., p. 297.

** See Archæological Journal, xi., 340.

†† "Presbyteros duos instituit cum reliquis clericis, Deo ministraturos in ecclesiâ."—p. 226.

‡‡ Custodiæ siquidem oratorii crucis adorandæ duo tantum clerici tam brevibus stipendiis quam tectis contenti humilibus videbantur inservire. p. 160.

speaks in quite a different tone.* He, of course, as a general historian of Waltham, was bound to magnify Thoni and Harold alike, while the special biographer of Harold would willingly sacrifice the reputation of Thoni to that of his own hero. This foundation of Thoni is also, I suppose, that mentioned in King Eadward's charter,† though I do not know enough of the local geography to be able to identify the position of Northland; and, certainly, there is something odd in the use of the word "antiquitus" as applied to so recent a foundation.

Thoni, then, being probably dead, and his son Æthelstan‡ not walking in his ways of wisdom, Harold, the son of Godwine, became the temporal lord of Waltham, and also its great ecclesiastical benefactor. He increased the numbers of the small foundation of Thoni, and built a church, which, in his own time at least, was looked upon with great admiration. His foundation, though vaguely called Monasterium in the Charter, was undoubtedly for secular priests. This is distinctly stated by all the writers who record the change in the foundation in 1177,|| as well as by our Waltham chroniclers. It does not seem quite clear whether the College consisted of a Dean and twelve Canons,§ or of twelve Canons, including the Dean.¶ Each Canon had his distinct Prebend. The first Dean was named Ulfwine (Wlwinus), and among the Canons, filling apparently some such office as Chancellor, was one Ailard, or Adelard, a German by birth. This is a fact well worthy of notice. It shows that though Harold and his family were such sturdy supporters of the national cause against Eadward's Norman favourites, yet the great Earl was quite capable of recognizing and rewarding merit in a

* "Non destitit toto tempore vitæ suæ eam auro et argento ornamentis quoque pretiosis indesinenter, ornare." p. 226.

† Primum concedens (Haroldus) ei (monasterio) terram quæ vocatur Northlande, unde ecclesiam villæ antiquitus dotatam invenit.

‡ This Æthelstan, the writer tells us, was "pater Esegari, qui stalre inventus est in Angliæ conquisitione a Normannis." Esgar Staller appears in Domesday as holding lands T. R. E.; but another "Stallere" of King Harold, Eadnoth, appears in the Saxon Chronicle, A. 1067.

|| Hoveden, Scriptt. p. Bed. 320. Rad. de Dic. col. 596. Rog. de Wend. ii.; 387.

§ Duobus igitur prædictis clericis quos instituerat Thoni le Prude in ecclesiâ Walthamensi, vir ille strenuus comes Haraldus undecim sociavit alios viros. * * * * His autem duodecim clericis perhibetur comes ille Wlwinum decanum præficesse.—De Inv., 229.

¶ Binarius clericorum numerus, scilicet infamis, in mysticum senatûs apostolici duodenarium convalescet.—Vit. Har., 161.

stranger. This Adelard, according to the "De Inventionem,"* was a native of Liege, who had studied at Utrecht. He seems, by the favour of his own Sovereign, to have wrought a reform in many churches in his own country, and, on the strength of this reputation, Harold selected him to legislate for the new society at Waltham. The "Rex Theutonicorum," under whom he acted in Germany, must have been Henry III., as Henry IV. was not, at the date of the foundation of Waltham, either of an age or a disposition to figure as an ecclesiastical reformer. It is odd, however, that, in this case, the writer should not have allowed him his title of Emperor. It is not an unnatural conjecture that this Adelard may have come to England in the train of the Ætheling Eadward, in 1057. The biographer of Harold has a much more marvellous story.† The Earl, after his Welsh campaign, was smitten with a "paralysis" which King Eadward's court physicians could not cure. The report of his illness reached the ears of the Emperor in Germany, who, as a friend and kinsman of King Eadward, sends his own physician to undertake the healing of his favourite and brother-in-law. This physician is no other than this same Adelard, or Ailard, who, in this version of the story, is converted from a "soul-curer" into a "body-curer." He figures, however, as a modest and devout personage. Harold's disease is beyond his skill also, and he recommends an application to the Holy Rood of Waltham. By its means, of course, the paralysis is soon got rid of, and Harold is restored in good health to King Eadward and the English people. In sign of his gratitude, he enlarges the old foundation of Waltham, and appoints Ailard to the management of its educational department.‡

All this is mere legend, and might be rejected, on purely chronological grounds, by the most devout believer in the virtues of Waltham's Holy Rood. The Welsh wars in which, according to our biographer, Wales was "subacta, immo ad interuicium per Haroldum pene deleta"§ must

* p. 229.

† p. 156 et seqq.

‡ Scholas ibidem institui sub regimine magistri Ailardi * * * satagebat. p. 161.

§ p. 155.

mean the final campaign of 1063. But then, as we shall presently show, Waltham was already founded. The sovereign, again, who sends Ailard is called "*Alemanorum Imperator, qui Regi Anglorum affinitate proximus, dilectione et amicitia erat conjunctissimus.*"* Now in 1063 there was, in strictness, no Emperor of the West reigning; and, though the chronicler might easily have carelessly applied the title of "Imperator" to a mere King, yet it is clear that the description given in no wise answers to the boyhood of Henry IV. The writer evidently means Henry III., who had some diplomatic intercourse with Eadward, and whose kinswoman Agatha had married Eadward's nephew Eadward Ætheling, though the amount both of friendship and affinity is strangely exaggerated. But Henry III. died in 1056,† long before Harold's great Welsh campaign. The tale is evidently a myth, a strange perversion of the probably real relation of Ailard both to the Emperor and to Harold, which we find in the other narrative.

I know not on what authority it is that Mr. Poole, in his "*History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*,"‡ tells us that Eadward granted his lands at Waltham to Harold "on condition" of his founding a monastery there. I can find nothing of the sort, either in the Waltham books or in Eadward's own charter. The foundation of the College is everywhere described as the spontaneous act of the great Earl's own piety and munificence; qualities for which he had a high reputation at Waltham, whatever might be the opinion at Wells. The society was well endowed with lands, and the church richly stocked with precious ornaments. The identification of the former I must leave to the local antiquary; that of the latter I fear that the Norman and the Tudor have between them rendered impossible. It is only with the fabric of the Church itself that I am at all concerned.

That Harold built a church for his new foundation is certain. The words of the charter "*Monasterium ad laudem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et sanctæ Crucis*

* p. 157.

† *Herm. Contr. in anno. Struvii Scriptt. Germ.*, p. 298. Otto Fris., lib. vi., c. 33. *Chron. Sax. in anno*, where he is called Cona.

‡ p. 91.

construxit," would not alone be absolutely conclusive, as they *might* only imply the addition of collegiate buildings to an existing church. But this construction would seem rather forced, and the two Waltham chroniclers leave no doubt on the subject. Their descriptions are so important that I must quote them at length.

The biographer of Harold says:—

"At vir magnificus locum et loci cultum omnimodis cupiens cum suis cultoribus sublimare, novam ibi basilicam fabricare * * * proponit. * * * Nec paulo segnius quod mente conceperat rerum pergebat effectibus parturire. Jaciuntur festinato ecclesiæ amplioris fundamenta, surgunt parietes, columnæ sublimes distantes ab invicem, parietes arcuum aut testudinum emicidiis * mutuis fœderantur, culmen impositum aeris ab introgressis plumbei objective laminis variam secludit intemperiem."†

This is not very easy to construe, but at any rate it shows that Harold built a church with pillars and arches. The earlier writer of the "De Inventione" is still more explicit:

"Venusto enim admodum opere, ecclesiam a fundamentis constructam, laminis æreis, auro undique superducto, capita columnarum et vases flexurasque arcuum ornare fecit mira distinctione."‡

The author then proceeds to describe the splendid furniture of the building, and adds that when Harold had built the church—"Quam cum construxisset ecclesiam, miro tabulatu et latomorum studio diligenter fabricatam;"§ he provided for its consecration. This ceremony the writer describes in detail, with a list of all the temporal and spiritual dignitaries present, which may enable us to fix an approximate date, though there are some difficulties about it. And in looking through this matter, I have to return my thanks to two authors of the same name and the same tastes, though with an interval of several centuries between them, Thomas Stubbs the Dominican, the biographer of the Archbishops of York, and my learned friend Mr. William Stubbs of Trinity College, whose "Episcopal Succession in England" has

* "Hemicydiis" ?

† p. 161.

‡ 232

§ 234.

just been given to the world. The church was consecrated by Kinsige, whom the author calls Ginsi, Archbishop of York, "quia tunc vacabat sedes Cantuariæ." This probably means because Stigand was not looked upon as a canonical Archbishop, which was the reason* why St. Wulfstan was consecrated by Kinsige's successor, Ealdred, and also doubtless why, on Harold's election as King, the ceremony of his regal consecration was performed by the same prelate.† Now Kinsige died in December 1060,‡ which fixes the consecration of Waltham Church to that year at the latest. The Earls mentioned as present are Harold's own brothers Tostig, Gyrth, and Leofwine, and Ælfgar of Mercia. Among inferior dignitaries we are glad to recognize Esegar,§ the descendant of the former lord of the place, who must have looked on the ceremony with mingled feelings. But the mention of Earl Ælfgar is important. Had Harold's own family alone been present, we should have lost part of our evidence. But here we have Ælfgar, the head of the rival house, which shows that Harold wished to gather together all the chiefs of Church and State, and which also enables us to fix the date to some time later than the death of Ælfgar's father, Leofric. That event took place in 1057,|| which fixes our Waltham ceremony to the years 1057-60. The Bishops enumerated allow us to come a little nearer. The writer gives their names, but says he cannot remember their several sees,¶ which is prudent, as in the only one which he does mention, he makes a mistake. By Mr. Stubbs' help I make out the list thus:—Herman of Exeter, (consecrated 1045), Leofric of Exeter (1046), Æthelmar of Elmham (1047), Norman William of London (1051), Wulfwi of Dorchester (1053), Leofwine of Coventry (1053), Æthelwine of Durham (1056), Æthelric of Selsey (1058). There is also a Bishop "Ailnothus" or Æthelnoth, whom I cannot identify. Thus far all would be quite plain, and we should be inclined to fix the date in 1059;

* Flor. Wig., Anno 1062.

† Flor. Wig., Anno 1066.

‡ Do. 1060, T. Stubbs, col. 1700. W. Stubbs, p. 20.

§ Esegarus regiae procurator aulae, qui et Anglicè dictus *Stallere*, i.e., Regni vexillifer.—De Inv., 234.

|| Chron. Sax. in anno.

¶ Sedium eorum discretionem non mente tenemus, p. 234.

but unluckily two more Prelates, both foreigners by the way, are added, who serve only to perplex our chronology. These are Gisa, whom our author calls "Cirecestrensis," but who was really Bishop of Wells.* Now Walter and Gisa were only consecrated at Rome, after the death of Archbishop Kinsige, in 1061.† Gisa seems indeed to have been nominated to his Bishoprick in 1060, while Kinsige was still alive,‡ but Walter only succeeded to Hereford on the promotion of Ealdred, Kinsige's successor.§ It is therefore impossible that Walter and Gisa could have been present as Bishops, or Walter even as a Bishop elect, at any ceremony performed by Kinsige. But Walter was Chaplain to King Eadward and Gisa to Queen Eadgyth,|| both of whom were present.¶ They would therefore naturally be present also, and their promotion to Bishopricks so soon after might easily cause them to be carelessly added to the list of those who were actually present as Bishops.

We may therefore, I think, fairly fix the date of the consecration of Harold's church to the year 1059 or 1060. The confirmation charter bears date 1062. It is signed by all the Bishops mentioned as present at the consecration, as also by the Archbishops Stigand and Ealdred, and by Ælfwold, Bishop of Sherborne,** whose name should therefore probably be substituted for the mysterious Æthelnoth in the other list. Among the secular dignitaries Ælfgar signs and so does Esegar. Harold himself uses the very practical form, "Ego Haroldus Comes *operando consolido.*"

Harold then built a church; but that fact of course does not prove that the existing church is of his building, as his erection might have been replaced by another. But the present church, by all the laws of architectural science, cannot possibly be later than the twelfth century. If Harold's church was replaced by another, it must of course have been during that period, and the time when we should most naturally look for such a change

* Chron. Sax., A. 1060.

† Flor. Wig., A. 1061

‡ I infer this from the arrangement in Florence, A. 1060.

§ T. Stubbs, col. 1701.

|| Flor. Wig., A. 1060.

¶ De Inv., p. 233, et seqq.

** Mr. W. Stubbs (p. 20) kills Ælfwold in 1058. This must be on the authority of a legend in William of Malmesbury (De Gest. Pont. lib. ii.; Scriptt. post Bed., p. 142), but it is clear from the charter that he was living in 1062.

would be when Henry II. entirely re-modelled the foundation, substituting Monks for the secular Canons established by Harold. This was, as I have already said, in 1177.* But we may observe in passing that, if the architecture looks too much advanced for 1060, it does not look advanced enough for 1177. And neither of our authors hints at any re-building between the days of Harold and his own. The author of the "Vita", who, it will be remembered, wrote not earlier than 1205, does not drop a word implying that Harold's church, which he so elaborately describes, was other than the church which he had before his own eyes. He mentions the change of foundation under Henry II. as something which had happened within his own memory.† Moreover he is by no means disposed to depreciate the Angevin King, whom he may have persuaded himself into looking upon as an Englishman through his maternal grandmother. He applauds the change of foundation as a great reform; he tells us of buildings erected by Henry,‡ but hints not a word of a new church. Had so great a change taken place under his own eyes, he could hardly have failed to record it. For the addition of domestic buildings by Henry II. would be absolutely necessary and might be taken for granted. The dormitory, refectory, and many other portions of a monastic establishment would not have been wanted while the church was in the hands of secular Canons, and would now have to be added for the first time. We might therefore have assumed that "Henricus officinis regularibus venustissime decoravit;§ but the author who recorded that fact would hardly have omitted the far more important one of the re-building of the church, had such an event taken place in his own lifetime. Similarly the || silence of the author "De

* See above, p. 6.

† Statum vero ecclesiæ Walthamensis per divæ recordationis Regem Henricum secundum in optimum nostris modo temporibus gradum videmus reformatum. p. 164.

‡ Since my last visit to Waltham, some discoveries have been made of remains of conventual buildings, including some elegant vaulting shafts and capitals, which might well be of the time of Henry II., and form a marked contrast to the Romanesque of the nave.

§ p. 165.

|| One difficult passage in the De Inventionem does seem to imply some alteration in the church. Describing Harold's burial at Waltham, the writer says, "Cujus corporis translationi, quum sic se habebat status ecclesiæ fabricandi vel devotio fratrum reverentiam corpori exhibentium, nunc extreme memini me tertio affuisse."

This is anything but clear; it probably refers to some small change required by the erection of the tomb, which, as the tomb was near the high altar, could not affect the the nave, with which we are now concerned.

Invention" may be taken as evidence that no such re-building took place during the earlier period coming within his memory.

We know then from documentary evidence that Harold built a church at Waltham; we have no documentary evidence to show that his church was re-built, we have indeed strong negative evidence to the contrary. We will now turn from documentary to architectural evidence, and see what we have actually standing on the spot which could possibly be attributed to the age either of Harold or of Henry II.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH.

The present church consists of the nave of the original Romanesque building, of which the choir, transepts, and central tower have been destroyed. A large chapel was added to the south side in the fourteenth century, and a western tower in the sixteenth. These, together with some smaller alterations, we will pass by for the present, and confine ourselves to the consideration of the original building.

This was a Norman cruciform church, with at least preparations for three towers, though the two western ones were probably never completed. The nave is of moderate length and great proportionate height; the transept is short; the extent of the eastern limb could only be ascertained by excavations, and it is much to be desired that the process which has been so successfully carried out at Leominster, may be applied here also.

Interior of the Nave.—The nave consists of seven bays, its length is about 120 feet, its width from the centre of the pillars about 30; the height, to judge from the eye, I should say cannot be far off 60. Exclusive of the western bay on each side, which, as I hope presently to show, were designed to open into towers, the remaining six form a system of three pairs, each pair being divided by a pilaster and attached shaft set in front of the pier and running up the full height. The subordinate bays are merely divided by a shaft corbelled off at the base of the triforium, leaving the pier free. In minutely examining the

building, it will be observed that, while the general design and proportion is the same throughout the whole nave, some slight differences of detail may be observed in the different bays; such slight differences, I mean, as the presence or absence of a billet in a label, as the form—round, octagonal, or clustered—of a decorative shaft, or again whether the centre arch of the clerestory triplet springs from the same shaft as the side ones, or from a smaller one placed upon its capital. Did these mark any increase in ornament or finish—or indeed the reverse—from east to west, one might attribute the diversity to the gradual erection of so large a building; but nothing systematic of this sort can be recognized, further than that the two bays in a pair mostly agree together. The eastern pair, for instance, have a plainer triforium and a richer clerestory than that adjoining them. The differences may probably be attributed to the different workmen employed on different portions, one general design being enjoined throughout, but considerable scope being given for the exercise of private judgement in smaller points of detail.

The piers are of the distinctively English form, vast round masses, but making a somewhat nearer approach to columnar character than those at Leominster, Malmesbury, Southwell, and elsewhere. They are conspicuously higher in proportion than those examples, and, instead of a mere round impost, they are furnished with a genuine capital, with a square abacus broken into four. The pilasters of the alternate bays are attached to their faces, without any further interruption. The central pier of the two eastern pairs on each side is enriched with what may be called fluting, the lines in the eastern pair being twisted, while those in the western are of a zig-zag form. In this respect, as well as in their height, which rises above the ordinary proportions, without attaining the extravagant elevation of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, these piers may be compared to those of Durham Cathedral. The arches themselves are of two orders; they preserve the square section in its purity, but admit a small amount of surface moulding, in the form of a plain chevron on the outer order (which looks quite as if it had been worked with the axe) and a somewhat richer one on the inner order and its soffit. In the second arch from the east on the south side

the inner order towards the aisle is set on a slope, which however seems a later alteration, as the upper part of the column has also been converted into an octagonal form.

The triforium is well and boldly developed, but the height of the piers precludes it from possessing the full importance which it does in some other Norman examples, as, for instance in St. Bartholomew's in London. It consists of a single bold arch, with a vast broad soffit, and a small bead on the angle, the only deviation from the purity of the square section. Its single order is channelled with a light chevron, and in most of the bays there is a billet in the label. It rises from small shafts, a central one being attached to the inner soffit; this must have been purely decorative, as the arch seems never to have been divided, like Southwell or the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen.

The clerestory follows the ordinary Norman arrangement, a triplet of arches, of which the taller central one forms the rear-arch of the window, while the smaller ones open into the usual passages in the wall. The chevron occurs here also in a rather richer form, more approximating to the later style.

The whole elevation is peculiarly well managed and effective, and it indeed comes very near to realizing the perfection of the Romanesque ideal. The want of reality in its sham triforium may be considered as a fault, but it does not affect the general character, unless in the bareness which it shares with all triforia not subdivided by smaller arches. The horizontal and vertical lines are kept in such a mutual check that neither is allowed to interfere with the genuine expression of mere rest and solidity. In point of ornament it occupies a mean between the utter plainness of Leominster and the lavish gorgeousness of St. David's. In the former the lack of ornament, with which the round-arched construction, and that alone, can afford entirely to dispense, is not to be imputed as a fault, but Waltham far exceeds it in harmonious composition, Leominster being too horizontal and hardly marking the division into bays at all. St. David's is, in fact, except in the use of the round arch, almost as much Gothic as Romanesque, but it is instructive to mark the utter contrast between two buildings employing the same architectural construction. Indeed, as a pure

specimen of Romanesque, with all its small amount of enrichment confined to surface ornament, Waltham is more valuable even than the later and grander naves of Ely and Peterborough, where the mouldings approximate somewhat more to the next style.

The Aisles.—The aisles are of the full height of the two lower stages, so that the triforium, effective as it is in appearance, must be considered as, in point of fact, somewhat of a sham. The arrangement is somewhat the same at Leominster; but there the triforium range is simply blank, the arches never having gone through the wall, while here we have two ranges of open arches, the effect of which, when viewed from some height above the ground (a process for which the too numerous galleries afford excellent opportunities), is very singular and striking. The view in the aisle itself is still more remarkably so, and is very far from easy to describe; the back of the triforium arch rises from a sort of enormous stilt placed upon the pier, while the pier-arch itself is merely recessed as a secondary order in a sort of bridge across it. It rather recalls the arrangement in Oxford Cathedral and in some parts of Romsey Abbey. The aisles have certainly never been vaulted; indeed any intention of vaulting could never have been carried out consistently with the existing and evidently original arrangements. Shafts are attached to the back of all the piers, except those in the eastern pair; they were probably designed to carry large arches spanning the aisles, a substitute for vaulting occasionally found. They exist at Towyn, in Merionethshire, and evidently did exist in the better known church of St. Peter, Northampton.

The north aisle is conspicuously narrower than the south.

Western Towers.—I said that the Norman church was probably designed to have three towers, but that possibly the two western ones were never finished. My evidence for this belief is grounded on the appearances presented, both within and without, by the seventh bay to the west, which remains independent of the arrangement of the bays into three pairs. Within, the pier which separates it is far wider than any other, even of

the principal piers ; in like manner, in the south aisle this point is marked externally by a larger pilaster than any in the range, a double one, in fact, just calculated to be the commencement of the flat angle-turrets of a Norman tower. Neither here nor in the clerestory is there any sign of there ever having been a window in this bay, but in the clerestory palpable breaks and changes in the thickness of the masonry appear without, as if something had been destroyed or left unfinished. The arches across the aisle, I grant, do not exist ; on the south side the wall seems to have been altered, and indeed thinned, during the Decorated repairs which we shall have afterwards to describe, but on the north there may be discerned against the pier a preparation for something much more than the ordinary buttress-arch across the aisle ; and though the shafts or pilasters against the aisle wall do not exist, there are certain signs in the arrangement of the strings, which look like preparations for their reception. A modern monument interferes just at this point, but the Norman string reappears to the west of it at a point much lower than that continued from the abacus of the windows and exactly ranging with that of the respond attached to the pier opposite. The removal of the arches themselves was a process most likely to occur in one of the changes which we shall presently have to recount. On the whole I feel very little doubt that the Norman church at Waltham was at least designed to be furnished with western towers, though they have left even smaller traces behind them than the eastern pair which I flatter myself that I discovered to have formed a part of the Early English design at Llandaff.*

Exterior of Nave and Aisles.—The Norman arrangements of the exterior survive only in a very fragmentary state. In the clerestory the windows are ranged between flat pilasters supporting a corbel-table. They exhibit the same sort of minute differences which are observable in the internal architecture. In the north aisle, what with later alterations, still later plastering, and the overgrowth of bushes and ivy, but little can be made out beyond a few fragments of internal strings, sufficient

* See Llandaff Cathedral, p. 66.

however to fix the height of that which ran below the windows, and of that from which the abaci of their jamb-shafts were continued. On the south side more extensive traces remain; we can here discern the Norman masonry, which is very good, far better indeed than that of the later styles in this very church. The whole elevation of two bays remains perfect, and a third very important one is comparatively untouched. The arrangement was the usual one of round-headed windows between flat pilasters: the windows are remarkable for their very small internal splay; they have jamb-shafts, and a chevron and bead in the arch like those in the triforium. There is also a chevron on the external strings. The middle bay on the south side was occupied by a Norman doorway, now concealed and partly destroyed by an ugly modern porch. This is one of the most remarkable features of the church, as its size and proportions widely differ from what we are accustomed to elsewhere. It must in fact have been a most stately and magnificent portal, its height very nearly equalling that of the pier-arches. Within it is of three orders, of which the central one has a double chevron, while the inner and outer ones are left quite plain; externally the arch is obliterated, and the jamb-shafts, which evidently existed, are quite destroyed; there are traces of some smaller ones of scarcely any projection attached to the soffit, slightly resembling some of the Welsh and Irish doorways.

Choir, Transepts, &c.—Of the destroyed portion of the church there remain only the western arch of the lantern—which remains perfect, though blocked—the respond and springing of the northern arch, and the greater part of the west wall of the north transept. The preservation of this last, even in its present shattered state, is clearly owing to the chapel erected to the west of it being parochial property, which was therefore spared at the Dissolution. This very wall shows us that the destroyers carried off nearly every particle of stone they possibly could without interfering with the portion of the church which was allowed to survive.

The lantern arches are very bold and noble features, and are remarkable for a greater degree of ornament

than we usually find in such portions of so great a church. The rule that more ornament is generally found in small than in large Romanesque churches especially applies to lantern arches. Probably no cathedral or abbey can present anything at all comparable to the two arches under the tower at Iffley or to the western arch of St. Peter's, Northampton. This at Waltham is of course very far from rivalling those gorgeous examples, but it still affords a conspicuous contrast to the extreme plainness of Leominster or even of Malmesbury. In this respect Waltham makes a slight approximation to the church which in most respects is its exact opposite, St. David's. Like that and Malmesbury, the arch rises from shafts instead of the flat pilasters of Leominster or the corbels of St. Bartholomew's. As a small portion of the northern arch does exist, one is tempted to regret that it does not remain in its full perfection, like the magnificent fragment which greets the eye on approaching the glorious Abbey of Malmesbury.

The transept was short, projecting only one bay, though that rather a long one, beyond the aisle. It had no western aisle, and apparently followed the usual arrangement of three ranges of windows corresponding with the arcade, triforium, and clerestory. Owing to the existence of the great southern chapel, the destruction has been far less complete on that side than on the north. On the north, nothing remains except the southern jamb of the arch between the aisles and transept, the wall having been rebuilt, and an inserted lancet window, apparently taken from some other part of the church. On the south side the arch itself remains perfect, blocked only with brickwork, seemingly at a more recent date. This is a very important fragment. It is of more finished workmanship, and has mouldings far more decidedly affecting the section than any other portion of the church. The blank arch over it ranging with the triforium has indeed the common square section and chevron, but the masonry between them is of unusually fine ashlar, and the string of greater richness. The window also which remains in the lowest range of the transept, though preserving the same proportions as those in the aisle, together with their distinctive lack of splay, presents

the same advanced character in its jamb mouldings as the arch between the aisle and the transept.

We have now to put together our combined documentary and architectural evidence. We have seen that the documentary evidence alone is all but decisive in favour of the church at present existing being that built by Harold. In a somewhat minute account of the fortunes of the foundation, we find not a word implying, hardly a word allowing the possibility, that the church raised by Harold was other than the church which the writers had before their eyes. They detail the wrongs inflicted on the society by the two first Norman Kings ; no one can attribute the re-building to their times. One author writes under the patronage of the Queen of Henry I. ; she was herself a benefactress to the College, but not a word do we find of her re-building, enlarging, or completing the work of Harold. The other writer extols Henry II. almost to a level with Harold himself ; he praises his reforms ; he mentions his addition of domestic buildings ; but nothing is said as to the fabric of the church. The biographer of Harold, in describing Harold's church, does not directly say that it was standing in 1205 ; but the reason clearly is that he takes it so certainly for granted that he does not think it necessary to make any direct assertion about it. In the face of all this, it would require some very strong architectural evidence indeed to establish the fact of a re-building at any date between 1066 and 1205.

Such evidence I confess I do not find. I see at Waltham an early Norman church, which one would doubtless at first sight place after the Conquest, but which I see no improbability, backed as we are by such strong historical arguments, in placing a few years before. Certainly most of the early Norman buildings which remain are much less ornamented than this of Waltham ; but the ornament at Waltham, though of a very effective kind, is still simple and almost rude ; everywhere, except a few details in the transepts, it is quite of the early Norman school ; there is something totally different from the elaboration of ornament, the almost elegance of detail, which might be expected in a building bearing

the date of 1177. Taking architectural evidence alone, it is, I certainly think, a lesser difficulty to attribute it to Harold than to attribute it to Henry II.

But, besides this, there is one feature in the detail of Waltham Church which certainly seems singularly to agree with the description given of that built by Harold. I have already* quoted the account of the church given by the writer "*De Inventione*," in which he mentions the pillars and arches being adorned with plates of gilt brass. Now one of the distinguishing details at Waltham is the peculiar fluting of the pillars, another is the chevron ornament on the arches. Both these are cut deep and with a sort of squareness quite unlike a common chevron. They are just the sort of thing to be filled up in the way which the writer may very possibly mean, and I have heard that more prying eyes than my own have actually seen traces of the fastenings. Here again we have another strong corroborative argument in favour of the identity of Harold's church with that now existing.

Against all this there is really nothing to set except an unwillingness to acknowledge that so grand a fabric could have been erected during the "Saxon period." Undoubtedly most of the few structures which still exist of an earlier date than the Conquest are far enough indeed from the architectural splendour of Waltham. And, no wonder; they are but mutilated fragments of obscure parish churches or of monasteries of the most insignificant kind, which doubtless owe their preservation to their very poverty and obscurity. No Old English cathedral or great abbey is in existence. But in truth there is here no question at all of "Anglo-Saxon" or "Norman" architecture. By whomsoever built, Waltham Abbey is undoubtedly a Norman building. Small as are the remains of our Anglo-Saxon buildings, there is enough to show that Anglo-Saxon and Norman are two distinct styles,† two separate branches of the great Romanesque family, two independent imitations of the common Roman models. As in most periods of transition, the old and the new style for a time

* See p. 12.

† See the Chapter on Anglo-Saxon Architecture, in my *History of Architecture*.

existed side by side. The Norman style, by far the richer and more advanced of the two, was employed in the great cathedrals and abbeys, while the Anglo-Saxon still lingered on in obscure parochial churches. Hence, to the confusion of the merely chronological antiquary, we find Norman buildings before, and Anglo-Saxon buildings after, the mystic year 1066. King Eadward, we are distinctly told by William of Malmesbury, built Westminster Abbey in a style of his own introduction, identical with that of William's own day.* Meanwhile, Earl Odda, though seemingly himself a Frenchman,† built the church of Deerhurst in the old style of the country. Later still, after the Conquest, the Danes of Lincoln, expelled by the Normans from the upper city, built the churches of St. Peter-at-Gowts and St. Mary-le-Wigford, in the old native style, while the Norman Cathedral was rising above their heads. That is to say, Eadward, in raising the church which was to be one great memorial of his reign, introduced the last improvements which he had seen or heard of in his own beloved Normandy. Earl Odda probably gave the nuns of Deerhurst a benefaction and let them build as they thought good, while the poor Lincoln emigrants were of course driven to build in a comparatively plain and simple manner. If we simply remember that Anglo-Saxon and Norman are two distinct forms of Romanesque, and that they were used simultaneously in England during a considerable portion of the eleventh century, every difficulty vanishes.

That Waltham was a church, in its own age and country, of unparalleled magnificence, is what we can readily believe. It is rather what we should naturally look for under the circumstances. Its founder was the first man in the kingdom. The Earl of the West-Saxons ruled over well nigh a third of England, including its greatest cities and some of its most fertile districts. From Kent to Cornwall Harold was virtually sovereign. As the prime favourite and chief minister of Eadward, he might almost pass for lieutenant

* "In eadem ecclesiâ die Theophaniæ sepultus est, quam ipse illo compositionis genere primus in Anglâ ædificaverat quod nunc pene cuncti sumptuosius æmulantur expensis." i. 385 Hist. Soc. Ed. See also Matthew Paris, A. 1066, who distinctly says, "novo compositionis genere."

† See Lappenberg ii., 251, note.

of the whole realm. His private wealth was enormous. He had at his call whatever the art of England or of Europe could supply. And stout-hearted Englishman as he was, Harold was not the man to look with envy on improvements introduced from other lands. He put a stranger from Liege into a high office in the government of his new foundation. He would not scruple to employ strangers from Rouen in the erection of its material fabric. If Harold chose to produce a building surpassing everything before seen in England, the means were in his power. And he had every reason to do so. He was the favourite of the English people, the candidate for the English crown. But he had to secure the favour of his weak and devout brother-in-law. He had to secure the favour of a priesthood which was at least less devoted to him than other classes of the nation. He had to atone for the real or imaginary crimes of his father; if not for the doubtful death of Ælfred, at any rate for the hydes of churchland which, as even the Chronicle witnesses,* Godwine had not scrupled to turn to his own use. He may even, if we trust the Norman Survey,† and the testimony of the stranger Gisa,‡ have had sins of his own of the like sort to wipe out. At any rate, nothing could be more likely to fix the affections of the King and the Clergy than the establishment of a wealthy and magnificent foundation, and the erection with unparalleled speed of a church of unparalleled splendour. Harold had every motive to make Waltham the very glory of England, second not even to his royal brother's fabric at Westminster. We cannot tell how far a politic munificence may have gone to win the dying bequest of the Confessor for Harold rather than for William or Eadgar, or how many priestly votes in the Witenagemot may have been given for the founder of Waltham which might have been refused to the conqueror of Gruffydd. In any case Waltham must have made a deep impression on the national mind. Its local worship became the worship of the English people. The Holy Rood of Waltham, the Rood in whose honour Harold

* A. 1053.

† See Ellis, Introduction to Domesday i. 313, ii. 142.

‡ See Can. Well. ap. Ang. Sax. i. 559. Also Gisa's own version in Hunter's Ecclesiastical Documents, 16, 17.

had reared his stately temple, the Rood which vouchsafed to him its supernatural warning* before he marched to meet the invader, became the rallying-point of England, the war-cry which she opposed to the "Ha Rou" and the "God help us" of her foes.

On the whole then I have little or no doubt that in the nave of Waltham Abbey we have a genuine portion of the great work of our last national prince. Of the extent or character of Harold's work to the east, and how far it may have survived till the Dissolution, we can speak only from conjecture. The analogy of other large Norman churches would lead us to expect a short eastern limb with an apse as the original arrangement; but it by no means follows that this arrangement remained undisturbed till the fall of the Abbey. The thirteenth century was the time when the insular custom of the square east end finally triumphed over the common apsidal tradition of Christendom. Numberless Norman choirs were rebuilt or marvellously transformed during its course; the bold curve of the old tribune everywhere gave way either to the single vast east window, the glory of Ely and Lincoln, or to the endless succession of small eastern chapels as at Westminster and St. Albans. Now it would have been hardly creditable for the monks of the still youthful Abbey to have done absolutely nothing during so remarkable a period of architectural change. Did they sit altogether still, praying in Harold's choir and dining in Henry's refectory, but leaving no sort of memorial of their own selves wrought by the hands of the craftsman? That they did nothing in the existing portion of the church, our own eyes suffice to tell us; but this renders it only the more likely that the thirteenth century was the time of considerable alterations in the eastern, the more strictly monastic, part.

We are thus led, almost by a chain of *à priori* evidence, to the fact recorded by Matthew Paris in the year 1242,† which so terribly puzzled good Thomas Fuller.‡

"Eodem anno, scilicet in crastino Sancti Michaelis, dedicata est ecclesia conventualis Canonicorum de Waltham,

* De Inventione, p. 245. Vita Haroldi, p. 191.

† P. 576, ed 1589.

‡ Fuller's Cambridge and Waltham Abbey, p. 279, ed. 1840.

ab Episcopo Norwicensi Willielmo, sollenniter valde, assistantibus aliis plurimis Episcopis, Prælatiis, et Magnatibus venerabilibus."

We are not to suppose, with Fuller, that the original church had stood well nigh two centuries undedicated, nor yet that the thirteenth century had begun to look upon the benediction of Kinsige as mythical or worn out by age. Some change had taken place in the eastern portion—in that which was more emphatically "*Ecclesia Conventualis Canonorum de Waltham*" — which had involved a change in the site of the high altar, and therefore a reconsecration of the church.

DECORATED CHANGES.

Of this change however changes more sweeping still have removed every trace. But between the days of Henry II. and of Henry VIII. other alterations took place at Waltham Abbey which have left very speaking witnesses behind them in the existing fabric. A complete remodelling of the whole nave was designed, and partly carried into effect, during the duration of the Decorated style. Had it been completed, the whole internal effect of the church would have been entirely altered. This most undesirable event was however happily averted, and the work of this period is now mainly to be traced in the more honourable form of two important and beautiful additions, which, it so happens, are, of those parts of the church which have not been utterly destroyed, precisely those which have suffered most from more recent changes. These are the west front and the south chapel.

South Chapel.—The chapel attached to the west side of the south transept I cannot but consider as having been originally an injudicious addition. It must have gone far to destroy that cruciform effect which depends so much upon the bold and solitary projection of the transepts, and it must have also destroyed the general effect of the aisle and clerestory ranges. Now that, by the loss of the eastern portion and the addition of the western tower, the church has assumed an altogether different outline, the case is widely different, and the building, with its high roof, is readily accepted as a picturesque adjunct to the main fabric. In itself it must have been a most beautiful

specimen of its style, but few ancient structures have been more sedulously disfigured. In its position we may compare it with the great southern addition at Leominster, which constitutes the present practical parish church, with the chapel between the porch and south transept at Wedmore, Somerset, and with the building which once stretched between the north porch and north transept at Romsey. It differs from the two first, and apparently agreed with the last, in ranging* continuously with the transept front, while the additions at Leominster and Wedmore project to the south of it. It was simply built up against the transept, blocking up its windows, and apparently without any communication with it, even so much as a doorway, while at Leominster there were at least doorways, and at Wedmore the chapel opens into the transept by a regular arcade. At Waltham, more than all, the addition was a mere chapel, while at Romsey and Leominster it constituted an important portion, if not the whole, of the parochial accommodation.

The architecture of the chapel seems more advanced than that of the west front; in its labels and some other of its details it almost begins to verge on Perpendicular. Its masonry exhibits flint and other materials in courses, so as to produce a polychromatic effect, but not developed into actual flint panelling. The building itself may be described as consisting of two bays, each of which is again subdivided into two smaller ones, in a manner analogous to the primary and secondary piers in the interior of the nave. The primary buttresses, with which ranges a diagonal one at the south-west angle, are of considerable projection, with pedimented set-offs and slopes; in their general effect they rather resemble some of the Early English ones at Lichfield and Stafford, but the difference is characteristic, the pediments here being formed by the heads of ogee niches which occupy the lower stages of each of the buttresses great and small. The secondary ones project very little, and in fact rise no higher than the string beneath the windows, the upper part being rather to be considered as the elongated shaft of the pinnacle running through the elaborate cornice of the chapel. Each

* It does project infinitesimally, but not so as to produce anything like the marked effect of the other two examples.

of the four bays contained a window, the jambs of which remain inside with light shafts and mouldings of later character than the Decorated of the west front. The windows themselves have given way, three to hideous square windows, the third to an external doorway. The whole is thoroughly modernized and disfigured within and without, the consequence, unnecessary as one might have thought it, of the building having been converted into a school.

At the west end, near the ground, is a pretty little Decorated window, now bricked up, enriched with three rows of ball-flower. It has externally very slender shafts with flowered capitals. Above it is a large square-headed window, above which rises a sham piece of wall, masking the west end of the chapel and blocking one of the pinnacles. The window has internally the rare and beautiful arrangement of a double plane of tracery.

The chapel is connected with the south aisle by a single broad arch, of poor and ordinary architecture, a sad contrast to the glorious Romanesque work of the nave. As the chapel stands on a crypt, which raises it considerably above the level of the aisle, this arch is a mere aperture in the wall, its responds not coming down to the ground, but having their bases and stopped chamfer at a considerable height. The crypt itself is a capacious one, of two wide bays of quadripartite vaulting, with small external windows and an external doorway.

West Front.—That most important feature of a great church, its western front, left unfinished, as it would seem, by the Norman architects, was brought to perfection by those of the Decorated period after a manner altogether different from the original design. The intention of building western towers was relinquished, and a front of some richness and elegance without towers was substituted. And though it has been ruthlessly smothered by the addition of the western tower, we can happily still make out its most important features.

The new front consisted of the terminations of the nave and aisles, with two turrets flanking the nave gable and two others the terminations of the aisles. The central portion has been almost entirely destroyed by the tower. The lower stage still retains, within the tower, a

magnificent western doorway. It somewhat resembles some of the Northamptonshire examples, as Raunds, Rushden, and Higham Ferrers, where the great portal is set in a sort of shallow porch, with little or no projection beyond the thickness of the wall. Here the space between the two, though vaulted as usual, is set on a slope, so as to make it more part of the jamb, and to identify the inner and outer openings more closely than where there is a genuine piece of wall, however short, between them. The outer opening has shafts with rich flowered capitals, the jamb is rich with ball-flower and other ornaments, and the whole is surrounded by a canopy with elaborate crockets and finials. On each side are the beginnings of carved work destroyed by the tower and the fragments of a rich basement. Pieces of diaper panelled work built up into various parts of the tower, attest the great magnificence of at least the central part of the composition. Of the upper portions, the great western window and whatever design may have occupied the gable, no trace whatever remains; an awkward Perpendicular insertion and some Norman fragments may be made out by ascending the belfry; but both from the analogy of the case, and from the string below the window, which still exists within, one can hardly doubt that some fine composition of Decorated tracery did really occupy the centre of the front. The turrets were polygonal, of an irregular form, and panelled in their upper portion; the lower seems to have had a square projection; at their finish we are left to guess.

The turrets terminating the aisles are more perfect. From two boldly projecting buttresses, pedimented and niched, rises an octagonal panelled turret, diminishing in stages, but whose upper portion is lost. The change from the square to the octagonal form is most ingeniously made by corbelling off the intermediate sides with foil arches, which the bases remaining below show to have acted as canopies for statues. The arches are of a peculiar cinquefoil form, the intermediate foils being extremely small. The whole composition of these turrets is excellent.

The termination of the aisle is carried up as a masking wall to some height above the roof, a clear violation of reality, if it was meant to continue so. But it has occurred to me that it may possibly have been designed

to raise the aisle walls throughout to this height, by extending this blank wall till it met the blank termination of the southern wall. Two circumstances fall in with this view. Two small circular windows, with a curious kind of foliation, approaching, but not entirely resembling, the spiked form, are inserted in the upper part of the aisle-terminations. These barely open into the present aisles, the roof hardly saving their rear-arches. One might easily imagine that a second row, perhaps of circular ones throughout, was intended to be added to the aisle. Such a range would of course, as indeed is sometimes the case, have entirely concealed the clerestory from external view. With this harmonizes the extreme external plainness of the alterations which, as we shall presently see, were made at this time in the clerestory, as if they were designed wholly for internal effect. On the other hand it should be mentioned that no signs of unfinished work appear on the east face of the masking wall; indeed the occurrence of a small buttress to the west of the turret looks the other way. These turrets are connected with those of the nave by a rich parapet, with two rows of foliated quatrefoils, the upper one of them pierced.

Below the circular window there is, on the south side, a two-light window and a doorway. The doorway is plain compared with the great western portal; having mere moulded jambs and a scroll for its label. The window has foil tracery of a curious description, exactly analogous to the round window and the peculiar foil arch used in the turrets; the use of the wave-moulding in the mullions and tracery gives it a great effect of heaviness. Within it has a segmental rear-arch rising from shafts. A similar window has been inserted, at a rather lower elevation, in the adjoining bay of the aisle, which, as I before said, appears to have had no Norman window. The Decorated architects do not seem to have meddled externally with the three remaining bays west of the added chapel, but on the north side they clearly inserted many windows, which have since been destroyed.

The termination of the north aisle has, strange to say, neither window nor doorway below the circular window in its upper portion. A large round turret, projecting

both within and without, and leading to the roof, prevents the existence of either. This turret finishes without below the circular window, and originally did so within, but the turret has been internally carried up in lath and plaster so as entirely to conceal the round window in an external view, whereas it was evidently meant to be visible from at least the eastern portions of the aisle. The turret itself is lighted with cross eylet holes.

We may remark that, as the western responds of the seventh arch have disappeared within, the Decorated front must have been built within the line of the Norman one, possibly to avoid its foundations.

Changes in the Nave.—A very important change was commenced in the interior of the nave some time during the duration of Gothic architecture, but in a manner so absolutely devoid of detail that, taken alone, it might be attributed to almost any stage, but general probability, the circumstance mentioned in the last paragraph, and another which will presently appear, combine to make it pretty certain that one of the most barbarous transmutations on record proceeded from the very same hands which added the west front and the southern chapel.

This was no other than a plan of converting the whole interior of the nave from a composition of three stages into one of two. It will be remembered that, from the height of the aisles and their want of vaulting, this would have been easily done in the original design, but it was quite another thing to cut away the Norman pier-arches, and convert those of the triforium into pointed ones. Even this would have been somewhat less offensive, had it been cloaked in any way with the shafts and other details of the new style; but no—all that was done was simply so to cut away and to point, leaving the original shafts attached to the masses of wall, those which had belonged to the pier-arches of course supporting nothing. So far from inserting mouldings of their own style, where they had to fill up a small part of the Norman pier-arch, they did it so as to bring the whole to the same straight square angle. The form of pier thus produced would have been a Norman column, with a stilt of its own height set on its capital, and with shafts attached to its upper portion supporting a plain segmental pointed arch of three chamfers.

Happily this bungling and barbarous business was very far from being brought to perfection. The two westernmost bays on each side were so treated throughout, and a third triforium arch on the north side was pointed, but the pier-arch was not cut away. The work may have stopped on account of the dangerous state to which it is clear that the alteration reduced one of the pier-arches on the north side, which seems to have been supported by props and cramps ever since. Or it may not be an excess of charity to suppose that the innovators became conscious of the hideousness of their own design, as they advanced to the further barbarism of thus maltreating a distinct column, instead of a mere mass of wall with attached shafts. Either motive has had the same desirable effect, that of sparing to us the remainder of this glorious nave in its integrity.

These changes were not the legitimate substitution—legitimate according to the feelings of mediæval builders—of good work in the fashionable style of the day for good work in one which had become antiquated. It was the deliberate mutilation of a pure, perfect, harmonious, and beautiful design, to produce one which could not fail to be lame, imperfect, incongruous, and hideous in the highest degree. Norman proportion was destroyed, and Gothic proportion not substituted; Norman ornaments were obliterated, and no Gothic ornaments supplied in their stead. In the clerestory windows this is still more conspicuous; all that was done was to substitute a perfectly plain pointed arch for a highly enriched round one. In the single western bay—that against the tower—where there was no window in the clerestory range, the innovators did venture to deviate a little from the utter baldness of the remainder. They here inserted a triforium-opening of two arches divided by a mullion. The wave-moulding of the jambs fixes the date, connects the whole of this barbarous bungling with the addition of the beautiful west front, and proclaims aloud that about the most tasteless and ill-advised proceeding that ever architect attempted, was not the work of the days when Gothic architecture still lagged on in imperfection under the hands of Poore and Northwold, not of the days when it

had become "base" and "detestable" in the nave of Winchester and the lantern of St. Ouen's, but that it was an achievement of the bright and palmy times of all, that it exhibited the taste and skill of "those early days of late Middle-Pointed," which, we are taught, possessed an almost exclusively monopoly of æsthetic and mechanical perfection.

LATER CHANGES.

In good Perpendicular times nothing of any consequence appears to have been done to the existing portion of the Church. A window or two in the north aisle appears to exhaust the whole work of this period. This does not however prove entire idleness on the part of the builders of that day. Much may probably have been done in the eastern portions now destroyed, in the adornment of those minor and sepulchral chapels, to which so much attention was ordinarily devoted at this time. Again, of the upper stages of the central tower, a portion frequently recast in Perpendicular times, we have no vestiges to attest whether the original Norman fabric retained its own massive stateliness till its entire destruction, or whether it was destined to give way to some lighter and more gorgeous erection which has left still fewer traces to record its existence. From any general remodelling of the nave, a process so unfortunately commenced at Gloucester, so successfully consummated at Winchester, the ill luck of their predecessors may well have kept back the architects of this period. In any case the next important fact which we have to record in the architectural history of Waltham Abbey brings us at once to the period when pure destruction began to be substituted for reconstruction in the case of our great ecclesiastical edifices.

The dissolution of the monastery vested that portion of the church which was the property of the conventual society, in the hands of the King and his grantees; the right of the parish to the nave of the church remaining of course unaffected. This is a subject on which I have already touched more than once in treating of other similar cases. At Waltham apparently no such benefactor arose as at Dorchester, Tewkesbury, and Romsey; the

lust of destruction was not even satisfied with mere dismantling, as at Howden and Monkton; a few cart-loads of stone proved temptation enough to ensure the entire demolition of a structure venerable alike as a glorious monument of ancient art, and as the creation and resting-place of the last of our truly national princes. The exact extent of this destruction I have already indicated; the choir, transepts, presbytery, and their adjuncts were levelled with the ground; the accidental presence of the added Decorated chapel alone preserved to us a small fragment of the south transept which doubtless would otherwise have perished.

Some short time afterwards an attempt was made to supply a small portion of this irreparable loss, which was doubtless prompted by the best intentions, but of which it is impossible to praise more than the intention. The central tower being the only one in the church, its destruction left the remaining portion of the building entirely deprived of a belfry. In the year 1556 this loss was in a manner counterbalanced by the erection of the existing western tower. Unhappily, instead of erecting a detached campanile, the new tower was built right against the splendid west front, entirely destroying its proportions, and ruthlessly smothering its enrichments, as is most conspicuously shown in the case of the arcade and canopy work on each side of the west doorway. The tower itself does not call for much comment, the more so, as its upper portion has been rebuilt in a still later style or absence of style. Where there is any original work, it is of course in the Debased Perpendicular of the day, but extensive fragments of earlier and better work have been used up again. Besides some beautiful pieces of panelling and diaper-work built up irregularly in the walls, two more important fragments remain. The doorway which now forms the outer western entrance must have been removed from some part of the destroyed eastern portion, and seems to agree better with the southern chapel than with the west front. It is of three orders, with very slender shafts with floriated capitals, and much rich floriated work in the jambs. The window above seems rather to belong to the west front, having

a more decided shaft. Its original tracery has not been preserved.

THE BURIAL OF HAROLD.

We have thus gone through both the history of the foundation and the architectural detail of the existing church, and the result has been, I trust, to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the Romanesque work still standing at Waltham is really the erection of the royal son of Godwine. The question now follows, is Waltham entitled to be looked upon as the burying-place of King Harold, as well as his building?

That Waltham always professed to be the burying-place of Harold, that a tomb called by his name was shown in the Abbey down to the Dissolution, and that fragments of it remained even when Fuller wrote his history, are facts which cannot be called in question. But whether the claim was a just one is open to a good deal of discussion. The statements of our original authorities are strangely contradictory.

First of all, the most truly English writers, those contemporary or nearly so, observe the same melancholy silence as on so many more important points. England and her King had fallen, and they cared not to dwell on the details of sorrow. Not a word as to Harold's burial is to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, not a word in our English-hearted Florence. The English biographer of Eadward, whose precious work has just been given to the world by the Master of the Rolls, does not even tell us in direct terms that Harold ever died or ever reigned; from him we ask in vain for the burying-place of the second Judas Maccabæus, the hero who in virtue both of body and mind excelled all men.* As the lips whose guidance we should unhesitatingly accept are thus closed against us, we are driven to put together the best account we can from the statements of hostile, later, and inferior writers. Among these we find three distinct and contradictory statements.

First, Harold escaped from Hastings, and died long after at Chester or elsewhere.

* *Virtute enim corporis et animi in populo præstabat ut alter Judas Machabæus,* p. 408.



*E. Lottler del.
Waltham Abbey*

Engraved by J. G. Smith, London

Carved Stone from Abbey ruins.

Second, He was buried on the sea-shore.

Third, He was buried at Waltham.

The first wretched fable we have already cast aside. Florence tells us the true tale, in words speaking straight from the heart of England's grief—"Heu, ipsemet cecidit crepusculi tempore." The son of Godwine died, as such King and hero should die, helm on head and battle-axe in hand, striking the last blow for his crown and people, with the Holy Rood of Waltham the last cry rising from his lips and ringing in his ears. Disabled by the Norman arrow, cut down by the Norman sword, he died beneath the standard of England, side by side with his brothers in blood and valour. What then was the fate of the lifeless relics which alone came into the power of the Conqueror?

The contemporary Norman evidence seems certainly in favour of the belief that Harold was buried on the sea-shore. William of Poitou thus tells the tale.

"Ipse carens omni decore quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra Ducis delatus, qui tumulandum eum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, non matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti. Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit."* Then follows a good deal of abuse of Harold.

The account of Ordericus Vitalis, † follows the statement of William of Poitou, and to some extent in the same words.

Exactly the same is the narrative of Bishop Guy of Amiens in the *Carmen de Bello Hastingsensi*.

Heraldi corpus collegit dilaceratum,
Collectum texit sindore purpureâ ;
Detulit et secum repetens sua castra marina,
Expleat ut solitas funeris exsequias.
Heraldi mater, nimio constricta dolore,
Misit adusque Ducem, postulat et precibus,
Orbatæ miseræ natis tribus, et viduatæ,
Pro tribus unius reddat ut ossa sibi ;

* Duchesne, p. 204.

† Ibid, p. 502.

Si placet, aut corpus puro præponderet auro.
 Sed Dux iratus prorsus utrumque negat :
 Jurans quod potius præsentis littora portus
 Illi committet aggere sub lapidum.
 Ergo velut fuerat testatus, rupis in alto,
 Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi,
 Extemplo quidam, partim Normannus et Anglus,
 Compater Heraldî, jussa libenter agit ;
 Corpus enim Regis cito sustulit et sepelivit,
 Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo.
 ' Per mandata Ducis, Rex hic, Heraldæ quiescis,
 Ut custos maneat litoris et pelagi.'*

It is certainly hard to escape this strong contemporary evidence, or to deny that Harold's body really was buried somewhere on the shore of Sussex. Yet the evidence for his burial at Waltham is by no means to be altogether cast aside.

William of Malmesbury distinctly asserts that Githa offered William a large sum for the body, that William gave it her without ransom and that she buried it at Waltham. †

Wace in the "Roman de Rou" ‡ says

Li Reis Heraut fu emportez,
 E à Varham fu enterrez,
 Maiz jo ne sai ki l'importa,
 Ne jo ne sai k' l'enterra.

Of the other Norman metrical writers, ¶ Benoit agrees with William of Poitou, the continuator of Wace's Brut, and the author of the "Estoire de Seint Ædward le Rei" agree with Malmesbury.

Of our two Waltham books, the "De Inventione" contains the well known tale which I need not tell again in detail, how the Waltham Canons, Osegod and Ailric went to watch the battle, how they begged the body, how William granted their prayer, how they found the disfigured corpse by the aid of Eadgyth Swanneshals, and gave it worthy sepulture at Waltham. || The biographer of Harold is driven to a very lame device indeed. He had to reconcile his beloved fiction of Harold's escape with the traditions of his Abbey which boasted

* Vv., 572-92.

† Lib. iii., § 247.

‡ V. 14,092.

¶ See Taylor's Wace, p. 302.

|| P. 246-50.

of Harold's tomb. He is therefore driven to suppose that Eadgyth found, and that the Chapter of Waltham buried—a wrong body, an intruding, supposititious carcase, which down to his own time had usurped the sepulchral honours of the Last of the Saxon Kings. Now this kind of stuff is simply abominable. It is neither history, nor romance, nor criticism, nor anything else, but simply a cock-and-bull story of the poorest kind.

To reconcile the details of the story in the "*De Inventione*" with the narrative of William of Poitou and the *Carmen* is quite impossible. The mission of Osegod and Ailric, and the intervention of Eadgyth, at once become mythical. Pure invention they probably are not, the story has that local and personal circumstantiality which seems to imply some groundwork of truth. Indeed the fact mentioned by William of Poitou, that Harold was "*quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus*," curiously enough agrees with the Waltham tale of Eadgyth. But that tale as a whole cannot stand; the search and discovery by Eadgyth and the two Canons clearly did not lead to an immediate burial at Waltham. But that Harold was, after all, really buried in his own Minster I am strongly inclined to believe. If he was not, how did the tale arise? A tomb of Harold was one which there was very little temptation to forge. Harold was not an acknowledged saint, whose burial-place would be a profitable place of pilgrimage. The only writer who shows any disposition to canonize him distinctly removes his sepulchre from Waltham. In the days of the Conquest any attempt of the kind would have been put down with a strong hand. When the tomb of Waltheof at Croyland became the scene of miracle and pilgrimage, the Conqueror acted as vigorously as the more recent French potentate—

"De par le Roi, defense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu."

An imaginary tomb of Harold could only have been set up from motives strongly tinged with political feeling, which would have at once kindled the wrath of the Norman government. In later times, when Norman fiction had had its own way, when Harold's name had been effectually branded as perjurer and usurper, such

a fabrication would have been still less likely. But we need not inquire into this, as Malmesbury shows that it was currently believed in the first half of the twelfth century that Harold was buried at Waltham. For I need not say that Malmesbury does not write in the interests of Waltham or of England. He is a thoroughly independent witness; so, I may add, are Wace and his brother minstrels. So early and so extensive a fabrication as their narratives would imply seems to me quite out of the question.

The most probable solution seems to be that Harold was first, by William's order, buried under a cairn—"aggere sub lapidum"—on the shore of Sussex, and was afterwards more solemnly interred in the Minster at Waltham. The original order fell in alike with the passion and with the policy of the Conqueror; it suited him to brand the perjurer, the excommunicate, the despiser of the holy relics, with every possible mark of ignominy. But a season did come when William might well be disposed to yield to gentler counsels. At the end of the year 1066 William seemed for a moment to be not merely *Rex Angliæ*, but *Rex Anglorum*. The greater part of the land was indeed still unconquered but he had received the submission of the leading men of every district, he had been acknowledged King, he had been crowned and anointed in the same temple and by the same hands as Harold himself. Moreover the incongruous nature of his position had not yet fully displayed itself. William, a man utterly relentless and unscrupulous, but by no means a lover of oppression for oppression's sake, seems at this time to have sincerely endeavoured to make his government as satisfactory as might be to his English subjects. It would fall in with his policy at this particular moment to yield to any petition from the fraternity at Waltham, and to allow the remains of the English hero to be removed from their ignoble South-Saxon resting-place to a more fitting abode within his own glorious Minster.

By this supposition we can pretty well account for all the reports. William of Poitou and Bishop Guy, narrating the fight of Senlac, record that burial of Harold which formed part of their story; a subsequent translation had no interest for them. The Waltham writers, on the other

hand, naturally dwell solely on that interment which formed part of their own local history. The cairn-burial they would naturally seek to slur over and throw out of memory. In a very short time it would be forgotten; the date of the funeral at Waltham would be shifted back two or three months, and would be held to have immediately succeeded the battle. Writers of the next generation, like Malmesbury, would naturally think most of that interment which had left a palpable witness before their own eyes, and would have no temptation to dwell on the hurried ceremony which immediately succeeded the battle.

From all this, as I have already said, it necessarily follows that the well-known tale in the "*De Inventione*," which has formed the groundwork of so much both of romance and art, cannot be accepted as a literal fact. But, as I before said, there is something about the story which certainly leads us to the belief that Osegod, Ailric, and Eadgyth, and the parts attributed to them, are not purely imaginary. They may, for instance, have found the body previously to the first hasty burial. And it does not seem likely that clerical biographers would go out of their way to invent an imaginary concubine for their hero. For the Eadgyth of the Waltham story is plainly Harold's concubine, though monastic delicacy is certainly a little puzzled to express the exact relation.* I mention this, because of an odd misconception which has arisen on this subject among some writers of reputation. Both Mr. Thorpe† and Dr. Bruce identify this Eadgyth with Eadgyth or Ealdgyth, the wife of Harold, daughter of Ælfgar, granddaughter of Leofric, widow of Gruffydd, and

* "Placuit * * * mulierem quam ante sumptum regimen Anglorum dilexerat, Editham cognomento Swanneshals, quod Gallicè sonat *Collum Cygni*, secum adducere; quæ domini Regis quandoque cubicularia, secretiora in eo signa noverat cæteris amplius." De Inv. p. 249.

"Quandam sagacis animi feminam nomine Editham, * * * hæc enim præ cæteris femina commodius videbatur, ad hoc destinanda quæ inter millia mortuorum illius quem inquirebat eo quoque facilius decerneret eo quod benevolentius tractaret exuvias, quo eum arctius amaverat et plenius noverat, utpote quam thalami ipsius secretis liberius interfuisse constaret." Vit. Har. p. 210.

For the "Cubicularia" of the Waltham writer, compare Sir John Maundevile, cap. ix.

"And Abraham hadde another sone Ysmael, that he gat upon Agar his Chambrere." Another concubine (or the same) of Harold's occurs in Domesday. See Ellis. i. 316, ii. 81.

† Lappenberg, ii. 302. Mr. Thorpe has corrected the error in the Addenda to the third volume.

sister of Eadwine and Morkere.* This they do on the supposed authority of Sir Henry Ellis. But Sir Henry Ellis† says nothing of the kind. He identifies Queen Ealdgyth with the *Eddeva Pulcra* of Domesday, but he in no way, but quite the contrary, identifies Queen Ealdgyth with the Eadgyth of the Waltham tale. The Eadgyth described in the Waltham books is most palpably not Harold's wife; and moreover Harold's wife was not there—she was sent to Chester by her brothers.‡ Any one however who is specially anxious for Harold's private character might easily infer from the words, "*quam ante sumptum Anglorum regimen dilexerat*," that the position of Eadgyth Swanneshals as "*cubicularia*" had come to an end on Harold's marriage with the daughter of Ælfgar.

To sum up the whole. We have, I hope, satisfactorily shown that Harold built a church at Waltham, that its nave forms the church now standing, and that the tomb which was shown as Harold's was really his, his body having been removed thither, probably about the time of William's coronation, from its original burying place on the shore near Hastings. As the only great church in England of so early date, as one so closely connected with the mightiest historical events, we may safely pronounce the combined historical and artistic interest of Waltham Abbey to be absolutely unique among English buildings. Long may it abide, with its disfigurements swept away, with its dangerous portions strengthened, with its fallen portions, if so be, rebuilt, but still left as a genuine monument of the eleventh century and not of the nineteenth, safe from that worse foe than Norman or Tudor or Puritan, from the ruthless and irreparable destruction of the "restorer."

* Bayeux Tapestry, p. 152.

† Introduction to Domesday, ii. 79.

‡ *Cujus [Haroldi] morte audita, Comites Edwinus et Morkarus, qui se cum suis certamini subtraxere, Lundoniam venere, et sororem suam Aldgitham Reginam sumptam ad Civitatem Legionum misere. Fl. Wig. a. 1066.*

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page 4, note ‡—for “XScriptt.” read “X Scriptt.”

Page 9, note *—for “hemicydiis” read “hemicycliis.” For this very ingenious correction of a manifestly corrupt passage I have to thank my friend, Mr. James Parker, of Oxford.

Page 12, note ‡.—In the Plan of the Abbey taken since my last visit to Waltham, the site of the building in which these capitals occur, is shown at some distance north-east from the Church. The building must have been one of those vaulted sub-structures which are found almost everywhere, under, very probably, the Abbot's house.

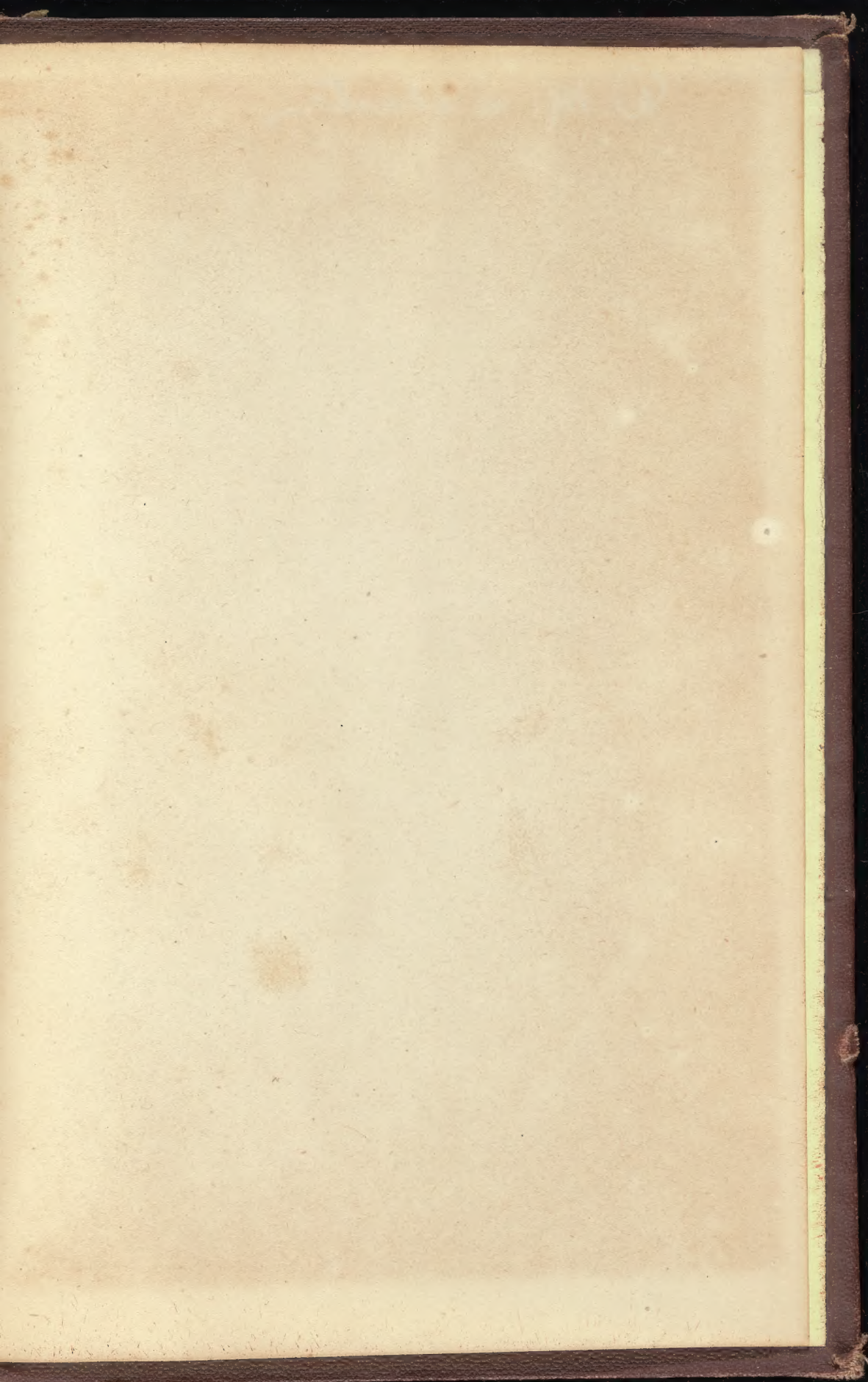
Page 18, line 10 from bottom—for “north transept” read “south transept.”

Page 24.—The Plan of the Abbey shows the eastern limb, with at least five bays, but the extreme east end seems not to have been found. The piers look in the Plan like a continuation of the Romanesque of the nave, but the sections of the nave piers and some other details are so indefinitely given, that I cannot build much upon this evidence.

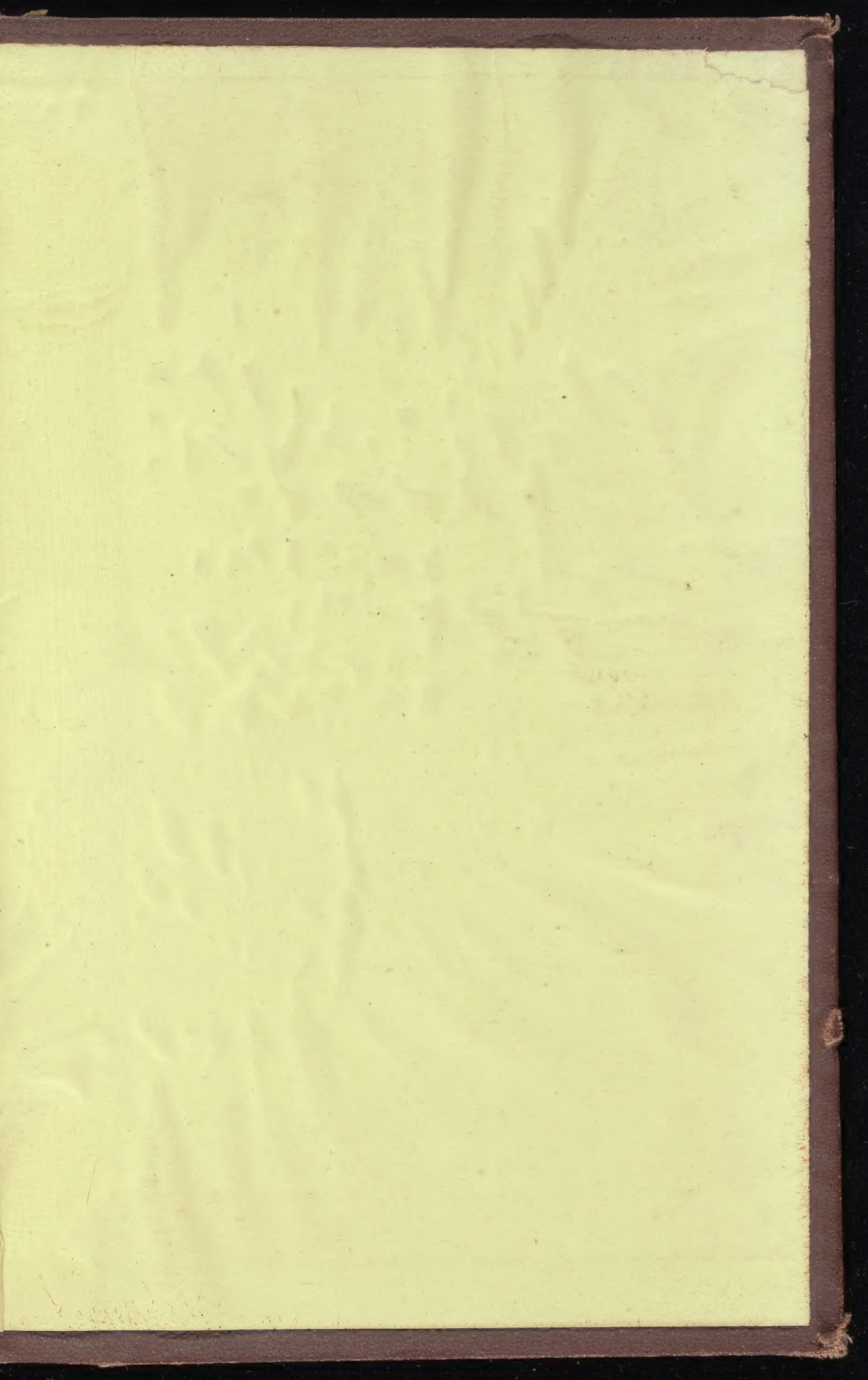
Page 27, line 5—for “the third” read “the fourth.”

Page 29, line 3—for “wall” read “aisle.”

Page 32, line 6—for “exclusively” read “exclusive.”



D. M. Sebesta



PAPER
YARD
P. M.
NANN
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